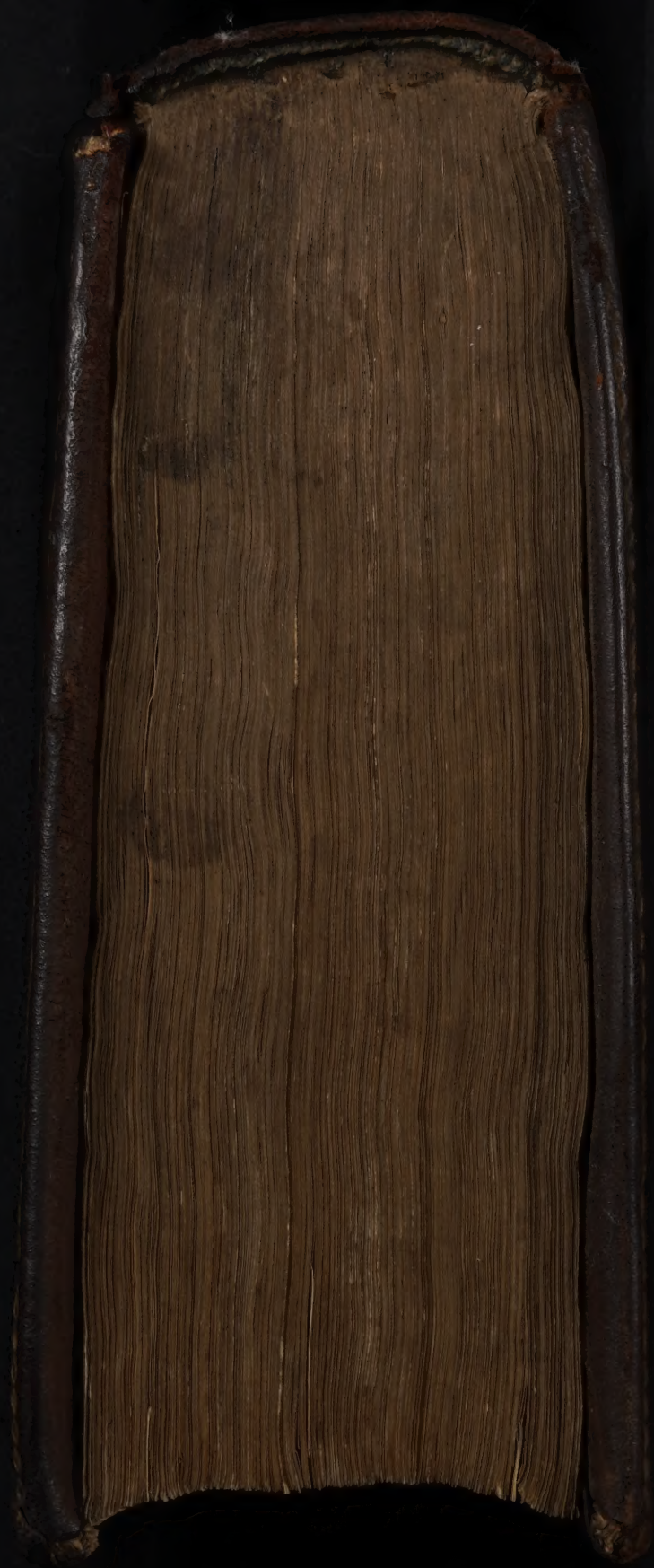










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These
For my very loving
friend Frances
and her

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16

THE
FRENCH
ACADEMIE.

FVLLY DISCOVERSED
and finished in foure
Bookes.

1. Institution of Manners and Callings of
all Estates.
2. Concerning the Soule and Body of
Man.
3. A notable description of the whole
World, &c.
4. Christian Philosophie, instructing the
true and onely meanes to eternall life.

*This fourth part neuer before published
in English.*

All written by the first Author, PETER de la
PRIMAUDAYE, Esquire, Lord of Barre,
Chauuncellour, and Steward of the
French Kings House.

LONDON,
Printed for THOMAS
ADAMS.

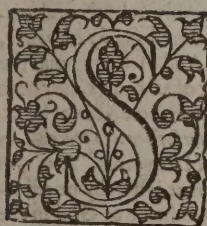
1618.



TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS AND WORSHIP-

FVL GENTLEMAN AND HIS SINGULAR good friend, Mr. IOHN BARNE

Esquire, T. B. C. wisheth grace and peace in this life, and euerlasting happinesse in the life to come.



I R, hauing at length finished the Translation of this FRENCH Treatise of morall Philosophy, I presume the rather to recommend it to your Worships fauour, because your selfe did first commend it vnto me for the variety of excellent sayings and examples wherewith it is replenished. And surely I perswade my selfe, that howsoever for want of a skilfull Translator it hath lost much of that grace, which otherwise it might haue had, yet by reason of the marerit selfe, and good disposition obserued throughout the whole booke, it will be of some account with so many as preferre the soundnesse of substance before the swelling froth of curious parales. True it is, that many words vsed by the Authour, and retained by me, are almost the same with the original tongues from whence they were deriued, and peraduenture wil sound harsh at the first in their eares that neuer heard them before: but if they will haue patience a while, and let them passe to and fro vpon the file off their teeth, no doubt but in short time they will be as smooth as other Greeke and Latine words which now are taken for meere English. I might here alleadge reasons to prooue the necessity of retaining such words in translating: namely, that many of them are proper names and words of Art; that as all occupations and handicrafts haue their seuerall names of instruments belonging to their science, so is it with Philosophy, and with euery part thereof: but I make no doubt of finding the Reader fauourable in this point, considering that it tendeth to the enriching of our owne language, and hath bene practised by the learned of all nations that haue gone before vs, as is euident to such as are skilfull in the tongues. Concerning the profite of this booke, I referre the Reader either to the title thereof, which promiseteth no more (in my opinion) than is performed with aduantage in the body of the same; or else to the Authours Epistle to the Reader, wherein he setteth downe a summary of that doctrine, which is afterward handled more at large. Wherein howsoever hee hath very excellently behaued himselfe, and (as I am perswaded) gone farre beyond those that haue handled the same matter before him, yet considering each mans infirmity to bee such, that he attaineth not to perfection in any worke, neither speaketh all things that are to bee spoken of the same thing, nor yet is free from error in those things which he speaketh or writeth, I exhort all that shall peruse this Treatise following, so farre onely to approoue euery sentence and example of life, as it may bee prooued out of the recordes of holy Scripture. Moreouer, as many as are desirous to bee bettered by the reading of this booke, they must thinke seriously vpon the end vnto which this Authour had regard when he penned it, which was the same that Aristotle had in writing his Ethicks or booke of Manners: namely, *The practise of vertue in life, and not the bare knowledge and contemplation thereof in braine.* And, lest any man should haue that opinion of these Morall precepts, which all men haue of Platoes Common wealth, or of Aristotles Felicity, of Tullies Orator, or of Moores Vtopia, that they containe in them rather an *Idea* of good life, than such a platforme as may bee drawne from contemplation into action, he hath ioyned workes with words, practise with precept, and the fruits of rare examples with the faire flowers of Philosophicall instructions. But many are so farre from conceiuing any such excellency in them, that so soone as they heare the name of Philosophy, they thinke they haue sufficient cause to condemne as hurtfull, all the writings of Philosophers, alleadging that sentence of Saint Paul. *Beware lest there bee any man that spoile you through Philosophy:* not considering that the Apostlie doth in the very next words expound himselfe, and sheweth that he meaneth nothing else but the deceitfull conclusions of mans reason, disagreeing from the doctrine of Christ reuealed vnto vs in his word. I grant that the word of God is onely perfect, and containeth in it an absolute rule both of piety towards God, and humanitie towards men; but it followeth not therefore, that we may not vse the benefit of humane precepts, or tread in the steps of heathen men, so farre forth as their learning and liues dissent not from the truth of holy Scriptures. Will any man refuse pearles because they are offered him in base vessels? or not vse a light, because it is not put into a siluer candlestick? And shall we passe ouer without profite, so many good precepts and worthy examples of learned men; because they proceede

Arist. lib. 2. Eth. cap. 2.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*Aug. lib. de doct.
chr. ca. 40.*

*Aug. lib. 8. de
ciuit. Dei. cap.
6, 7, 8. &c.*

*Aristotle de
Mundo.*

ceede from the twilight of naturall knowledge, and not from the cleere sunne-shine of the word of God. Let vs rather hearken to Saint *Augustine*, in his second booke of Christian doctrine, where hee hath these words agreeing very fitly to this matter: As for those (saith he) that are called Philosophers, if they haue uttered any truth agreeable to our faith and doctrine (especially the Platonists) we are not onely not to feare it, but rather to challenge it from them as from vniuersall possessors thereof. For as the Egyptians had not onely idols and heauy burdens, which the people of Israel were to detest and flee from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold, silver and raiment, which that people at their departure out of Egypt challenged couerly to themselves for better vses, although not of their owne authority, but by the commandement of God, &c. So the doctrine of the Gentiles hath not onely counterfeit and superstitious fgeries and heauy packes of needlesse labour, which euery one of vs departing from their society vnder our Captaine Christ ought to detest and shunne: but also liberall Arts meet to set forth the truth by, and certaine profitable precepts of manners, yea some true points concerning the worship of one onely God. What their knowledge was concerning themselves, and their duty one toward another, the whole Treatise following expresseth at large, vnto which I had rather referre you than vse any needlesse repetition in this place. And as for the other point concerning the knowledge of one onely God, it is most certaine, that from the light of Nature holpen with industry, study, and education (according to the wisdom and dispensation of God) many notable conclusions proceeded from sundry of them, as *Augustine* himselfe sheweth by a long discourse in his eight booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, where among other he alleadgeth these out of *Plato*: That God is a spirit, and of a farre more excellent nature than the soule of man, or any other spirit whatsoever: that God is one and the same, and alwaies like vnto himselfe: that God is the light of our mindes, whereby we attaine to all our knowledge and vnderstanding: that no man is therefore blessed and happy, because he hath abundance of wealth, honour, strength, beauty, or of any external thing, nor yet for any gift of the minde, but because he enioyeth God the soueraigne good. How diuinely doth *Aristotle* write of God, and of his fatherly prouidence, in his Treatise *De Mundo* dedicated to *Alexander*? I know that many with force of reason carrying them thereinto, haue vehemently suspected, that this peece of worke came neuer out of his shop. Which although it be graunted for true, yet the booke doth euidently declare, that the Author thereof was a meere heathen man, and directed onely by his pure Naturals, when he wrote it: which being sufficient to shew how farre the darknes of nature doth comprehend the light and knowledge of heauenly things, is as much as I require. This treatise being wholly occupied in these two principall points: namely, in the description of the vniuersall frame of the world, and in the declaration of the nature of God the worke-master thereof, I will briefly set before you the summe of the last part, which the Philosopher painteth out vnto vs very notably in liuely and orient colours. First he acknowledgeth, that All things are of God, that they consist and haue their being by his power, that no nature whatsoever is able to continue, if it be not maintained and preserued by him. And in setting out the manner of working whereby this mightie power of God is forceable in the gouernment of all things, he goeth beyond the common reach of naturall men, affirming, that although God be present euery where, yet not by any bodily or local presence, as the common received opinion then was: That all things whatsoever wee perceiue by sight, hearing, or any other sense, were full of Gods, and as *Seruius* blasphemously taught of late yeeres, That God was an essentiall part of euery creature, but that he gouerneth all things by his power and vertue, whereby he effecteth whatsoever pleaseth him. Again, as hee subscribeth to the almighty power and prouidence of God in the being and rule of all things, so he laboureth to make knowne the great wisdom of God by the contemplation of the excellent course of nature, which is certain without inconstancy, beautiful without blemish, & diuerse without disorder. For what can be more certaine than the ordinary course of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, which haue continued in their appointed race from time to time, and from one age vnto another? What greater certainty then that which to our comfort appeareth in the naturall turnes and returnes of times and seasons, of Sommer, and Winter, Spring and Autumne, day and night? in regard of which constant continuance of the irrevocable order appointed by God in this whole frame, the world is called by the Hebrewes *gloiam*: and in the Epistle to that people, it is expressed by this word *Aion*, (which many times signifieth perpetuity) *Heb. 1. 2. & 11. 3.* Concerning the beauty and glorious shew thereof, what thing more beautifull then the glittering face of the heauens decked and adorned with starres both great and small, as it were with iewels and precious stones of all sorts? And for this selfe same cause it receiued that name of *monde* from the Grecians, and of *Mundus* from the Latines.

Lastly, if we looke either to the variable motions of the Spheres in the ethereall region, or to the contrary qualities of the elements in the aery and lower part of the world, or to the variety of fowles, fishes, beasts, plants, graine, stones, mettals, &c. and consider withall what a sweete harmony ariseth from all these, as it were from a well tuned instrument that hath strings of all sorts, or like to a liuely picture that hath all kinds of colours mingled in it, or to a well ordered city compounded of sundry occupations, callings, and conditions, of poore and rich, young and old, bond and free, we may see if we haue but halfe an eye, and feele if we be blinde, that in this rare peece of worke and frame of the world, there is most excellent conuaince without confusion, great variety concurring in vnity, and diuersity of all kindes without disorder. All this and much more is attributed by the Authour of that booke *De Mundo*, (*Aristotle*, or some other heathen Philosopher) to the onely working of the power of the inuisible God, of whom (saith he) we must conceine that for his power he is most mighty, for his beauty most excellent, for his life immortall, and for his vertue most absolute: and therefore hee cannot bee seene of any mortall creature, but is notwithstanding knowne by his workes. For all accidents in the aire, in the earth, and in the water, may truly be called the workes of God, who containeth and preserueth this world, of whom (as *Empedocles* saith) proceeded,

All things that were, that are, and shall be here,
Plants, Men, Beasts, Birds, and Fish in waters cleere.

But this Philosopher not contenting himselfe with this consideration and view of God in his workes, entrecth into a deeper meditation of his nature, by setting downe a very good exposition, and as it were a Commentary vpon those names and titles, which vsually were attributed in his time vnto God, thereby to make his powerfull gouernment ouer all the world more knowne vnto men. Although (saith he) that God be but one, yet we call him by many names, as *Zwā* and *Dia*: because we liue by him *αὐτῷ*, because he is of an immutable nature, *αὐτοῦ*, because nothing is done by chance, but according to his most certaine decree: *ἀπαρῖτα*, because no man can possibly auoide him, or fly from him: *αἰῶνα*, because hee abideth for euer. And as for that fable (saith hee) of the three sisters of destiny, I meane of *Clotho* that spinmeth, of *Lachesis* that draweth out to a iust length, and of *Atropos* that cutteth off the thread

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

of mans life, it is to be vnderstood of God only, who (as it was said in old time) is the beginning, midst, and end of all things. To conclude, there is a iustice that is neuer separated from God, which is the reuenger of all transgressions committed against the law of God, wherein euery one must be well instructed that would be partaker of humane felicity & happines.

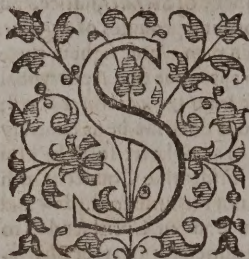
Now iudge, I pray you, whether a Christian may not with profite enter into this Schoole of nature, and reape commoditie by this litle light of naturall knowledge; which as it serued to make them without excuse that were endued therewith, because they knowing G O D, did not glorifie him as G O D, neither were thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginations: so it is to be feared, that those selfe same men shall rise vp in iudgement against vs that professe Christianitie, and condemne vs in that great and terrible day. For how many of vs want that knowledge of the eternall power, diuinitie, and prouidence of God, which was in *Parmenides*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and others, indued onely with the light of nature, whereby they were ledde from the view of the creatures, to the consideration of the invisible things of God? And if we look into the liues of men in these dayes, and consider what neglect there is of those duties which God commandeth vs to exhibite one to another, we shall soone see, that many a million of carnall gospellers come farre short euen of those ciuill apparant and halte vertues of the heathen, and may therefore be sent backe to learne holinesse of *Socrates*, iustice, and innocencie of *Aristides*, charitie of *Cimon*, vpright dealing of *Phocion*, fidelitie in performing promises of *Regulus*, Lib. 6. Strom.
mat. moderation of *Camillus*, parsimonie of *Curius*, grauitie of *Cato*, and what not of heathen men, whose sight in these things was better at mid-night, then ours is at mid-day? But my meaning is not to approoue that Apocryphal tradition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who saith, that *As the law was a Schoolemaster to the Iewes to lead them to Christ: so Philosophy was to the Grecians to bring them to saluation.* Now although this erroneous doctrine be as contrary to truth as darknesse is to light, and as hell is to heauen, yet did *Andradus* defend it in a booke set forth by him at their instigation (as him selfe protested) who were of greatest authority in the late Tridentine Council. Dorth not the Lord by the mouth of *Esay* tell vs, that there is no light in them that haue not recourse to the law and to the Testimony, and speake not according to his word? *Esay* 8. 20. Doeth not our Sauour Christ send vs to the Scriptures for euerlasting life? *Iohn* 5. 39. How then dare any professing Christianitie, affirme, that Philosophers by the light of nature, and knowledge of Philosophie, without the direction of the writte word of God, were made partakers of the righteousnes that cometh by faith, and so consequently of eternall happinesse? But to let this blaspheinous mouth passe, let vs make that account of the writings of men which they deserue, and reape that commodity by them, which we may without preiudice to the written word. For my meaning is not in commending Philosophie, to giue greater credit vnto it, or further to alow the vse therof, the may stand with the maiestie of the holy and sacred Scripture, which being the Mistris of all human arts & disciplines, vseth them as her handmaids to serue and obey her. Therefore as it is vnseemly for a maid-seruant to go before her mistresse, to speake before she be spoken vnto, or to vse three words for one, especially in company where seruice and modestie is most required: so it becometh not the Embassadors of Gods word (vnto whom indeed the knowledge of tongues and human arts is a singular help) to vse these gifts otherwise then as handmaids in their studies and meditations to serue the Scripture to the more plaine and pure exposition of it, seeing they are sent to edifie others, and not to set out themselves. Now when they stuffe a great part of their speech with Poeticall fictions, Philosophicall sayings and examples (as also they are wont to alledge Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine sentences, to draw men into admiration of their great learning) they set the mistris behinde, and giue the first and chiefe place vnto the handmaidens. Is not this To make the crosse of Christ of none effect? *1. Corinth.* 1. 17. To vse that kind of preaching that standeth in the enticing speech of mans wisdom, and not in plaine euidence and power? is it not To build faith vpon the wisdom of men, and not vpon the power of God? *1. Corinth.* 1. 4. 5. If disagreement of matter and forme bee vnseemly, how vndecent is it in spirituall doctrine to vse a carnall and humane kinde of teaching, *1. Corinth.* 2. 13. to allay the strength of the word of Christ with the waverish sayings and fables of men? to put vpon the naked and glorious face of God the beggerly clokes of Poets and Philosophers?

When the Lord hath sanctified, not the corruptible seed of the sayings of men, but the incorruptible seed of his owne most holy word to the begetting of faith, are not these new begetters ashamed to bring in another way of regeneration? When Gods will is to haue his children nourished with the sincere and vnmixed milke of his word, dare man vse the infusion of water, to the weakening of them whom he ought to confirme? When the King hath appointed for his Sonnes and Daughters the purest and finest wheate, shall the Steward, as if they were swine, prouide Acornes for them? But I detain you too long from entring into the pleasant walkes of this Platonickall Academy and Schoole of Morall Philosophie, which being hewen out of the choicest timber of all Countries, was raised vp, and set together in France, and is newly rough-cast (as you see) by an English workeman: whose earnest desire is to haue this small labour of his knowne to other, and receiued of you as a monument of his gratefull minde towards your Worship, for the manifold benefits which he hath from a childe receiued at your hands. In consideration whereof I am bolde; or rather bound, to offer my selfe together with these my first fruits vnto your good liking beseeching him that turned your bountifull heart towards me, to knitt it so neere vnto himselfe, that he may be your chiefe riches in this life, and your onely happinesse in the world to come. Thus commending you and that good Gentlewoman your wife with all yours, to the grace of God, I take my leaue of you, this 17. of October:

Your Worships euer bounden in the Lord,

T. B. C.

FIDELI SVO AMICO, T.B.C. GALLICAE
ACADEMIAE *μεταφρασις.*



Si quis in nativo solo collocatus, honestis quibus suis circumfluens voluptatibus, nec ulla necessitate eo impulsus, se tamen amicorum hortatu in turbulentissimas maris tempestates coniceret, ut preciosam margaritam a suis multum desideratam compararet: certe & laudanda foret eius in tantis laboribus subeundis alacritas, & postquam secundo vento visus sit, summa cum letitia excipendus illius redditus. Peregre, ut mihi visum est, profectus es aliquantisper (charissime amice) & licet ea fuit vita tua conditio, ut bonis literis te obiectans, in ijs tanquam in tua patria consistere potuisses: voluisti tamen amicorum rogatu fluctibus te obycere, & per aliquos scopulos velut in Gallica regione navigare, ut hanc splendidissimam gemam, Academia nepe florētissimā, nobis etiam amicis tuis communicare posses. Appulisti tandem ad portum, syrtis oēs praeuertus es; exoptatā margarita tuo opere assequuti sumus: non possumus ergo quin & tuā in istis laboribus suscipiendis voluntatem libenter agnoscamus, & in iisdem exantlandis felicitatem libere pradicemus. Quamvis vero multorum in oculis viles cere caput Philosophia, cuius abditos thesauros in lucem protulisti: eiusmodi tamen sunt, quorum autoritas propter hominum levitatem nullius est momenti, & quos vere perstringit illud sermone tritum proverbium, Scientia non habet inimicum nisi ignorantiā. Quis in Maronem Bathyllo atrocior? Quis in Vlissēm Thersie acerbior? Quis Dialecticis argutis Epicuro infestior? Et quales, quāso, sunt, qui canino latratu impetunt Philosophiam, nisi qui huius Regina ades ne a limine salutarum? Si ergo apud istos forsitan sordescant tua vigilia, ne dimittas tamen animum. Neque enim tam acre est eorum iudicium, ut iam pertimescas, nec lingua adeo virulenta, ut vel minimam labeculam tuo nomini aspergere possit. Ne Solis quidem lumen caco incundum est: saluberrima pharmica ab imperitiis conculcantur: pretiosissima gemma a gallo Aescopico spernuntur: & ipsa Philosophia, vita lucerna, mentis medicina, gemma lucidissima, a caecis, solidis, brutis contemnitur. Si aut cum Neoptolemo apud Ennium philosophantē putassent, licet paucis, aut cum Dīno Paulo Epicopias duntaxat aditū reiecissent; nos minime repugnantes habuissent: Quum vero vna cum Apollonio philosophiam ludibrio habeant, eamque ab omni vetustate constitutam cum Arcefila penitus labefactent, nullo modo audiendi, aut ferendi sunt. Ac sicut Dicaearchus & Aristoxenus, quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset intelligentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt: ita isti, quorum obtusa acies philosophia insignes fructus aspicere nequit, nullum esse omnino philosophia vsum clamant.

Perum enim vero, habeat Philosophia suam laudem, sit vita dux, morum magistra, virtutis columna, & ei tanquā regina solum suum tribuatur. Tua tamen laudes nulla erunt, nulla te manebit laurea, nullum hic est tuum inventum, nullum tui accuminis specimen nisi velis tanquam ignavus miles de spolijs aliorum sudore partis gloriari & latronum more aliorum bona, alijs impressis notis, tanquam tua venditare. Siccine vero? quid ita tandem? Novi ego (mi amice) animi tui endolem, nullamque (ut ingenuē dicam, quod longa me docuit experientia) quāquam in te contemplari potui: & quamvis nulla benefacta lucem reformident, ea tamen semper laudabiliora duxisti, quā sine venditione & populo esse facta sunt, nullumque theatrum virtuti conscientia maius indicasti. Cuius rei vel hoc vnicum satis est argumentum, quod non (sicut illi philosophi de contemnenda gloria scribentes sua nomina libris apposuerunt) voluisti hoc tuum opus tuum in fronte nomen gerere, sed publicum potius commodum quam priuatam gloriam respiciens, incerto maluisti librum prodire auctore, quam nos certa carere utilitate. Gloria autem individua virtutis comes, vide, ut te quamvis fugientem sequatur. Neque enim nibili est tua industria aestimanda, quamvis alterius vestigijs instituti, nec parvi duccenda sunt tua vigilia, licet alterius opera prius elucubrata fuit ista Academia. Aurum & argentum alunt ipsa terra viscera: illis tamen nonnihil debemus quorum sudore ista metella effodiuntur. Omne fere genus mercaturae aliquibus in locis sua sponte nascitur; suo tamen honore minime spoliandi sunt mercatores, quorum cum periculo vitaeque crebra iactura, tanta nobis bona comportata sunt. Sit itaque Primaudayi aurea ista Academia, illius sit pretiosissima hanc supellex; tibi tamen aliquid interia laudis relinquatur, cuius industria nisi se oportune interposuisset, Anglis nostris nihil inde emolumentum redundasset. Neque est quod quispiam agere ferat, si Philosophia Graeca ac Romana veste ut plurimum induta, iam incipiat Britanico quoque vestitu incedere Bonum enim (ut pulchre philosophus) quo communis, eo melius: & philosophia ipsa Soli haud dissimilis, in omnes terrarum orbes radios suos disseminare cupit. Argivorum res gesta celebres facta sunt primo ab Homero: neque tamen lusit suam operam Virgilius, cum easdem suo carmine celebravit. Philosophia diu Gracia regionibus & septis inclusa permansit: nunquam tamen consenset Ciceronis laus, qui eam ipsam Latinis literis illustravit. Et gratā (vix spero) memoria tuos labores prosequuntur omnes quibus factum est, ut Academia ista, Gallicis antea circumscripta terminis, Anglis iam tandem immorescat. Mahe igitur virtute (charissime amice) & maiores tibi addant spiritus ista primitia ad maiora, si iusta se offerat occasio, suscipienda. Spero etenim aliquando eventurum, ut, sicut in Philosophico certamine vires tuae se exeruerint, ita etiam in Theologico pulvere pari saltem felicitate exspantur. Interim bene vale. 13. Octobr.

Tui studiosissimus,
G. I.

To

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE
and POLONIA, HENRIE the
third of that name.

SIR, if we credit the saying of *Plato*, Common wealths begin then to be happy, when Kings exercise Philosophie, and Philosophers reigne. The Wiseman speaking more diuinely, exhorteth Kings to loue and to seeke after wisdom, that they may reigne vpon earth righteously, and in heauen eternally. And truly from wisdom and Philosophie, as from a liuely fountaine floweth the gift of governing by good lawes & good example, of defending by prowesse and of nourishing by wisdom and providence, which are the bands of al perfection requisite in an excellent & absolute Prince; that desireth to govern his kingdom according to pietie & iustice. These three great & excellent gifts depending of God, as euerie other grace doth, one of those meanes wherby he useth most commonly to enrich them that haue the reines of worldly government in their hand, is to imprint in their hearts a loue and desire of learning and sciences. But because they cannot so perfectly vnderstand them by reason of their great and burdensome charge, as private men may, who quietly enjoying the fruit and benefit of their Kings labors, addict themselves to no other profession, their Maiesties are so much the more pricked forward to loue, to inquire after, and to honor such their subiects, as are best able to set before their eies those vertuous and learned instructions that are drawne out of the fountaines of arts and disciplines. This moued *Antigonus* king of Macedonia to write thus to *Zeno* the Philosopher: *I am assured that I excell thee in the goods & fauour of Fortune, and in the renoune of such things, but I know withal, that thou art far about me, and goest beyond me in that true felicitie, which consisteth in the knowledge & discipline of studies. Therefore I desire earnestly that thou wouldest come vnto me: wherein I pray thee denie me not, that I may enjoy thy conuersation and company, as well for mine owne profit, as for the profit of all the Macedonians my Subiects. For he that instructeth a Prince, doth also profit as many as are vnder his charge.* The selfe same loue of knowledge was the cause, that all the festiuall ornaments of that great lover of vertue *Ptolemie Philadelphus* King of Egypt, were graue questions as well of pietie as of Philosophie, which hee propounded to be handled and concluded by those learned men whom he ordinarily maintained in his traine.

Sir, the example of these two noble Kings shining wholly in you, who greatly loue and fauour learning, and the professors thereof, and open the gate of that holy and vertuous discipline, which was so much cherished by auncient men, that they may daily bee instructed the better in the dutie of their charges, doth promise to your good subiects & vassals, that by the grace of God they shall see vnder your reigne, the euill of those sinister effects defaced, which haue issued from these long troubles and ciuill warres. Whereof all men haue conceived a more certain hope, because they see that you labor with a holy zeale and good affection, to restore pietie and iustice to their former strength and beautie, which were in a manner buried in France: and that you haue gloriously crowned that worke, which that great King *Francis* your grandfather did happily begin, to the end that artes and sciences might flourish in this kingdom. The dinner of that Prince of famous memory, was a second table of *Solomon*, vnto which resorted from euery nation such as were best learned, that they might reape profite and instruction. Yours, Sir, beeing compassed about with those who in your presence daily discourse of, and heare discoursed many graue and godly matters, seemeth to be a Schoole erected to teach men that are borne to
vertue.

The Authors Epistle to the king.

vertue. And for my selfe, hauing so good hap during the assembly of your Estates at Blois, as to be made partaker of the fruit gathered therof, it came in my minde to offer vnto your Maiestie a dish of diuers fruits, which I gathered in a Platonicall garden or orchard, otherwise called an *ACADEMIE*, where I was not long since with certaine yong Gentlemen of Anjou my companions, discoursing together of the institution in good manners, and of the meanes how all estates and conditions may liue well and happily. And although a thousand thoughts came then into my mind to hinder my purpose, as the small authoritie which youth may or ought to haue in counsell amongst ancient men: the greatnes of the matter subiect, propounded to be handled by yeares of so small experience: the forgetfulness of the best foundations of their discourses, which for want of a rich and happy memorie might be in me: my iudgement not sound enough, and my profession vnfit to set them downe in good order: Briefly, the consideration of your naturall disposition and rare vertue, and of the learning which you receiue both by reading good Authors, and by your familiar communication with learned and great personages that are neere about your Maiestie, (whereby I seemed to oppose the light of an obscure day, full of cloudes and darkenesse, to the beames of a very cleere shining Sunne, and to take in hand, as we say, to teach *Minerva*) I say, all these reasons being but of two great weight to make me change my opinion, yet calling to minde many goodly and graue sentences taken out of sundrie Greeke and Latine Philosophers, as also the worthy examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, wherewith these discourses were enriched, which might in delighting your noble minde renew your memorie with those notable sayings in the praise of vertue, and dispraise of vice, which you alwaies loued to heare: and considering also that the bountie of *Artaxerxes* that great Monarch of the Persians was reuiued in you, who receiued with a cheerefull countenance a present of water of a poore labourer when he had no neede of it, thinking it to be as great an act of magnanimity to take in good part, and to receiue cheerefully small presents offered with a heartie and good affection, as to giue great things liberally, I ouercame whatsoever would haue stayed mee in mine enterprise. For I assured my selfe thus much of your bountifull and royall greatnesse, (which I craue in most humble manner) that you would measure the gift and offer of this my small labour, not according to the desert thereof, or by the person of one of your basest seruants and subiects, who presenteth it vnto you, but according to the excellency of those things, which you shall see handled in this *Academie*, and according to the seruiceable and most effectionate desire, wherewith I dedicate and consecrate both goods and life to your seruice. I beseech God, Sir, to preferue your Maiestie in great prosperity, increase of honour and continuance of a long and happy life. At Barree in the moneth of February. 1577.

Your most humble and most obedient

Servant and Subiect,

PETER dela PRIMAVDAYE.

The

The Author to the Reader.

THe Philosophers teach us by their writings, and experience doth better shew it unto us, that to conet and desire is proper to the soule, and that from thence all the affections and desires of men proceed, which drawe them hither and thither diuersly, that they may attaine to that thing, which they thinke is able to leade them to the enioying of some good, whereby they may liue a contented and happie life. Which felicitie, the most part of men, through a false opinion, or ignorance rather of that which is good, and by following the inclination of their corrupt nature, doe seeke and labour to find in humane and earthly things, as in riches, glory, honour, and pleasure. But for as much as the enioying of these things doth not bring with it sufficient cause of contentation, they perceine themselves alwaies deapined of the ende of their desires, and are constrained to wander all their life time beyond all bounds and measure according to their rasonesse, and inconstancie of their lusts. And although they reioice for a little while at euery new change, yet presently they loathe the selfe same thing which not long before they earnestly desired. Their owne estate seemeth unto them to bee worst, and euery present condition of life, to bee burdensome. For one estate they seeke after another, so that now they withdraw themselves from the seruice of Princes, and mislike publike charges, and by they blame the private life, laboring that they may be employed. They forsake one countrey to go & dwell in another, and suddenly they desire to returne againe into their former waies. They that haue neither wiues nor children, seeke and wish for them, and when they haue them, they desire oftentimes nothing more then to bee rid of them: and soone after yee shall see them to bee married againe. Haue they heaped up great store of wealth, and encreased their reuenues by halfe so much more? They desire notwithstanding to make it altogether as much. The Souldier seeketh to be Captaine: from a Captaine to be master of the Camp: from the master of the Camp to be Lieutenant to the King: then he would gladly make himselfe King. The sillie Priest would be a Curate: from a Curate, Bishop: from a Bishop, Cardinal: from a Cardinal, Pope: and then would command Kings and Soueraigne Princes. Kings are not contented to reigne ouer their owne Subjects, but bend themselves alwayes to enlarge their limits to make themselves (if they can) the onely Monarchs. Briefly, all men whose hearts are set vpon worldly goods, when they are come to this estate of life, they would attaine to that: and beeing come therunto, some other newe desire carrieth them farther, so that this mischiefe of continuall, vncertaine, and vsatiable lustes and desires doeth more and more kinde in them, untill in the end death cut off the threed of their inconstant, and neuer contented life. This cometh to passe, because the alteration of an Estate and condusion of life plucketh not out of the minde that which presseth and troubleth it: namely, the ignorance of things, and imperflection of reason. But they, who through the studie of wysedome are furnished with skill and vnderstanding, and know that all humane and earthly things are vncertaine, deceitfull, slipperie, and so many allurements vnto men to draw them into a down-fall and destruction, they I say, doe lay a farre better and more certaine foundation of their chiefe Good, contentation, and felicitie. For they are so farre off from beeing carried away, as worldlings are, with the desire of greatnesse, riches, and pleasure, that they rather desire lesse then they haue, contenting them, and so vse them as though they had them not. And delivering their soules by the grace of God, from all these perturbations which besiege them in the prison of their bodies, they lift vp their wishes and desires, yea, they referre all the endes of their intents and actions to this onely marke, to be vnitied and ioyned to their last ende of their soueraigne Good, which is the full and whole fruition of the essence of God, that their holy affections might bee at once fulfilled and satisfied, by enioying that diuine light, through a most happie and immortall life, when they shall bee vnclotched of this body of death, and of all concupiscences and passions, and reioyce in such a felicitie, as neither eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor euer entre into the heart of man.

Moreouer

The Authour to the Reader.

Moreover, wee ought to knowe, if wee haue neuer so little iudgement and reason, that in all worldly things how great and goodly soeuer they seeme to our carnall eyes and senses, there is such a mixture of bitterness and dislike ioyned with the fruition of them, that if wee could diuide the euill from that which of the ignorant sort is called Good, and weigh them one against another, there is no doubt but the bad part would easily weigh downe what goodnesse soeuer could bee found amongst them. But how shall wee call that good, which is so mingled with euill, which oftentimes hurteth more then it profiteth, and which being possessed abundantly, cannot keepe the possessor thereof from being wretched and miserable? What contentation can a man finde therein, seeing that such a Good commonly slippeth away as soone as it is receiued, and alwayes worketh an insatiable desire thereof? What felicitie shall wee expect and looke for in the fruition of that thing which waxeth olde and perisbeth, and which men are alwayes afraid to lose? Now I pray you, who can doubt iustly, but that the qualitie and nature of riches, of glorie, of honour, and pleasure is such? Whereupon wee must conclude, that man can finde no goodnesse, contentation, or happinesse, in any thing that is earthly and mortall. Besides, who knoweth not sufficiently the poore estate of mans life, which in the fairest of his race commeth to nothing in the twinkling of an eye; so that all his bodily shew and brightnesse turneth suddenly into putrefaction? Who doeth not trie more then hee would, how full his life is of sharpe griefes, and pricking miseries, and how it is assaulted with continuall troubles? With how many pearcing cares doeth it abound, and what gripping griefes doe pursue it? Briefly, as a wise Grecian said, hauing but the bare name of life, it is in effect and truth a continuall paine. And truly that thing hath no being indeed, which changeth without ceasing, as the nature of man doeth which neuer continueth in the same estate, no not the least moment that is. I would gladly aske of thee who readeest this, or doest meane to reade it, what day, or what houre thou hast passed, or now passest ouer, since thou hadst any iudgement or knowledge, wherein thy bodie hath not felt some griefe, or thy heart some passion? As there is no sea without tempest, warre without danger, or iourney without trauell: so there is no life without griefe, nor calling without enuie or care: neither did I euer see or know that man, who hath had no cause to bee grieved, or to, complaine.

Doth not experience daily teach vs, that no man liuing can make choise of any estate void of all trouble, or flee one inconuenience, but that hee is in danger to fall into another? Is it not also most certaine that a sudden ioy or prosperitie, is but a fore warning or signe of some griefe and heavy calamitie at hand? But what? Shall wee for all this thinke man so miserable, that fasting all his life time in stormes and tempests, hee cannot possibly attaine to any safe haven against the rage of them? Shall wee in such sort deprive him (during the time of his being in this world) of all Good, contentation and happinesse, as if there were no meanes to auoide, or at leastwise to mollifie the mishaps and miseries of mankind, that hee faint not vnder the heavy burthen of them? Wherefore then doe wise men by so many learned writings inuite vs diligently to seeke after, and with a burning zeale to embrace holy vertue, saying, that by her alone a man may liue happely and contentedly in euery calling, and may enioy therein the soueraign Good, through the tranquillitie and rest of his soule, purged of perturbation by Philosophie? was it in vaine and fruitlesse, that an infinite number of famous personages, whose Histories the mother of Antiquitie set before our eyes, imploied so great trauel, passed infinit watchings forsooke and contemned riches, pleasures, honors, and worldly commodities, to get and treasure up vertue only? And why do we, after their example, despise all these things and spend that which we account most precious, I meane time, that wee may be adorned and cloathed with vertue, if it cannot make vs hit that marke, which euery one so much desireth and seeketh after with such great paine and labor; namely, that they may enioy some chiefe Good in this world, and leade thereby a contented and happy life? Be not o-
uertaken (friendly Reader) with this smal difficultie which perhaps might cause a grosse and feeble head not well instructed in wisdom, to stagger and depart out of the right way. Now, although the heauenly word onely hath the perfect and sound knowledge of wisdom, because he is that eternall wisdom is selfe, yet man being his workmanship, and aided with his grace, must not leane off to seeke for, and to require earnestly of him that giueth of the knowledge and participation of the secrets of that incomprehensible truth, (so farre fourth as hee may and shall bee necessarie for him) that his soule thereby may obtaine her permanent and lasting happinesse. Moreover, albeit our soueraigne and chiefe Good, our perfect contentation and absolute felicitie be onely in beauen in the enioying of that diuine light, yet wee must not in the meane while, (albeit wee cannot fully possess that) leane off to seeke without ceasing, or giue ouer in any sort to keepe and follow that good and infallible way of vertue, which causing vs to passe ouer quietly, and to sustaine with ioy of spirit, the miseries of mankind, and appeasing the perturbations of our soules, from whence proceed all the euils that torment vs, and making them void of all damnable effects, will teach vs to leade a pleasant, peaceable, and quiet life, and to effect all things
worthy

The Authour to the Reader.

worthy and becomming this certaine hope, that we shall one day (by the grace of God) bee framed anew in that eternall, most happy, and contented life. Let vs therefore account this world, and all the riches thereof, as a thing belonging to another, as a stranger and nothing appertaining to those men, who being regenerated by the Spirit of grace, haue profited well in the schoole of wisdom. Let vs not seeke for friendship vpon earth: let vs not conet after riches, glory, honour, and pleasure: which none but fooles doe extoll, desire and wonder at. Wee are not of this world, but strangers onely therein, and therefore let vs set all worldly things behind vs, and account them unworthy of the care of our immortall soules, if wee meane not to perish with the world by ioyning our selues therewith. Let vs forsake it, I say forsake it boldly, how precious soeuer it bee, that wee may abundantly treasure vpt that great, sweet and durable wealth, I meane vertue which is honoured, loved, and desired for it selfe onely, which is the true and wholesome medicine for diseased soules, the rest of the mind oppressed with care, the cause (by the will of GOD) of that chiefe Good wherein the principall ende of the soule consisteth, and the onely assured guide which leadeth to the Hauens so much desired of euery one, namely, the contentation of minde. Which thing this present Academy doth not onely set before our eyes, but also doth saue and keepe vs being already entred into this Hauens of safety, against all tempests, if wee will our selues, and not spare our labour to reape profite of those learned and wise instructions, that are heere giuen vnto vs by the precepts of doctrine, and examples of the liues of auncient, vertuous, and famous men. For first of all wee shall learne hereby to know our selues, and the ende of our being.

This commendation of vertue is chiefly to be vnderstood of all good vertues.

Secondly, we shall be instructed in good manners, and taught how we may liue well and happily in euery estate and condition of life whatsoever. Yea we shall finde in the basest and lowest estate, which of the ignorant and common sort of people is oftentimes called miserable, as much ioy and happines, as a monarch can be partaker of in the fruition of his greatness, yea much more than he, if he bee wicked: because vice in all estates maketh thee possessor thereof wretched, and contrariwise Vertue maketh euery condition of life happy. Moreover we shall see in this Academy, that euery one loving and fearing GOD, may obtaine this inestimable good of vertue, and thereby remaine a Conqueror ouer the perturbations of his soules, which breeds all his misery, remembring this point alwayes, so farre forth as the fraile nature of man, aided by the authour of all goodnes can attaine to this perfection. Wee shall learne heere how we ought to gouerne our selues wisely and dutifully in all humane actions and affaires, and in all charges and places whatsoever, either publike or priuate, wherunto wee shall bee called. We may note heere the cause of the subuersion and ruine of many Empires, Estates and Commonwealths, and of the glistering show and glory of infinite others: as also the cause of the wretchednes, and destruction of a great number of men, and what hath liue vnto other, and crowned them with honour and immortall praise. Wee shall be taught heere the gouernment of a house and family, the manner of the education & instruction of children, the mutuall duties of married couples, of brethren, of masters and seruants, how to command, and how to obey.

Wee shall see heere the order and establishment of Policies and Superiorities: what is the duty of the Heads of them, of Princes and Gouernors of nations: as also what the duty of their subiects is. Briefly, both great and small may draw out from hence the doctrine & knowledge of those things which are most necessary for the gouernment of a house, and of a Commonwealth, with sufficient instruction how to frame their life and manners in the mould and patterne of true and holy vertue, and how by means thereof (the grace of GOD working in them) they may runne the race of their duties in ioy, happinesse, rest and tranquillity of Spirit, and that in the midst of greatest aduersities, which the vncertainty and continuall change of humane things may bring vpon them. Now because the sequels compounded of the sundry treatises and discourses of this Academy, will sufficiently instruct thee in all things aboue mentioned, as it promiseth in the fore front and title thereof, I will not dilate this matter any farther, but onely desire of thee (Reader) patiently to heare these Academicall students, from the first of their discourses vnto the last.

Their intent was onely (as thou maist vnderstand more at large in the entrance of their assembly) to teach themselves, and next euery one according to their ability, the institution of good manners, and rule of good liuing, for all ordinary and common estates and conditions of life in our French Monarchy, to the end that euery member of this politike body (brought thus low with euils, and beaten with tempestuous storms) might somewhat help & profit it by their counsels & instructions. And this thou maist do (friendly Reader) if thou takest pains to reade wel, to vnderstand better (& which is best of all) to follow the precepts, instruction & examples which thou shalt find here: as also, if thou bringest hither a good will, & cheereful dispositio, void of all malicious enuy, which at this day is commonly practised by most men of this our age (who like to malicious Cēsurers) busie themselves rather in seeking out what to bite at, & to reprehended in other mens works, than to draw out, & to commend that which is good, or to assay to make the better.

The Authour to the Reader.

Besides, thou shalt haue somewhat to commend in the order of these discourses, and in the manner of teaching which is in them. For after the handling of that knowledge which is especially necessary for man, all these vertues follow which bee ought to embrace, and those vices which bee is to shunne. Next, bee is instructed in that which concerneth house-keeping: then in that which hath respect to Estates and Policies, and last of all how he may die wel, after he hath liued well. As for the manner of teaching, which is diligently obserued by these Academickes, thou shalt see that first they praise that vertue, or dispraise that vice which they proponnd to themselves to discourse vpon, that they may moue and frame mens minds, as well to hate the one, as to desire the other. Then they define that whereof they discourse, that the ende of the present subiect may bee better knowne. Afterward, they giue precepts to finde out the meanes whereby to attaine to that which is Good, and to eschew the euill. Lastly, they adde examples, which are lively reasons, and of great weight to moue men with delight to embrace vertue, and to flee vice. Now if thou thinkest that too little is spoken, considering the goodly and large matter beere proponnded, it is not because they knew not that the excellencie of euery thing put forth here is so great, and the reasons so abundant, that a man might well make a Booke thereof by it selfe, as many learned men haue done: but the chiefe scope and drift of these Interspeakers, was to discourse briefly of such things as are necessarily required in the institution of manners, and of a happie life. Neuerthelesse, it may well be, that that which thou findest not sufficiently followed in one place, may be learned in another, if thou lookest vnto the end. Moreouer, they who are here named, and who mind to retaine alwayes the name of disciples, neuer purposed or presumed to set downe resolutions, or to appoint Lawes which are necessarily to be kept, and may not bee changed in any wise by those that are cleare sighted, according to the occurrence and benefite of the estate of this Monarchie, but grounding their counsels and instructions vpon the soundest and most approoued opinion of the writing of learned men, both of ancient and late times, and vpon such as drew nearest to the infallible rule of the holy Scriptures, according to the small measure of grace giuen them from aboue, they haue left to euery one (following therein the ancient Schoole of the Academickes) libertie to compare the motives of the one side, with the reasons on the other, that the truth of all things might bee diligently searched out and inquired after, that none through an headstrong conceit should bee wedded to priuate opinions: and that afterward choise might bee made of the best, and of such as are most certaine thereby to order and rule all intents and actions, and to referre them to the perpetuall glory of that great Lord of Hierarchies, who is the onely cause and chiefe fountains of all Good, contentation, and happinesse.

Spe certa quid melius,

The

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Of the backebone and of the marrow thereof: of the ribs, and of other bones of mans body. *chap. 5. 353.*

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Par la priere Dieu m'ayde.

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THE FIRST DAIES VVORKE OF THIS ACADEMIE, WITH the cause of their assembly.

WHEN GOD by his infinite and unspeakable goodnesse, beholding with a fatherly, bountifull, and pittifull eye our poore FRANCE (which most cruell against it selfe, seemed to runne amaine most furiously to throw it selfe headlong into the center of some bottomlesse gulfe, had sent from heaven the wished-for newes of peace in the midt of civill and domesticall armies, (which a man might say were of purpose prepared for the finall overthrow of this French Monarchie, that hath flourished so long time) sparing by his heavenly grace and favour, and that in despite of them, the blood of those men, who held forth their right hand to cut off the left; among many, who touched with the love of their country, and with true zeale to piety, rejoiced at this so well liking and healthfull newes, foure yong gentlemen of Anjou, who came together to serve their prince, and to sacrifice their lives, if need required, for the welfare and safety of the Common-wealth, were none of the last that sought out one another, and met together to testifie each to other (as their mutuall kindred & sworne friendship did invite them) the joy which filled their soules, arising of so happie and unlooked-for successe & alteration of affaires: to the end also that they might give glorie & praise to him, who for the benefit of his, knoweth well how to take order even in those things, which according to the judgement of men are desperate and past recovery. And that which gave them greater occasion to rejoyce for this peace, and so diligently to seeke out one another was this, because contrary to hope, they saw the meanes offered them to returne home, and to continue and exercise, that greatly pleased them, which not long before the last fall of France into troubles they had happily begun. Now to let you (Readers) understand what this exercise was, these foure gentlemen being of kin, and neare neighbours, and in a manner of one age, were by the care and prudence of their fathers brought up and nourished together from their yong years in the studie of good letters, in the house of an ancient wise gentleman of great calling, who was the principall stocke and roote of these fruitfull buds. This man by reason of his manifold experience, and long abode in strange countries, knew that by the common corruption of French youth, of it selfe inclined to pleasure, proceeded chiefly from the over-great licence, and excessive libertie granted unto them in the Vniversities of this Realme, as well through the fault and negligence of the governours and tutors in them, as also because of the evill government of the townes at this day. He knew also that they were no lesse abused, who thinking to avoide this dangerous downe-fall at home, did send their children to studie abroad amongst strangers, where the trafficke and merchandise of mischiefs is more common and easie to be made, because they feare not that newes will presently, or so speedily be carried to their parents, as if they were neare vnto them. Oh how well worthy of eternall praise is the prudence of this gentleman! bringing to my remembrance *Eteocles* one of the most noble Ephories of Lacedæmonia, who freely answered *Antipater* asking fiftie pledges, that he would not give him children, least if they were brought up far from their fathers, they should change the ancient custome of living used in their owne countrey, and become vicious: but of old men and women, he would give him double the number, if he would have them. Whereupon

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beeing threatned by this king, if he speedily sent him not of the youth: We care not (quoth he) for threatnings. For if thou command us to do things that are more grievous than death, we will rather choose death: so carefull were the men of old time, that the dressing and trimming of these yong plants should not be out of their presence. But let vs go on with our matter. This good and notable old man having spent the greater part of his yeares in the service of two kings, & of his countrie, and for many good causes withdrawn himselfe to his house, thought, that to content his minde which alwaies delighted in honest and vertuous things, he could not bring greater profite to the Monarchie of France, than to lay open a way and meane to preserve & keepe youth from such a pernicious and cancred corruption, by offering himselfe for example to all fathers, and shewing them the way to have a more carefull eye in the instruction of their children, and not so lightly to commit them to the discipline of vices, by the hands of mercenarie and hired strangers. And this was begun vpon these foure yong gentlemen, whom he tooke to his owne house, by the consent of their parents, offering himselfe to the uttermost of his power to helpe their gentle nature, which appeared in them worthie their ancestors, by training it vp, first in the feare of God, as being the beginning of all wisdom: secondly, in humane learning and knowledge, which are necessarie helpes to live well and happily, to the benefit of the societie of men. To this end, after that he himselfe had shewed them the first grounds of true wisdom, & of all things necessarie for their salvation, according to the measure of grace given him from above, & as their age could conceive them, he laboured earnestly to haue in his house some man of great learning, and well reported of for his good life & conversation, unto whom he committed the instructiō of this yong Nobilitie. Who behaved himselfe so well in his charge, that not greatly staying himselfe in the long degrees of learning, which be ordinary, & usuall in our French Colledges, are often more tedious (besides losse of time) than profitable to youth; after he had indifferently taught his schollers the Latine tongue, & some smacking of the Greeke, he propounded for the chiefe part and portion of their studies the Morall philosophie of ancient Sages and wisemen, together with the vnderstanding, and searching out of histories, which are the light of life: therein following the intent and will both of him that set him on worke, and also of the parents of this Nobilitie, who desired to see their children not great Orators, subtle Logicians, learned Lawyers, or curious Mathematicians, but onely sufficiently taught in the doctrine of good living, following the traces and steps of vertue, by the knowledge of things past from the first ages vntill this present: that they might refer all to the glorie of the diuine Maiesty, and to the profit and vtilitie as well of themselves as of their country. And yet in the meane while these noble and toward youths were not deprived of other exercises meete for them, which (as the diuine *Plato* saith) are very profitable for this age, & helpe much to quicken the spirits of yong men, and to make their bodies which are weake by nature, more strong and apt to sustain travail: as namely, to ride horse, to run at the ring, to fight at barriers, to apply themselves to all kinde of weapons, and to follow the chace of beasts. All which exercises this wise and ancient Knight did intermingle with their earnest studies by way of recreation, himselfe standing them in stead of a matter. For in such exercises hee was as fully furnished as is to be wished in a man of valure and actiuitie, in somuch that he was more expert than many of our time who make no other profession. Now this schoole having bene continued for the space of sixe or seven yeares, to the great profit of this nobility of Anjou, the foure fathers on a day tooke their iournie to visite this good old man, and to see their children. And after the vsuall welcome, which is betweene kinsfolkes and friends, they discoursed together of the corruption which then was in all estates of France; whereupon they fore-saw (as they said) some great storme at hand, if euery one did not put to his helping hand for the correction and reformation of them, but chiefly the secular power authorized of God for this purpose. They alledged for witnes of their saying many examples of ancient estates, Common-wealths and kingdomes, which were fallen from the height of glory & excellencie into a generall subuersion and overthrow, by reason of vices reigning in them vnpunished. And thus continuing their speech from one thing to another, they fell in talke of the corrupt manners that might particularly be noted in all, and those maintained by authoritie and with commendation, in somuch that both great and small endeouored to disguise vice with the name of vertue. In fine, they were of opinion to heare their children discourse hereupon, that they might know & iudge, whether they had profited so well in the institution of good manners (the rule of good life) by following of vertue, and by the knowledge of histories, (the patterne of the time past for the better ordering of the time present) as their master, who was present at the discourses of these ancient

Gentle-

Academicall Assemblie.

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Gentlemen, did assure them, by intermingling the praises of his schollers in the midst of their graue talke, and vaunting that they were well armed to resist the corruption of this age. For truly vertue purchased and gotten by practise, is of no lesse power against all contagion of wickednesse, than preseruatiues well compounded are of force in a plague time to preserue in good health the inhabitants of a countrie. And as heretofore that famous physition *Hippocrates* preserued his citie of Coos from a mortality that was generall throughout all Grecia, by counselling his countymen to kindle many fires in all publike places, to the end thereby to purifie the aire: euen so whosoever hath his soule possessed, and his heart well armed with the brightnesse and power of vertue; he shall escape the dangers of corruption, and eschew all contagion of euill manners. But returning to the intent and desire of our good old men, because they had small skill in the Latine tongue, they determined to haue their children discourse in their owne naturall tongue, of all matters that might serue for the instruction and reformation of euery estate and calling, in such order and method, as themselves with their foresaid master should think best. For this purpose they had two houres in the morning granted vnto them, wherein they should be heard; and as much after dinner, which was to each of them one houre in a day to speake in. You may ghesse (gentle readers) whether this liuely youth did not bestow the rest of the day, yea oftentimes the whole night vpon the well studying of that which they purposed to handle, and with what cheerefulnesse of heart, & willingness of minde they presented themselves before the honourable presence of their fathers, who were so greatly delighted in hearing the, that for the most part in stead of foure houres a day before mentioned, they bestowed sixe or eight. For after they had heard the two first discourse one morning, they had not the patience to referre the rest of that matter vnto the afternoone, when the other twaine of their children should be heard, but comonly commanded them presently to enter the lists, and to proceed, as beeing iealous ouer their glory in regard of their companions. In this commendable manner of passing their time they continued certaine daies. But the sudden and sorrowfull newes of the last franticke returne of France into ciuill warre, brake vp their happy assembly, to the end that these noble youths betaking themselves to the seruice due to their Prince, and to the welfare and safetie of their countrie, might make triall of their first feates of armes, wherein they wanted neither readines, nor valure of heart, which being naturally in them, was also increased by the knowledge of philosophie. The studie whereof resembled (as *Plato* saith) to a separation of the soule from the body, standeth wise men in stead of an exercise to die without feare, when dutie requireth it, & causeth them to esteeme of death, as of the cause of the true and perfect good of the soule. For which reason. *Socrates, Xenophon, Architas, Thucydides, Thales, Epaminondas*, & a million of other famous men, learned philosophers, & historiographers hauing charge of armies, neuer doubted, or feared in any sort to offer themselves cheerefully vnto all perils and dangers, when the question and contention was for publike benefite and safetie, and in a iust war without which a wise man neuer ought to fight. Yea I dare boldly say, that the greatest, and most famous exploits of warfare, were atchieued for the most part by them and their like. Which serued well for a spurre to our yong Angevins to cause them to vndertake this iourney with ioy and cheerefulnesse of spirit, being resolved to follow with all their might the examples of such great and notable personages, as histories, the treasure of time, did call to their remembrance. When they were in the campe, each of them according to his particular affection ranged himselfe vnder sundry corners of great Lords and good captaines. But, as we said in the beginning, after newes of the peace proclaimed, which was so greatly looked for, and desired of all good men, they laboured foorthwith to meete together, knowing that their ioint-returne would be acceptable to their friends, especially to that good old man by whom they were brought vp. Moreouer they deliberated with themselves as soone as they were arriued at the old mans house, to giue their fathers to vnderstand thereof, to the end they might be certified from them, whether it were their pleasures to haue them reiterate and continue in their presence the morall discourses begun by them, as we haue learned before; that they might be refreshed with the remembrance of their studies, and thereby also keepe fast for euer those good instructions, which by the daily trauell of so many yeares they had drawne out of the fountaine of learning and knowledge. As it was deuised by them, the execution thereof followed, so that all these good old-men being assembled together, taking vp their first order, and conferring anew of the same matters, daily met in a walking place couered ouer in the midst with a goodly greene Arbour, allotting for this exercise from eight to ten in the morning, and from two to foure in the afternoone. Thus they continued this exercise for the space of three whole

weekes, which make eightene daies workes, besides the three Sabbath daies, set apart by them, that they might rest and ceasse from their studies, and attend the better to the chiefe point of that holy daies institution, which is to the contemplation, and consideration of the workes of God, of his law, and of his praises. During which time it was my good hap to bee one of the companie when they began their discourses, at which I so greatly wondered, that I thought them worthy to be published abroad, as well to enrich our French tongue with an infinite number of graue sentences and speeches, worthy to be remembered, being drawne out of the fountaine of Greeke and Latine arts and disciplines, through the incredible labour of these youths, louers of vertue; as also to awake and stir vp by their example all the Nobilitie with a iealousie and emulation of glorie, gotten by the same vertue. For onely vertue is able to guide & conduct gentlemen to honor, for the obtaining whereof (as they say) they contend and fight so often, and can also restore them to the fruition of their first rights of authoritie, and goodly priuiledges, whereby (as we reade of the ancient Romans) such as were most worthy amongst the Nobilitie were chosen to attend vnto these three things: namely, to the seruice of God, which is to gouerne, as the Scripture speaketh: secondly, to the administration of lawes and iustice, which is the pillar of kingdomes: and lastly, to the tuition and defence of the Common-wealth by armes, which is the assurance thereof against all practises & assaults of the enemy. Of which three excellent administrations, necessarie for the establishing and maintenance of all estates and Common-wealths, the most part of our Nobility retaineth the last onely, which likewise they seeme to despise in a manner, submitting, to their great shame, by reason of their ignorance and weltring in delights and pleasure, their conscience, honour, goods, and life to the opinion and iudgement of those whom nature and right had subiected to them. But marke how wee deuised to proceede in our discourses: to wit, that three of vs one after another should vtter some sentence or memorable saying, in the praise of that vertue, or dispraise of that vice, whereof wee were resolved to speake, and that the fourth should make a whole discourse of that matter. Which beeing ended, he should beginne the first proposition of the second Treatise, and two others should follow him therein: then the last should make the second whole discourse for that morning. Likewise in the afternoone, that same party was to lay open that matter which was to bee intreated of, and two others continuing it, one of those, who in the morning did onely propound, should discourse in his turne: and then giuing to his companions new matter subiect, he which as yet had not discoursed at all, was to handle it, and so to make an end for that day. And thus all foure of vs followed the same order daily, vntill euery one in his course had intreated according to appointment, both by the precepts of doctrine, as also by the examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, of all things necessarie for the institution of manners, and happy life of all estates and callings in this French Monarchie. But because I know not whether, in naming my companions by their proper names, supposing thereby to honour them, as indeede they deserue it, I should displease them, (which thing I would not so much as thinke) I haue determined to do as they that play on a Theater, who vnder borrowed masks and disguised apparell, do represent the true personages of those whom they haue vndertaken to bring on the stage. I will therefore call them by names very agreeable to their skill and nature: the first, A S E R, which signifieth *Felicitie*: the second, A M A N A, which is as much to say as *Truth*: the third, A R A M, which noteth vnto vs *Highnesse*: and to agree with them as well in name, as in education & behauiour, I will name my selfe A C H I T O B, which is all one with *Brother of goodnesse*. Furthermore, I will call and honour the proceeding and finishing of our sundry Treatises & discourses with this goodly & excellent title of *Academie*, which was the ancient & renowned schoole amongst the Greek Philosophers, who were the first that were esteemed; and that place where *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Polemon*, *Xenocrates*, and many other excellent personages, afterward called *Academikes*, did propound and discourse of all things meete for the instruction & teaching of wisdom: wherein we purposed to follow them to our power, as the sequelle of our discourses shall make good prooffe. Begin then (gentle readers) to heare that which we speake concerning man in the first daies worke, vsing these or the like speeches.

*Aser, Felicitie: Amana, Truth: Aram, Highnesse: Achitob,
Brother of Goodnesse.*

Of Man. Chap. I.

Vhen I direct my flight now and then (my companions) even vnto the heavens, and with the wings of contemplation behold their wonderfull greatnesse, their terrible motions,

Of Man.

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motions, being contrary and without ceasing, the lively brightnesse, rare beauty, and incomparable force of the Sunne and Moone, their vntchangeable course, one while cause of light, and by and by after of darkenesse, the infinite number of goodly stars, and of so many other celestially signes: and from this excellent and constant order of all these things, as one rai- shed and amazed, when I withdraw my spirit lower into the elementary region, to admire and wonder at the situation and spreading of the earth amidst the waters, both of them making one round masse or lumpe, which in the midst of this great firmament occupieth the roome but of a pricke or rittle in respect thereof: besides, when I acknowledge in this earth and water as many sundry and most beautifull plants, and kindes of earthie and waterie creatures, as there are graines of sand on the sea bankes: and when I delight my selfe in the varietie of minerals and pretious stones, considering the forme, qualitie, and vertue of each of these things: briefly, when I admire the diversity of times and seasons, the continuall spring of fountaines, the certaine course of riuers, and generally, so many wonderfull workes vnder the cope of heauen, I cannot mauell y- nough at the excellencie of Man, for whom all these things were created, and are main- tained and preserued in their beeing and moouing, by one and the same diuine prouidence alwaies like vnto it selfe.

AMANA. There is nothing more certaine than this, that all things whatsoever either the eye can behold, or the eare heare, were created for the benefite, profit and vse of man, and that hee was made excellent aboue all things to rule ouer them: yea the Heb. r. very Angels are sent to minister for their sakes, which shall receiue the inheritance of saluation.

ARAM. Oh vnspeakeable and heavenly goodnesse, which hast created man little lower Psal. 8. than thy selfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship. But tell vs I pray thee (ACHITOB) more particularly, what this great and principall worke of nature, *Man* is, to what end his All things being was giuen him and how he hath shewed forth the fruits thereof. For it must needs be, were created for man. that there is something in him greatly to bee wondred at, seeing all things were created to serue and obey him.

ACHITOB. Truly ye haue reason (companions) to begin our happy assembly with that knowledge, which we ought to haue of our selues, as being the store-house of all wisdome, To know our selues is true wisdome, and beginning of saluation: whereof wee may haue an assured testimonie from that father of Philosophie *Socrates*, who beholding the first precept written at Delphos in the temple of *Apollo*, which was so renowned throughout *Gracia*, namely *Know thy selfe*, was forthwith driue into a very deepe cogitation, and being rapt with contemplation of spirit, he began from that time forward to doubt and to inquire of himselfe. Whereupon contemning that way which all the Philosophers of his time went, who busied themselves about nothing, but onely in finding out the causes of naturall things, and in disputing curiously of them, he gaue himselfe wholly to the knowledge of himselfe, I meane of his soule, which hee maintained to be in- indeed Man, and by disputation to intreat of the soueraigne good thereof, and of vertue. By The soule is truly man which meanes the gate of wisdome was opened vnto him, wherein he profited in such sort, that according to the Oracle at Delphos, he was called of all men the wise, the iust, the prince of Philosophers, and father of Philosophie. And surely out of his sayings, which being more Socrates was called the fa- ther of Philo- diuine than humane, were written by his disciples, all other Philosophers haue drawne their knowledge. *Heracitus* another excellent man, minding to giue out in speech that hee had done some notable act, worthy of himselfe, said: I haue sought my selfe. Which beginning truly is very necessarie for man, as being a guide to leade him to the true knowledge of God, which is a heavenly gift of God, and peculiar to his. And this is learnedly taught vs by the same *Socrates*, where he saith, *That the duty of a wise man is to seeke out the reasons of things, that in the ende he may finde that diuine reason whereby they were made: and hauing found it, may worship and serue it, that afterward he may enioy it, and reape profit thereby.* Moreover he addeth, *That the perfect knowledge of ones selfe, which consisteth in the soule, is in such sort ioyned with the knowledge of God, that the one without the other cannot be sincere and perfect.* And for the same reason, *Plato* his disciple, who for the excellencie of his writings was surnamed the *Diuine*, saith, *That the perfect durie of man is, first to know his owne nature: then to contemplate the diuine nature: and last of all to bestow his labor in these things, which may be most beneficiall to all men.* Ignorance of a mans selfe (saith *Lactan- tius*) and the want of knowledge wherefore and to what end he is borne, is the cause of error, of euill, of leauing the right way to follow the crooked, of wandring out of the plaine way to walke in the ragged and vneuen way, or vpon a dangerous and slippery mountaine: and lastly euill,

What man is.
Gen. 1.
Col 3.

The end of
mans being.

There is a
double reason
in man.

Heraclitus
wept continu-
ally.

The iudge-
ment of Phi-
losophers
concerning
the nature
of man.
Pindarus
Homer.

lastly, of forsaking the light to walke in darkenesse. Now if we account it a shamefull thing to be ignorant of those things which belong to the life of man, surely the not knowing of our selues is much more dishonest. Let vs then consider what man is, according to that meane knowledge, which by the grace of God we are endued withall, not staying in those curious definitions which the Philosophers haue made. Man is a creature made of God after his owne image, iust, holy, good and right by nature, and compounded of soule and body. I say of soule, which was inspired of God with spirit and life, and of a perfect naturall body, framed of the earth by the same power of God. In this sort man had his being of the eternall work-master of the whole world, of whom he was created by his incomprehensible goodnesse, to bee made partaker of his immortalitie and permanent felicity, for this onely end to set forth the glory of his Creator, and to speake and do those things that are agreeable vnto him, through the acknowledgement of his benefits. From which end man being fallen of his owne freewill through ingratitude and disobedience, was bereaued of all those ornaments, which he had receiued before of God, and in steade of righteousness and holinesse, all iniquity, filthines and vncleanenes entred into him: whereby he was made the slaue of sinne and of death, from whence all those miseries had their beginning, wherewith the life of man is ouerwhelmed. His soule also was wrapped with infinite hurtfull passions and perturbations, which worke in it a continuall disquietnes, and his body became subiect to innumerable trauels, and violent vntowardnes. Of which corruption the ancient Philosophers had great and assured knowledge, but the first and true cause thereof, which was sinne, and the voluntary fall of man, with his restoring vnto grace by the vnspeakeable goodnes and mercy of his Creator, from whence he was fallen, were alwaies hidden from them, (as we shall see anon) as also from an infinite number of men, who living holily according to the world, neuer had the perfect knowledge of God in his eternall Sonne. As for any good thing whatsoever they vttered, or found out, it came through earnestnesse of study, by discoursing and considering in the reasonable part of their soule, of those things which offered themselves to their minde. But forasmuch as they were not wholly ouerwhelmed in every part of reason, and yet had no knowledge of the heauenly word Iesus Christ, they vttered many things contrary one to another: and in the midst of their great and wonderful skill (according to that saying of the Scripture, *Who hideth his secrets from the prudent, and reuealeth them to babes*) they had a continuall troubled spirit, wandering here and there afwell in the seeking out of themselves and of the causes of naturall things, as of those things which are aboue nature. And trulie, the reason of man, naturally ingrafted in his heart, which so far forth as he is man, and according to his abilitie and manner of life he imitateth and followeth, is diuers from that which by special grace from aboue cometh to the elect, accompanieth them, and helpeth them in all their actions. This is full of faith, and of vndeceivable assurance of eternall promises: the other, weake, troubled and wonderfully hindred, wherein a man can neuer haue any certaine resolution. This is that which caused *Aristotle*, who was *Platoes* Disciple, and Prince of the *Peripaterike* Schoole, to say, that the more knowledge a man hath, the greater occasion of doubting was offered. Neither can we iudge otherwise, but that the same reason of trouble and doubting mooued the aboue named *Heraclitus* that great Philosopher, to spend his life in continuall weeping, howsoever he alleadgeth wisely, that it was for the compassion hee had of mans nature, both for that the life of men consisteth in nothing but in miseries, as also because all the labors wherein they exercised themselves, seemed vnto him to be worthe of great commiseration and pittie: namely, seeing that they being far wide of iustice, did yet through too greedie desire make themselves slaues vnto all couetousnes and vaine glory. This also was an argument of inconstancie and wauering in *Democritus*, who neuer came abroad amongst men, but he laughed vnto measure at all their works and deeds. Howbeit herein he said truly, that the life of man was vanitie and folly, and that all their lusts and desires were fond, and worthy to be laughed at. But such extremities of laughter and weeping are not seemely in him, who is well instructed in the studie of Philosophie, & in the certaine knowledge of himselfe: which thing these Philosophers so earnestly laboured to attaine vnto, as we shall see anon, after wee haue learned what other ancient men haue thought of the nature and state of man. What other thing (saith *Pindarus*) is man, than the shadow of a dreame in ones sleepe? Whereby he sheweth the vanity of man by an excellent manner of speaking, very significantlie vttering his meaning. For what thing is lesse than a dreame yea than the shadow of a dreame? *Homer* hauing compared mortall creatures together, both in respect of their continuance, as of the maintenance of their life, crieth out, that of all those which walke on the earth and drawe breath,

breath, there is not one more miserable than man. *Timon* the Athenian detesting much more than all these the imbecillitie of mans nature, vsed and employed all his skill to perswade his countymen to abridge & shorten the course of their so miserable life, and to hasten their end, by hanging themselves vpon gibbets, which he had caused to set vp in great number, in a field that he bought for the same purpose, vnto whose perswasions many gaue place. *Plinie* rehearsing the great miseries wherewith man cometh into this world, & the manifold labors wherin he liveth, said, that it were good for a man not to be borne at all, or else so soone as he is borne, to die. It was a custome amongst the Scythians, to weepe at the birth of their Children, & to reioyce, and make a solemne feast at the death of their parents. Now as the opinions of these philosophers here named by us (who being destitute of the light of God, & of true religiō had no other foundation but their own humane & weake discourses,) are to be reiected for inclosing all mankind in such vile & abiect estate, so on the other side we must take heede, that we enter not into that presumptuous opinion of many others, who endeuer to leade man to the consideration of his dignitie and excellencie, as beeing endued with infinite graces. For they perswade him, that through the quicknes of his vnderstanding, he may mount vp to the perfect knowledge of the greatest secrets of God and nature, and that by the onely study of philosophy, he may of himselfe, following his own nature become maister of all euill passions and perturbations, & attaine to a rare & supreme kind of vertue, which is void of those affections: that being thus exempted and freed from all vice: hee may leade a most happy and perfect life. This did the Stoick philosophers with one consent maintaine and teach, laying: Whosoever receiued their doctrine, if in the morning he were very wicked, in the euening he should become a very good man: and if he laide himselfe downe to sleepe being ignorant, vicious, and poore, the next morning he should arise wise, vertuous, rich, happy and iust, *Zeno*, *Seneca*, *Diogenes*, *Chrysippus*, and infinite moe, otherwise indued with most fruitfull doctrine, as we shal understand hereafter, were of this opinion. In so much that *Chrysippus* said, that *Dion* the chiefest man for knowledge in *Syracusa*, was no lesse vertuous than his god *Iupiter*, to whom they attributed perfect diuinitie. *Seneca* also boasted that he had receiued life by the benefit of God, but to liue well, from himselfe. Thus whilest they granted to mans power such an excellent and diuine disposition, they list him vp in a vaine presumption, in pride and trust in himselfe, and in his owne vertue, which in the end cannot but be the cause of his vtter vndoing. We therefore holding the meane between these two contrary opinions (as the perfection and goodnes of all things consisteth in mediocritie) and continuing to speake of man as we haue already begun, doe saie, that the knowledge of himselfe is very necessary for him, and that hauing perfectly attained thereunto, he hath cause both to be humbled greatly, as also to glory and reioyce. First to humble himselfe through the sence and feeling of his vanitie, peruersenes and corruption, in which respect he ought to hate and be displeased with himselfe, because he beholdeth his destruction and condemnation ingrauen in his conscience. Secondly: he is to glory in the knowledge of God, which inseparably followeth the other, after he hath learned this, that in the mercy of God he may recover that which is wanting in himselfe, hauing once bene made and fashioned of God, who is altogether pure, wise, true, good, and almightie, to the end he might be partaker of his glorie. For the obtaining hereof, he had giuen vnto him from the beginning (as trustie guides) godlinesse, holinesse, and religion: godlinesse, to the end he might know thereby, that he had God for his father: holinesse, to yeeld vnto him continuall glory and praise: and religion, to keepe him in continuall meditation of his grace and benefits, and to serue him for an indissoluble bond to knit him to his Creator, who threatned him with death, if hee did the contrarie. But our first father through ingratitude and disobedience, forsaking those heauenly guides to follow his owne free-will, deprived himselfe and all his posteritie of that promise of eternall life, that was made vnto him. Whereupon being dead to his first life, which was most happy & innocent, through his offence and peruersenes of his sinne, he began from that time forward to liue a mortall life, so that his body and soule became subiect to infinite miseries and damnable infirmities, which drawe vpon them the condemnation of eternall death. Notwithstanding God, whose goodnesse and mercy are endlessse, reestablished and assured the succession of his immortal inheritance vnto those, whom it pleased him by grace to make dead to sin, and alieue to himselfe, through the satisfaction of his wrath made by the innocencie of his eternall Sonne, purging them in his blood, and opening vnto them by him the gates of heauen, after hee hath renewed them in righteousnesse, holinesse and innocencie, that they may follow after godlinesse and religion. And knowing that man so fraile and weake,

Timon.

Plinie.

The custome of the Scythians.

The presumptuous opinion of the Stoicks.

The end of the knowledg of our selues.

The wilfull fall of man.

There restoring of man.

Al men naturally have some loue & liking of the truth.

Effects of Christian regeneration.

The perfection of a wise mans life.

The wonderful coniunction of the body and soule.

Al things are preserved by agreeing discords.

might easily fall downe vnder the heauie burden of those miseries and calamities, whereunto the corruption of his nature made him subiect, and wherein by reason of hereditarie sinne he should remaine during this mortall life, as also that those furious and continuall passions, which are mingled together in his soule, being ioyned to the common infirmities of his bodie, would be of too great force to throwe him againe headlong into destruction; this infinite mercie of God appointed, that from the beginning there should remaine in the spirit of man a little sparke of light, which driueth him to naturall loue of the truth, and to a desire to enquire after it, yea which pricketh & prouoketh him not to sleepe altogether in his vices. This weake instinct being awaked, stirred vp, holpen, and disposed by the pure grace, vertue and power of the author of al goodnes, draweth and mooueth a Christian, regenerated by the holy Ghost (after knowledge of himselfe, and hatred of that which is in him) to seeke after and to couet with a speciall heartie desire, that goodnesse and righteousnes whereof he is void, & that glorious libertie of which he depriveth himselfe. Furthermore, the same heauenly grace blessing this holy desire of the man regenerate, causeth him to draw out of the doctrine of holy Scriptures that wherewithall he may, if not heale perfectly his wicked inclinations, yet at the least containe and repress them in such sort, that they breake not out into anie damnable execution. Hee teacheth him also to receiue the infirmities of his flesh, as fatherly chastisements for his sinne, and as necessary meanes to exercise him, and to keepe him in awe. And lastly, for the upshot and perfection of all happinesse and felicitie in this world, he instructeth him how he may leade a quiet and peaceable life in beholding the wonderfull workes of the diuinitie, which he is to adore and honour, and in the amendment and correction of his maners naturally corrupted, by squaring them after the patterne of vertue, that so he may be made worthie and fit to gouerne humane affaires, for the profite of many: and at length attaine to the perfection of a wise man, by ioyning together the actiue life with the contemplatiue in the certaine hope and expectation of a second, immortal and most blessed life. Whereunto also the precepts and discourses of learned and ancient Philosophers, may serue for our instruction and pricking forward: as also the examples (which are liuelie reasons) of the lives of so many notable men, as histories, the mother of antiquitie, doe as it were represent alive before our eies. And this in my iudgement is sufficient generally to understand of Man, seeing we are hereafter to discourse more particularly of both his principall parts, the body and soule.

Of the Body and Soule. Chap. 2.

ACH. **T**He body and soule are so knit and conioyned together, that nothing can separate them but death the destroyer of al, which through sinne, and for the iust punishment thereof entred into the world. And this is no sooner done, but that whatso, ever we see of man, vanissheth from before our eies: the earthie part returning into the masse of of earth from whence it came, according to the saying of *Aristotle*, that *all things are resolved into those things whereof they are compounded*: likewise, that which is spirituall and invisible goeth into an eternall immortalitie, from whence the beeing thereof proceeded.

ASER. Truly this knitting together, and conijunction of the body and soule is a most wonderfull thing in nature, yea, as many of the Philosophers say, against nature: seeing the soule which is light, is contained within the body being heauie: that which is of celestiall fire, within that which is cold and earthy, that which is invisible, within that which is palpable: that which is immortal, within that which is mortall. But what? Where is the fence of man, which is able to comprehend the reason of the doings of that great Maister-builder of the vniuersal frame? Yea there is more. For during this conijunction, as all things that mooue within this generall globe are maintained by agreeing discords: even so of necessitie there must be such a harmonie betweene the bodie and the soule, that by the helpe of the one, the other subsisteth and abideth, and that through their continuall striving sometimes the one, and the other be in the end obied.

AMANA. Thou tellest us here of a wonderfull strange thing, that, that which is spirituall & immortal sometime obeyeth that which is mortall, and made of a corruptible lump. But I vnderstand thee well. This proceeds of the imperfection and imbecility of our nature. For (as *Socrates* said) if we were perfect Philosophers, we would neuer agree with our selves, but resist continually. Now, following this matter, make us to understand more particularly (ARAM) what the body and soule are, what properties they have, and what is the excellencie both of the one and the other

ARAM

Of the Body and Soule.

9

AR. AM. With a good will, my companions, and first I will begin at the definition of a bodie. A bodie (as the Philosophers say, speaking generally of all things that haue bodies) is that which may bee diuided and measured after three sorts, in length, in breadth, and in depth. Or according to others, a bodie is a masse or lump, which, as much as lieth in it, resisteth touching, and occupyeth a place. A body (saith *Plato*) is that which being in his proper place is neither heauie nor light, but being in a strange place first inclineth somewhat, then is driven and carried forward, either with heauinesse or lightnesse. Hereupon, both hee and other Philosophers discourse learnedly and profoundly of the particular nature of all bodies, of the earth, of the fire, of the aire, of the water, and of all other both simple and compound bodies, and of their contrarie motions. But seeing all those discourses are at this present without the compasse of our Academie, let vs simply with more profit, and that according to the Scripture, define the bodie, which wee haue vnderaken to handle. Wee say then, that the bodie is flesh, that every affection of the flesh is deadly, and that the workes thereof are vncleannesse, pride, fornication, enmitie, debate, wrath, contention, enuie, murder, gluttony and such like: and therefore that the bodie is made of mortall matter, of as small continuance as a vessell of earth, sinning without ceasing, and endeavouring that that which is shut vp within it, should please it. Notwithstanding we ought not to neglect and contemne the wonderfull frame of this heavenly plant, as *Plato* calleth it, saying, that the roote thereof is in the head drawing towards heauen, seeing, as in a little world, we may behold therein the excellencie of the wonderfull workes of God, and that in so great measure, that the wisest and most eloquent men could neuer set them forth sufficiently. And if we cal to mind how by his Almighty power he framed him at the first of a piece of earth, we shall not need to stand long here to enquire & search out, how he could be ingendred & fashioned in his mothers wombe, how he receiued nourishment & life, & lastly, how he came into the light. As for example, how the 6. first daies after his conception, he is nothing but milke: the 9. following, blood: 12. daies after, flesh: and how in the 18. next ensuing, he is fashioned, at what time the fruite beginneth to liue, and to haue sense, which is the 45. day after he was conceived. These are secrets of nature, which may seeme as incomprehensible, and beyond the capacitie of man, as his first creation. For what greater maruell can there be, than that of a little drop of mans seede there should be ingendred bones, sinewes, veines, arteries, similar and instrumentall parts, skin and flesh, and that all these should be framed in that kinde, figure and similitude, which we daily see in men, who are all created after that manner? What neede we then to make an anatomy of all the chiefeest parts of the bodie of man, when as the consideration of the least of them, which peradventure may bee found too bee most necessarie, will suffice to raiuish vs with admiration? What superfluous thing can be noted in the bodie? What small parcell is there, which the noblest part may want conueniently, and which is not partaker of every euill disposition thereof? What thing is there in the whole nature thereof, which doth not satisfie that dutie verie profitably, whereunto it is borne and appointed, which mooueth not of it selfe, which either doth, suffereth or disposeth of it selfe otherwise than is most expedient and meete for it owne benefit, and for the rest of the frame of man? The progresse and growth thereof from day to day, from houre to houre, and that of all the parts together of this principall worke at one instant, euen from the first houre of his being, vntill his whole perfection, are they not more heavenly than humane things? What is more wonderfull vnder the cope of heauen, than the coniunction and subiection of the natural senses vnto the body, I meane, of the sight, smelling, hearing, taste, and touching, whereby (saith *Plato*) the common sense which is as it were a generall receptacle, conceiue all outward things? What an excellent property in man is it, to void from him a profitable superfluitie of his nourishment, from whence the cause of the preservation of mankind proceedeth? The articulate and distinct voice, proper to him onely, is it not worthy of great maruell? What greater secret of nature could raiuish the minde of man more with admiration than amongst the infinite multitude of men in the world, to consider the varietie of their gestures, and diuersitie of their countenances, that hauing all but one & the same forme, yet not one almost resembleth another? And when in so great varietie, two are found resembling in all points one another, as we reade of some, euen of sundry nations, who haue beene taken indifferently one for the other, is it not a stranger matter? How marvellous is it, that all men hauing a tongue wherewith they speake and sing, yet wee seldome see that the speaking and singing of one resembleth the speech and tune of another? whereupon it commeth to passe, that friends and familiars oftentimes acknowledge and vnderstand one another by their speech and voice before

The definition of a bodie.

Gen. 6.

Rom. 8.

Gal. 5.

The workes of the flesh.

Man is a little world.

Gen. 2.

Of the conception and fashioning of man.

Of the excellencie of the bodie, and of all the parts thereof.

Great secrets of nature.

The diuerſity
of mens voi-
ces and wri-
tings.

The ſoule is
infused not
traduced,

The defini-
on of the ſoule
Pythagoras
was the firſt
that was cal-
led a Philoſo-
pher.

The diuiſion
of the ſoule.

Plato maketh
fixe parts of
the ſoule.

Ariſtotele di-
uideth it into
two parts.

Four parts
of the ſoule.

The beſt di-
uiſion of the
ſoule.

The ſoule
cannot be di-
uided, but is
made ſubieſt
to two parts.

before they ſee each other. Who will not admire this great ſecret in the hand of man, that a hundred thouſand writers may write the ſame thing, with the ſame inke & like pen, and that with three and twenty letters, which have each his owne figure and ſhape, and yet the writings ſhall not reſemble one another ſo, but every writing may be knowne by his hand that wrote it? Briefely, what is therein the whole body of man, that is not full of rare beauty? This is ſufficient for the matter in hand; now let us come to the ſoule which is much more noble, and infused into the body by God the Creator, without any vertue of the generative ſeede, when as the parts of the body are already framed and faſhioned. This alone can leade us to the knowledge of God and of our ſelves, or rather as *Socrates* ſaid, wee ſhall never underſtand perfectly what the ſoule is, except we firſt know God, and behold it in him, as in a true glaſſe, who onely can repreſent it unto us. Let us then ſee what the ſoule is, according to the ſayings of the ancient Philoſophers. *Thales Mileſius*, one of the ſages of Græcia, who flouriſhed in Athens in the time of *Achab* king of Iuda, was the firſt that defined the ſoule, affirming it to be a nature alwaies mooving it ſelfe. *Pythagoras* (the light of his time, and the firſt that tooke unto himſelfe the name of a Philoſopher, becauſe all thoſe, who before him were addicted to the contemplation of the diuinity, and of the ſecrets of nature, cauſed themſelves to be called by the name of Magicians and wiſemen, which he would not haue ſpoken of himſelfe, ſaying that this diuine and lofty title of Wiſe, was proper to God onely, and that it far paſſed all humane abilitie) I ſay this excellent man *Pythagoras* affirmed, that the ſoule was a number mooving it ſelfe. *Plato* ſaith, that it is a ſpirituall ſubſtance mooving it ſelfe by harmonicall number. *Ariſtotele* ſaith, that the ſoule is the continuall act or mooving of a naturall and instrumentall bodie, and may have life. Or elſe, according to others, it is the light of the ſubſtance, and in perpetuall motion. They diuide it likewise diuerſly, and make many parts thereof. The ſoule (as *Pythagoras* ſaid) is compounded of underſtanding, knowledge, opinion and ſenſe, from which things all knowledge and Arts proceede, and of which man is called reaſonable, that is, apt to diſcouſe by reaſon. *Plato* ſaith, that there are three vertues in the ſoule belonging to knowledge & underſtanding, which for this cauſe are called cogaitive or knowing vertues: namely, reaſon, underſtanding and phantaſie. Vnto which three others are anſwerable appertaining to appetite: namely Will, whoſe office is to deſire that which underſtanding and reaſon propound unto it: Choler or Anger, which followeth that, which reaſon and phantaſie offer vnto it: and Concupiſcence, which apprehendeth whatſoeuer phantaſie and ſenſe obieſt vnto it. *Ariſtotele* maketh another diſtinction of the ſoule, ſaying that one part of it is void of reaſon in it ſelfe, and yet may bee guided by reaſon that the other part is of it ſelfe partaker of reaſon. And in another place this Philoſopher ſaith, that there are three things from whence humane actions proceede, namely ſenſe, vnderſtanding and appetite. Many others both ancient and late writers make foure parts of the ſoule: Vnderſtanding, reaſon, anger, and deſire. The vnderſtanding liſteth the ſoule vp to heauen to the contemplation of diuine and intellectuall things. Reaſon guideth the ſoule by prudence in all her functions. Anger is ruled and moderated by the vertue of magnanimitie: and deſire is governed by temperance. Of theſe a very harmonicall iuſtice is framed, which giueth to euery part of the ſoule that which belongeth vnto it. But the moſt ſenſible, common and true opinion, which the wiſeſt amongſt the Philoſophers had of the ſoule, is that which diuideth it into two parts onely, vnder which all the reſt are comprized: the one being ſpirituall and intelligible, where the diſcouſe of reaſon is: the other brutiſh, which is the ſenſuall will, of it ſelfe wandring and diſordered, where all motions contrary to reaſon, and all euill deſires haue their dwelling. Amongſt all the philoſophicall diſcouſies of the ſoule, written by theſe great perſonages, this error is very great, when they attribute ſuch a ſtrength & power to reaſon (which they ſay is reſident in the ſoule as a lampe to guide the vnderſtanding, and as a queene to moderate the will) as that by it alone a man may well and iuſtly gouerne himſelfe. Now although we know that this reaſon of man is of it ſelfe, wholly depraued & corrupted, yet we may ſay well ynough, that the ſoule, which ſpirit & life, cannot be diuided, being immortal: becauſe whatſoeuer is diuided, diſſolueth & parteth aſunder, & what ſoeuer is diſſolued, periſheth. Neuertheles it may be ſaid to be compounded & made ſubieſt (during the coniunction therof with the body) to theſe two principall parts, of *Vnderſtanding and Will*. The vnderſtanding ſerueth to conceiue & comprehend all things propounded vnto vs, and to diſcerne & iudge what we ought either to approue & allow or what reſuſe & reiect. The will is that which executeth & bringeth to effect, whatſoeuer the vnderſtanding iudgeth to be good, & contrarywiſe ſieth fro that which it reprobeth & condemneth.

And

Of the Body and Soule.

II

And herein we agree with the Philosophers, that the understanding, under which we comprehend the sence, is as the governor and captaine of the soule, and that the will dependeth of it. But withall we saie, that both the one and the other are so corrupted and altered from their nature, (the understanding being obscured and dimmed with the clouds of darknes, by reason of the first mans sin descended upon al his posteritie through hereditarie and naturall filthinesse, and the will in such sort corrupted by this disobedience, and so weakened and made feeble to all goodnes) that if there be none other guide comming from above to teach the understanding, and to direct and leade the will, I meane regeneration by the spirit of God, both of them cannot but do evill, drawing the soule with them to vtter ruine and perdition, by causing her to consent to the law of hir members, which are the bodie and flesh, full of ignorance, of obscure darknesse, of frowardnesse, miserie, calamitie, ignominie, shame, death, and condemnation. Notwithstanding, if in the corruptible, heavie, and grosse lump of the body, within which the soule is contained, we found matter of praise and of the contemplation of heavenly things, what shall we say of that which is immortall, which in a moment in hir discourses and cogitations, goeth through the whole heaven, compasseth the earth about, faileth all over the sea, without which the body mooveth not at all, and all the beautie thereof turneth suddenly into putrefaction? This onely can make a man happy both in this and in the other life, by reason of the treasures of wisdom, the understanding whereof is proper unto it: yea this is the onely instrument whereby a man may behold the diuine nature. This is invisible, and cannot be perceived by any naturall sence: this is contemplative and active at one and the same time: this beholdeth uniuersall things, and practiseth particulars, understanding the one, and feeling the other. This hath for the actions and operations of hir essence and nature, Will, Iudgement, Sense, Conceiving, Thought, Spirit, Imagination, Memorie, Vnderstanding and Reason: and for hir incomparable beauty, shee hath Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and iustice, without which the excellent order of all humane things would be changed into disorder and confusion. This is that moreover, which being illuminated with wisdom, bringeth forth the fruits of love, ioy, peace, long-suffering, gentlenes, goodnes, faith, meeknes, temperancy. Briefly, to conclude our present speech, wee may well say that the soule is so great and diuine a thing, that it is a very hard matter to comprehend it by reason, but altogether incomprehensible by the outward sence: and that all mans felicitie, as well present as to come, dependeth of the soule, when, being regenerated (as hath beene said) and made free and void of all wicked perturbations (as neere as the nature of man can approach to perfection) her humane contentation and delight is onely in vertue, and in the hope and certaine expectation of a more sound and perfect vertue, by the renning and changing of this mortall life into that which is immortall and most blessed: as *S. Paul* exhorteth vs herunto, saying: Let vs reioyce in the Lord: both because our names are written in heaven (as *Christ* saith) and that our modesty, meeknes and goodnes may be knowne to all men. Moreover let vs learne that in the wonderfull composition, coniunction and disposition of the soule & body, there is matter wherby to draw man greatly to the consideration of the chiefe end, for which he was first placed in the world, namely, to glorifie his Creator in godlines, holinesse and religion. He ought therefore both to serue him with all the parts of his body, not abusing them in any sort, but keeping them pure and cleane, to be made members of the glorious body of his eternall Sonne in the resurrection, and also to praise and glorifie him with all the gifts and graces of his soule, not defiling it with vncleanenesse and vice, that she may, by the same diuine grace, returne vnto the full fruition of that most happy essence and nature from whence she had her being. In the meane while let vs learne, that as the body vseth many instruments wherof it is compounded, and which are proper vnto it, so the soule, being much more noble, excellent and diuine, ought to vse the body and all the parts thereof: and that the soule is the organ and instrument of God whereby hee worketh in vs and lifteth vs vp to the contemplation of his diuine nature.

Both parts of the soule are corrupted,

Rom. 7. 23.

The properties of the soule.

The actions of the soule.

The beautie of the soule.

Gal. 5. 22. 23.

The true delight of the sence.

Phil. 4. 4.

Luk. 10. 26.

How a man ought to vse both body and soule.

Of the diseases and passions of the body and soule, and of the tranquillitie thereof. Chap. 3.

ARAM. One of the ancient Philosophers vsed to say, that no liuing creature was worse to man than man himselfe, because, albeit he hath dominion ouer all things, yet he cannot rule himselfe, nor his desires. Experience causeth vs both too much to know the truth of this saying. For who can doubt in any sort hereof, seeing blessed *S. Paul* himselfe confesseth, that he did not the good things which he would, but the euill which he would

Nothing worse to man than man himselfe.

Rom. 7. 18. 19

There is no
good thing in
the flesh of
man.

would not, and that in his flesh theredwelt no goodnes? So undoubtedly we have both bodie and soule compassed about with so many pernicious passions, that it is very hard, yea altogether impossible, that what good thing soever is in us should not faint and sinke under their heaue weight without a speciall and diuine grace.

Man is a mu-
table creature.

A C H I T O B. Truly this is no vaine speculation, nor unprofitable to man: as also for a man to know, that he is as it were tied in this world to all uncertaine things, which he, being mortall by nature, cannot any way shun and auide, without the helpe of God. He which is in health expecteth sicknesse: he that is sicke, health. Doth any one desire in his minde any thing? Before he enjoyeth it, his desire is often changed into another. In a word, no man abideth still in one and the same estate. And therefore *Plato* calleth man a mutable creature, as if he meant to say, that he is easily altered and changed.

Pleasure and
griefe the
cause of pas-
sions.

A S E R. The change which this diuine Philosopher meant (if I be not deceived) hath relation principally to the conditions of the soule, which, being filled with infinite perturbations, fastened in the midst of it with the naile of pleasure and griefe, is carried away with inconstancie and uncertaintie into a streame of troublesome passions, which if they be not cut off and mastered by reason, draw a man into utter destruction. But give us to understand (**A M A N A**) more at large of these passions of the soule, and of the way to remedie them: and if you thinke good, you may speake somewhat of those of the bodie.

Man is more
carefull of his
body than of
his soule.

A M A N A. Amongst the innumerable evils, which the desire of pleasure and feare of griefe, ingraven in the most secret parts of our soule by our first corruption, bring to man, this is the greatest and most pernicious, that they make sensible things more euidēt and plaine unto him than things intelligible, and constrain the understanding to iudge more by passion than by reason. For using, through the sense of pleasure or travell, to attend the erroneous uncertaintie, and mutable nature of the bodie, as to that which is subsisting and subject to sight, he remaineth blinde, and loseth all knowledge of that which truly is and subsisteth, namely, of the light of the soule, which is diuine and immortall. Moreover, applying himselfe wholly to the sensuall and unreasonable will, which is that part of the soule that proceedeth of the corruption thereof, he laboureth with all his might to quench and choke that weake instinct of the soule, which aspireth unto the true Good, from whence she perceiveth hir selfe to have fallen. And this he doth with such force and power, that if God strengthen not the soule, and reason the diuine guide, accompanie hir not, without doubt she yeeldeth to such mightie enemies: and then (as we haue said) staying himselfe wholly in things subject to sight, he appeareth too carefull and curious in seeking to decke that, which belongeth to the bodie: but as for the soule (whereof all humane felicitie dependeth) because she is invisible, and not seene of him, it is the least of his cares to furnish hir with that which she seeketh & desireth, and which is necessary for hir. Whereupon in the end it commeth to passe that the least overthwarts and discommodities of his flesh seeme very grievous and burdensome to a man, but as for the incurable diseases, which overwhelme his soule, he doth not so much as feele them. Now to the end we may understand more particularly that which is here propounded unto us, wee will handle in order, and as briefly as we may (this matter being very large) the diseases and passions of the bodie and soule, with the remedie which we are to desire and seeke after. And first we will speake a word of the diseases of the bodie, next of the naturall and necessary passions thereof, albeit we will intreate of the passions of the soule, as of our chiefe matter subiect. Concerning the maladies and evill dispositions of the bodie, one *Hippocrates*, one *Galenus*, nay infinite others skilfull in Physicke, are not able to describe them exactly, much lesse prescribe certaine and sure remedies. But seeing it is not my purpose or profession to stay long heere, neither yet necessarily belong to the cause of our assembly, I will content my selfe to speake these few words by the way, that we ought to take everie bodily infirmitie as a fatherly chastisement of our sins, and as a necessary meane to awaken us, to warne us of our dutie, and to keepe us in awe. Besides, one principall cause of all bodily diseases, proceedeth ordinarily from vices, which are the proper inheritance of man, and with which wee defile our selves continually. Therefore if we heale our soules, we may cure our selves of the most of them: and as for others, which come by defect of nature, or by some other hidden cause, we have the counsell and helpe of Physicians, whom willingly and diligently we seeke after. There are besides these, certaine naturall and necessary passions in the body, properly belonging unto it, even from the first creation thereof, which are not to bee condemned, neither can be taken away, but with the abolishing of mans nature: as the desire of drinking, eating, sleeping, and such like, which onely by the direction of reason are to be freed from all superfluity.

The end,
cause, and re-
medy of bo-
dily diseases.

Naturall
passions.

But

Of the Body and Soule.

13

But it standeth otherwise with the diseases and passions of the soule, deriued from our first corruption, and driuen forward by sin, being plentifull and rich, which without comparison are farre more dangerous than those of the bodie, more hard to be perceiued and knowne, more headstrong and vneasie to cure, and which is worse, man is very slothfull in seeking out a remedy for them. And for the most part thinking that he hath found some remedy, through want of skill and and ignorance, he falleth into a worse estate than he was in before, and as we commonly say, from a gentle ague into a pestilent and burning feuer. But first wee will generally define this word, *Passion*, according to the opinion of those philosophers, who were endued with greatest light. *Passion* is euery naturall and actuall motion in the soule. This motion is of two sorts: the one weake, good and holy, aspiring and reioicing in that which is truly good: the other very strong, euill and pernicious, couering with a disordered desire, and delighting with an immoderate ioy in a good falsly so imagined. The matter of these motions are opinions, affections, and inclinations, which being considered in their owne nature, are through sinne wicked and corrupt throughout the soule, yea the blossome and roote of them proceede from our owne substance, to the end (as *Plato* saith) that no man should thinke God to be the cause of euill. Now albeit these passions thus defined by the Philosophers are many in number, yet drawing neerer to the truth, we may comprehend and diuide them all into two principall kinds. The first kinde shall be that which we beleue by faith: the other according to our opinions and affections. Vnder the first wee comprehend that which euery one beleueth, thinketh, and desireth, concerning diuine and heavenly things, as of true righteousness, of the immortalitie of the second life, and of the iudgement to come. Vnder opinions and affections is comprehended whatsoever respecteth and concerneth earthly things, this life, manners, gouernment of a household, of a common-wealth, and generally all humane inclinations and actions. As touching that which we beleue by faith, we are led thereunto, and stirred by the weake instinct and feeling of the diuine nature imprinted in euery soule, which after a sort mooueth man to aspire vnto, and to desire the true and soueraigne good, and which, being more powerfull, and of greater efficacie in some than in others, causeth the better sort to delight also in the same good. Neuertheless it is proper to euery mans vnderstanding, not to hold a steadfast and sure way in seeking out the truth, but to wander aside into diuers errors (as a blinde man that walketh in darkenesse) and to fill it selfe rather with lies, and with a continuall desire and curiositie of new, vnprofitable and superfluous things, than to content it selfe simply with the truth, insomuch that finally it misseth of all. But to the end we be not of this number, we ought to hold fast to the infallible rule of the holy Scriptures: which gift we are to aske, hope, waite, and seeke for in the onely grace and mercie of that Spirit which indighteth them, and to looke for the full opening of these treasures in the second and eternall life. As for the second kinde of our passions, properly called perturbations according to the philosophers, from whence all the evils and miseries of mankind proceede, and whereof wee minde chiefly to speake, they are but affections and inclinations, which come from our will, corrupted by the prouocations and allurements of the flesh, and which wholly resist the diuine nature of the reasonable part of the soule, fastening it to the bodie (as *Plato* saith) with the naile of pleasure. Which passions the minde of man commonly beholdeth cleerely enough, when it applieth it selfe thereunto, if it bee not altogether perverted and depraued: yea by the grace and helpe of God, the minde is able to confirme it selfe against any passion through the discourse of reason, before it be in force, and during the vehemencie thereof, to fortifie it selfe against it. And although the passion bee contrarie to reason, and haue (for her onely scope) pleasure, and the feare of grieve, which can preuaile greatly with man, yet reason by the meanes of Gods grace, can both easily constrain, master and compell all passions in such sort, that they shall take no effect, and also bring to passe, that whatsoever is rashly desired, shall bee overcome by the discourse of prudent counsell. And for this cause we say, that the first motions are not in our power, but that the event and issue of them is in some sort. Likewise reason doth not wholly quench and extinguish all passions, which cannot possibly be performed in the nature of man, but repelleth and hath the vpper hand of them, as the precepts of doctrine, and infinite examples of the liues of ancient heathen and pagan philosophers doe learnedly teach vs. Which thing as it ought to cause many at this day to bee ashamed, who vaunt themselves of the name of Christians, so it condemneth them in a fault not to bee excused before the iust iudgement of God, because those men, being destitute of the perfect knowledge of God, which they say they haue, farre excelled and surpassed them in the brideling, ouercomming and

The definition of passion.

The diuision of passions.

All men haue naturally a desire of happiness. No man by nature can find out the right way that leadeth to happiness. The word of God sheweth vs the right way to happiness. Of the perturbations of the soule.

The scope of our passions.

The ancients heathen may arise vp in iudgement against many Christians in these daies.

The originall
nature, and ef-
fects of per-
turbations.

All perturba-
tions are con-
tained vnder
these foure
heads, Desire
Ioy, Feare,
Griefe.
An excellent
comparison.

The cause of
the diseases of
the soule.

Reason is the
medicine of
the soule.

A sound soule
correcteth
the naughti-
nes of the
body.

The passions
of the soule
are head-
strong, and
hard to be
cured.

killing of so many pestiferous passions as compass the soule about, as we may handle else where, and see examples thereof worthy of eternall remembrance, when wee shall discourse particularly of vertues and vices. In the meane while we may learne of *Cicero* (the father of Latine eloquence, whose skill in ioyning philosophy with the art of Rhetorike, was excellent, and who in my iudgement handleth this our present matter more profitably than any other of the ancient) that all the aboue named euill passions are perturbations, which if they be not mastered by reason, deprive man of the soueraigne good of the soule, which consisteth in the tranquillity thereof. Moreover he saith, that through ignorance and basenes of minde, they proceed onely of the opinion of good or euill, either present or to come, which we imagine to be in the vnperfect and transitorie things of the world, and which are accompanied vnseparably either with good or euill. In respect of good things, we are carried away with a vehement desire or coueting of them, besides an immoderate ioy in them: in regard of euil things, we are oppressed with feare and sorrow. And these are the foure springs of all vices and sinnes wherein men plunge themselves during this life, and vnder which all perturbations are comprehended, which fill the soule with endlesse trouble and disquietnes, causing man to live alwaies vncontented, and to finde every present kinde of life burdensome, and so to seeke after and to desire another. But as fearefull men, (saith *Plutarke* that excellent Philosopher, and schoolemaster to that good *Traian*) and they that are at sea, subiect to casting, thinking they shall be better in one place than in another, goe from the sterne to the stem, then to the bottome of the shippe, after ward to the highest part, from thence goe into the skip, and in the end returne into the shippe, without any amendment of their euill, because they carry alwaies about with them both feare and griefe: so the alteration of life, and of worldly conditions and estates into others, doth not purge, but rather increase the perturbations and diseases of the soule, if first the cause of them, I meane ignorance of things, and the imperfection of reason, be not taken out of it. These are the mischiefs, which trouble both rich and poore: these are the miseries, which waite vpon great and small, bond and free, yong and old. Thus is the spirit of sicke persons vexed, and that continually. One while the wife is troublesome, the Phisition vnskillfull, the bed vneasie, the friend that visreth importunate, he which visreth not proud: but being once healed, they finde that whatsoeuer was yrksome vnto them before, now pleaseth them. But that which health doth to the diseased body, the same thing reason worketh in the soule of a prudent man, by curing the passions and perturbations thereof, and by causing him to rest ioyfull and contented, in what estate and condition soeuer he be. Let vs note moreover (which we touched in the beginning of this present discourse) that all these passions of the soule are much more dangerous than those of the body, because the most hurtfull passions of the body, are first ingendred of those in the soule. For the body yeeldeth it selfe ready to serue the desires, appetites, and pleasures of the soule, which being overcome and in the power of fleshly prouocations, procureth in the end destruction to them both. But contrariwise, the soule being ruled by reason, resisteth mightily all corporall passions and is nothing at all, or very little made partaker of their euill dispositions: whereas on the other side the body is constrained to all alter and change with euery infirmitie of the soule. If the minde be troubled, what cheerefulness can be seene in the face? The diseases of the body hinder not the soule from effecting all good and vertuous actions: yea many haue brought forth the fruits of wise Philosophers and great Captaines, when they were vexed with diseases, which they could neuer do, at least very few of them, that were corrupted and defiled in soule. And therefore *Democritus* said very well, that it was much more conuenient and meete for a man to haue care of his soule, than of his body: For if the soule be perfect, she correcteth the naughtines of the body, whereas the strength and disposition of the body without the vse of reason, hurteth both the soule and it selfe. Moreover, that the passions of the soule are harder to be perceived and knowne, and consequently more vneasie to be cured, who doth not easily feele it, being grieved but in the least part of his body? yea what griefe doth not of it selfe sufficiently appeare, either by some inflammation, or by the colour of the visage, or by some other outward shew? But how many do we see, whose soules are extremely sicke, spoiled and corrupted with vice, and yet being deprived of all feeling, they think themselves to be the soundest men in the world? And that they are headstrong and vneasie to be cured, we may know by this, that the body is in the end so far forth obedient, that if reason be vrged vpon it, she forceth euen the naturall passions of hunger, thirst and sleepe, and findeth out besides a thousand remedies to helpe your selfe. But whē the passions of the soule haue once bin grounded and rooted within it, without resistance they haue such pearcing pricks, that oftentimes they

they presse and overwhelme all reason, which is their onely medicine and preservative. And yet to fill vp the measure of all miserie, such is the froward nature of man, that he is much more slothfull to seeke out this remedy of the soule, than that of the body, as wee touched in the beginning of this present discourse. Moreover, the iudgement of reason being oftentimes diseased within him, is the cause, that when he thinketh to finde health, hee encrease his euill, and falleth into those inconueniences, which he desired most of all to eschew. Example hereof we haue in those, who being led onely with a desire of glory and honour, obtaine nothing by their doings, if we consider them well, but shame and dishonour. The like may bee said of all the other diseases of the soule, which commonly are accompanied and followed with effects contrarie to their ends and desires. What remaineth then, seeing we perceiue the dangers to be great, which follow all the perturbations of the soule, but that knowing it to be more easie not to receiue them, than to driue them out being receiued, we prevent them, and hinder them from taking liuely roote within our soules, by making reason (which as *Hesiodus* saith is a diuine guide, and wisdom inspired from aboue) so strong and powerfull, that it may, be able by the grace of God, to resist all the assaults of vnbridled desires, and the froward affections of this flesh? But behold yet a better and more certainer remedie: namely, that being assured, that all perturbations are but opinions drawne from our will, through a iudgement corrupted with the affections of this flesh, we labour by good and sound reasons to ouerthrow and confound these false and erronious opinions, perswading our selues that whatsoeuer wee imagine to be good or euill in the world (which is the cause that our minds are deprived of their rest and quietnesse) is indeed neither good nor euill, and so consequently, that it ought not in any sort to breede passions within vs. Hereof the sequelle of our discourses shall (by the helpe of God) giue vs to vnderstand more at large, and furnish vs with examples of pernicious effects, which proceede from all the passions of the soule. Wee will here by the way note their force, hauing learned out of Histories, that they haue oftentimes set vpon the hearts of men in such violent manner, that *some through desire, some for ioy: these by feare, others by grieve* haue ended their liues. *Diagoras* the Rhodian, and *Chilon*, hearing that their children had wonne the prize at the games of Olympus, felt such a motion in them of the spleene, that they were stifled with laughter. *Herennus* the Sicilian, as he was led prisoner, for being a copartner in the conspiracy of *Caius Gracchus*, was so astonished, and oppressed with the feare of his iudgement to come, that hee fell downe starke dead at the entry of the prison. *Plautius* the Numidian looking vpon his dead wife tooke it so to heart, that calling himselfe vpon the dead body, he arose no more, but was there stifled with sorrow. As for extreme desire or coueting, there is nothing that so greatly moueth or carrieth away the minds of men, or that commeth neerer to their destruction, than this foolish passion in dangereth their life. *Galeace* of Mantua saying oftentimes to a damsell of Pauiā whom hee courted and made loue to, that he would suffer a thousand deaths for her seruice, if it were possible, was in iest commaunded by her to cast himselfe into the riuer: which hee presently performed, and was drowned. But we shall alleadge more fitly such testimonies of the fond effects of desire, and of all the perturbations of the soule, when we discourse more particularly of euery vice that proceedeth from them. In the meane time I would gladly aske this question of him, that is most ignorant, vicious, and carnall, whether hee will not graunt vertue to bee a good of the soule. There is none so impudent whose conscience would not compell him to confesse the same. And yet no man is carried away with too great a desire of vertue, neither doth any reioyce therein too excessiue, after hee hath obtained it. Likewise there is none that feareth so vehemently, least he cannot obtaine her, as that the feare thereof driueth the soule out of his place and rest. For no man can fall into this feare, least he should not become vertuous, except he be very desirous to be so indeed: & none can haue this desire, except reason, guided with heavenly light, & doing her duty in him, had wrought the same: but reason thus qualified must needs be an enemy to al perturbations. Thus we see that no man, through feare of not being vertuous, is ouertaken with perturbations. The like may bee said of sorrow. For albeit a man be grieved because he is not vertuous, yet his minde is not excessiue disquieted, seeing this desire is neuer in him, but when reason comandeth according to her diuine nature, by causing vs to know our selues. Whereby we clearly perceiue that perturbations neuer arise in vs for that which is the true good of the soule, but onely for that which fooles do falsly call good, & that which the Philosophers call the goods of the body & of fortune. But these being naturally subiect to corruption, & as we haue already said, inseparably accompanied with vehement desire, vnbridled ioy, feare and grieve, (as we shall see more at large when we handle

The Passions
of men com-
monly bring
fourth effects
contrarie to
their purposes

Reason, is
wisdom inspired from
heauen.

A remedy a-
gainst passions.

Examples of
death by ouer
great ioy.
Herennus di-
ed for feare.

Plautius
through
griefe.
The effects
of desire.

Vertue is al-
waies without
excessiue pas-
sion.

The nature
of worldly
goods.

them hereafter) are vnworthy to be cared for by the immortall soule, neither may or ought they to be called goods because they are possessed, much lesse euills, when they are wanting. If we bee thus perswaded, wee shall bee masters ouer all perturbations, not esteeming that which is mortall and fraile, worthy to bee either wished for, or delighted in. Hereof it will come to passe, that our soule and spirit shall be quiet, and reason, which knoweth how to discern good from euill, will deal with vs as a good husbandman, and vine-dresser dealeth with his tree and vine, when he cutteth off the dead branches and vnprofitable twigs, to the end that all noisome sap and moisture may be taken away. And thus shall we be taught to desire and do that, which wee ought, and every contrary inclination shall be weakened, not taking effects, and the soule shall fulfill her duty, in commanding absolutely, ouer all the provocations of the flesh, and in quenching them so soone as they do appeare. For as they that haue healthfull bodies (saith *Epictetus*) easily endure both cold and heate: so they that haue a staied and settled soule, haue the dominion ouer anger, griefe, ioy, and all their other affections. Then shall we liue happily, not being terrified with any feare, nor vexing our spirits with any longing or tedious desires, nor being tormented with any lusts & disordered affections, and lastly, not suffering our selues (being drunken with sugred poison) to bee overcome and bound vnder the yoke of pleasure. This shall we learne by the study of Philosophie, which is a certaine remedy, and a sound medicine for every vice and passion, and is able to enrich and cloath vs with reason, which is such a beautifull, perfect and profitable ornament.

A wise soule
gouerneth
the affections
What it is to
liue happily.

Of Philosophie. Chap. 4.

AMANA. **T**He life of man (saith *Pythagoras*) is like to that generall assemblie of Gracia at the Olympian games, where many carried with glory and ambition presented themselues at those exercises, that they might beare away the crowne and prize: others led with couetousnesse, came thither to trafficke, selling and buying merchandise: and a third sort of men, more praise worthy and noble, came thither also, who sought not after vaine glory, or couetousnesse, but carefully marked whatsoeuer was done in that assembly, that they might reape profit and commodity thereby. So men comming into the world, as into a faire or mart, some giue themselues to ambition and vaine glory, others to couetousnesse, and to heape vp treasure: But they that are of a more diuine nature, sequestering themselues from worldly affaires, meditate vpon heavenly things, and thereupon fasten the scope of their intents, desires and wils. Diuine *Plato*, ioyning action with contemplation in a happy and perfect life, saith, that next to the glory of God we must haue regard to do that which is profitable for the Common-wealth. Which excellent opinions of these two Philosophers, are comprehended vnder this onely word of practising philosophy, and that arte which giueth vs the precepts thereof, is called Philosophie, whose worke and effect (as *Seneca* *Neroes* schoole-master said very well) is to finde out, and to know the truth both of diuine and humane things. Iustice, piety, religion, yea the whole company of vertues neuer depart from her. She teacheth vs to adore and serue God, and to loue man.

The comon
drift of men.

What men
ought chiefe
to leuell at.
The worke of
Philosophy.

ARAM. Surely Philosophie is the mother and continuall spring of all good knowledge. For she teacheth vs to know good and euill: she prouoketh vs by the vprightnes of reason to flye this thing, and to do that, causing vs to liue as wise and prudent men, ioyfull and contented in every estate, wherupon ariseth the sound rest of the spirit. Moreover, the excellency of this knowledge (as *Plato* saith) is so great, that it is but one and the same thing to be a king, a gouernour of a Common-wealth and a Philosopher: because the royall, ciuill, and Philosophicall arts are compounded of the same matter, namely, of iustice and prudence.

The proper
end and scope
of Philosophie.

why the Phi-
losophers
could neuer
attaine to the
soueraigne
good in this
life.

ACHITOB. Philosophie cannot sufficiently be praised, seeing that whosoever obeith her may passe his daies without tediousnesse. For the true scope thereof is to seeke to glorifie God in his wonderfull workes, and to teach a man how to liue well, and to helpe his neighbour. Which perfection cannot be attained vnto without a speciall and heavenly grace, and that after the knowledge of the fountaine from whence all goodnesse commeth. And this hath beene the cause, as I thinke, why so many great Philosophers, knowing certainly wherein the true and perfect felicity of man liuing in this world consisteth, namely, in the tranquillitie of the soule, and labouring continually to roote out, or at least to weaken all the perturbations thereof, by the vprightnes of reason, and to engraft vertue therein, yet could neuer perfectly enioy this soueraigne good, which they so much desired, because they were ignorant of the fountaine from whence it proceeded, which is, the grace and mercie of our God
in

in his beloved Sonne. And albeit their life was marvellously quiet, and void of many vices, yet it standeth vs in hand (if we be Christians indeed) to leade, without comparison, a more happy, contented, and excellent life, and to exercise philosophy according to that true wisdom, which our Lord Iesus Christ teacheth vs. But I thinke A S E R is prepared to speake of this matter, and to discourse thereof more at large vnto vs. Let vs hearken then what hee will say.

A S E R. That which presently offereth it selfe to be handled, requireth truly a farre better spirit than mine. Notwithstanding, that I seeme not to shun those lists, into which we entred willingly, I purpose according to my weake iudgement, to tell you first what Philosophy is, what good commeth vnto vs by it, the meanes to learne it, and to profite thereby, how a man may know he hath it, and how he must shew forth the fruits thereof: and lastly, how we ought to contemne all things that we may obtaine it, after the example of some ancient Sages, whom we will alleadge. Philosophy is a loue or desire of wisdom. Or otherwise, it is a profession, study, and exercise of that wisdom, which is the knowledge of diuine and humane things, and which properly belongeth to him, who onely is sufficient of himselfe, and is wisdom it selfe, namely, to God. *Pythagoras* was the first that gaue the name to Philosophy, which beeing diuided as well by him, as by other ancient Philosophers into diuers and sundry arts and sciences, we may distinguish into two generall parts onely: into the *Contemplative part*, and into the *Morall*, which some call *Active*. We will make two kinds of the *Contemplative*, *Diuine*, and *Naturall*. As touching the diuine part, it is that highest and most vnchangeable knowledge, whereunto we must wholly refer the end of our beeing, and the scope of all our purposes, studies, and actions, namely, to be able to know and to glorifie the Creator and preseruer of the whole world. Of this eternall knowledge, which *Socrates* called *Wisdom*, we say with *Iustin*, who was both a Philosopher and a martyr, that all louers of Christian faith ought to endeavour not to be ignorant, no not of any point belonging to the knowledge and perfect keeping of God his commandements, but especially they must haue in singular recommendation his seruice and true worship. As touching the absolute and perfect knowledge of heavenly mysteries, they ought to desire the vnderstanding of them so farre forth as they are able, and according to the gift and measure of graces, which shall be given them from aboue. But if the eie of their soule dazell in the consideration of them, it shall be sufficient to honour and admire them with due reuerence, and to beleue them stedfastly, knowing that mans vnderstanding is not able to attaine to the exquisite knowledge of so high mysteries. Naturall Philosophy consisteth chiefly in the Mathematicks, which are diuided into many parts and particular sciences, of which the most of them seeme to many not greatly necessarie, as that which intreateth of the nature of the heauens, of the sunne, of the moone, of their motions, measures, and of the naturall causes of all things. Which oftentimes serueth rather to content the curiositie of hawtie spirits, than to make them better, insomuch that sometimes, by speculations, and by vaine and friuolous questions, they seeke out the naturall causes of things so curiously, that in the end they strue to finde out another beginning of all things than GOD: whereby at length they remaine deceiued and confounded in their knowledge, as both the writings of so many ancient Philosophers, and also the life of many in our time doe prooue vnto vs. Neuerthelesse, there are some parts of the Mathematicks necessarie to be knowne, for the great profit that may come vnto vs by them, as Physicke, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and others. But the subiect of our Academie will not suffer vs to handle all these sciences at this present. I will say thus much onely by the way, that wee ought so to rule and direct the profession of naturall philosophie, that we vse it not before we haue bene well and sufficiently instructed in the feare and knowledge of God, and of all things that concerne a good and happie life, and that vaine glorie should not bee the end of that studie, but that it should rauish vs more and more in the contemplation of the workes of that great maister-builder of the whole frame, to the end to glorifie him in greater measure. And yet wee must aboue all things beware, that wee fall not into that curse of the Prophet, which hee denounceth against those, who being destitute of Gods grace by reason of their sinnes, giue themselves to sooth-saying, and to seeke after forcerers, magicians, and calculators of natiuities, which things wee see are too common amongst vs: insomuch that hee is iudged as it were miserable, that knoweth not his Horoscope, from whence so many abuses, inuocations, and cursed charmes haue proceeded by little and little. Let vs shun such vaine knowledge, proper to infidels and Atheists, and referre our euents and issues (which albeit wee knew before, yet could wee not assure our selues

The definition of Philosophie.

The diuision of Philosophie. Of diuine Philosophie.

How we must behaue our selues in searching out the secrets of God.

Of naturall Philosophie.

A rule to be kept in naturall Philosophie.

Against forcerers, magicians, and birthgazers.

The issue of
all things is
to be referred
to the prou-
idence of
God.
Of morall
philosophie.

God is the
Idea of all
good.

The benefite
that com-
meth by phi-
losophie.

Philosophie
is the art of
life.

What it is to
play the phi-
losopher.

Where and
how Philoso-
phie is lear-
ned.

True Philo-
sophie is to
be found in
the word of
God.

that we should auoide them) to the onely providence and direction of God. It remaineth now to inreate of the other part of Philosophie, called Morall. Of this I thinke *Socrates* the wise man meant to speake, when he said, that Philosophie consisteth not in learning many things, or in medling with many arts, but in the perfect knowledge of iustice, prudence, and all other morall vertues. He addeth further, that this philosophie worketh two things in our minde, the one in purging it as well of perturbations, as of false opinions, and the other, in causing it to returne into the right way by reasons and exhortations drawne from earthly and sensible formes to such as are spirituall, which are inclosed within our soules; that by them wee may be led to God, the Idea and patterne of all good. This is that morall Philosophie, which we have vndertaken to handle in all our discourses, & which is so necessarie for the life of man. For as the vntamed horse by reason of his ouergreat wildnes is not profitable for any thing: so he that is drawne away by his affections (which philosophy onely can moderate) is vnprofitable and vnworthy of all company, and of all government either publike or priuate. It is philosophy that teacheth vs the doctrine of good life, and causeth vs to know our miseries, and the meanes whereby we may be deliuered from them. Shee it is that frameth in our vnderstanding the iudgement of reason, and learneth vs to leade a life agreeable to doctrine: shewing vnto vs what true honesty is, what perfect beautie, and what in truth and in deede is profitable. Shee repreffeth all euill passions and perturbations of the soule, appeaseth the vnstatiable desires thereof, deliuereth it from all feare, and from all earthly carefullnesse, filling it with tranquillitie, constancie, assurance, magnanimitie, and sufficiencie. Shee purgeth pride, presumption, ambition, choler, reuenge, couetousnesse, iniustice, and in a word, shee it is, that (by the meanes of reason guided by the heavenly Spirit, which teacheth vs reason, and giueth it vnto vs for a law) frameth all the manners and behauiour of a man according to the patterne of vertue, by ingraffing it in his setled soule, as his onely permanent good, and by causing him to do that willingly, which others (as *Xenocrates* said) do by compulsion, and for feare of lawes. We are by philosophie instructed at large in that dutie and obedience, which we owe to our parents, superiours, and lawes: and taught how much we ought to loue & honor one another, our wiues, our children, our brethren, yea all those that are not of our blood. Shee it is (saith *Cicero*) that containeth the discipline of vertue, of durie, and of good life: shee is also the art and mistresse of life. Briefly, by philosophie we are taught that perfection, which concerneth al the actions and dealings of men, euen from those who are placed in the government of monarchies, kingdomes, common-wealths, cities, and nations, vnto the least that liueth vnder them. For shee teacheth the one sort how to command well, and the other to obey well, & to maintaine themselves vpright in every estate and condition of life, in the alteration either of prosperitie or of aduersitie, yea euen to shew themselves constant in contrarie things, by shunning pleasure and sustaining griefe, by despising glorie and enduring contempt. And to this effect, one of the wise Hebrew interpreters, being demanded by *Ptolemie Philadelphus* king of Egypt, what it was to exercise philosophie, answered, that it was to reason well and directly, to reape great profit by all things that happen, not to be carried away by lust, to contemne all vanities proceeding of worldly pleasures, and to be guided in euery action by a certaine mediocritie. Now seeing it is out of question that the fruit and commoditie of morall philosophie is such and so great, let vs in the next place consider where and how we may learne it, that wee may put it in practise. There is nothing more true than this, that it dependeth in such sort of the former, which we called contemplatiue and diuine, or rather is so ioyned vnto it, that without this, it can neuer but be vnperfect in man, seeing the feare and knowledge of God is the beginning and perfection of all wisdom. Moreouer, it is so well and perfectly taught vs in the word of God, that nothing more may be added or desired. Neuerthelesse the doctrine ioyned with examples, which we may draw out of histories, and from the liues of wise men, by things that haue beene done in deede, is of great force and efficacie in the soule to draw and moue it with delight to seeke to resemble them. For when a man, naturally desirous of glorie and immortalitie, shall see, that philosophers and vertuous men, who were so much commended and renowned, are as it were reuiued againe in these daies, after so many ages past, he will be thereby awakened and pricked forward by this ielousie of glorie, which by nature is in him, to desire and bring to passe all great matters worthie to be remembered, to the end hee may deserue the like praise and commendation. Therefore wee shall reape no small profite hereby, yea it will be vnto vs as an entrie to a happie and holy life, and as a guide to sacred contemplations, if we earnestly imbrace and exercise our selues in the reading and studie of good authors, who teach vs the precepts of good life: to whome (as *Alexander* the

the Great said, speaking of his master *Aristotle*) we find our selues no lesse bound and behold- ing, if we thoroughly taste their doctrine, than to our owne fathers (without offence vnto the be it spoken) of whom we haue onely our life and being, But because the excellencie and highnes of this part of Philosophie, called Morall (which is for the correction of life and man- ners) is such and so great, that the sound and perfect knowledge thereof is very hard, and see- ing that good beginnings in al great matters are alwaies the difficultest part of them, we must lay a good ground of our enterprise, if we meane to attaine therunto, and then ascend vpward from one degree to another. The chiefest and most necessary foundation must be a perpetual and feruent loue of the truth, and of eternall things, ioynd with the separation of lies, and of the desire of temporall things far from vs. Secondly, these particulars are (as *Plato* saith) verie necessary for vs: a liuely and sharpe wit, a nature apt to contemplation, likewise graue, prompt hardie to execute, and prouident of publike commoditie. But aboue al things the knowledge of the true God is infinitely necessary for him that will be a Philosopher, because that, as all things without the inioying of their vse and goodnes, are possessed without profit: so to haue knowledge of arts and sciences without the vnderstanding of the true God is friuolous and vnprofitable. Yea no man can do any thing that good is, whether it be in priuate or publike affaires, if by reason he knoweth not what that is, which ought to be called good. But in this thing we shall be well instructed (God willing) by the sequele of our discourses. Thirdly, we must continue without ceasing the studie of this morall knowledge, as *Cicero* the father of eloquence doth familiarly teach vs, saying, that in our studies we are to vse some intermission onely for the recreation both of body and minde in all honest sort, but we must neuer leave and forsake them altogether, Neither ought these intermissions to be of any long continu- ance, because vice alwaies watcheth to ouerrun vs so soone as we let our selues loose vnto idlenes, to the end to stir vs vp through the inticements of the flesh, to follow our naturall imperfections. Much lesse ought we, through presumption of our selues, and confidence in our owne vertue and sufficiencie, altogether to forsake the profession of this studie, as they doe, who thinke themselves such great doctors, that nothing may be added to their know- ledge. Of these men we may truly saie, that they neuer had the true knowledge of this mo- rall philosophie, wherein the more we profit, the more we shall desire to learne: and whether we be yong or olde (as *Socrates* said) we shal alwaies finde what to learne, and be occasioned to diminish all vaine opinion of our selues, seeing this is one of the most notable effects ther- of, to purge all pride and presumption. For as those vessels (saith *Plutarke*) wherein we put li- quor, do let out the voide aire according to the measure of that which goeth in: so when the foule filleth it selfe with certaine and true goods, vanity voideth and giueth place. This is that which *Plato* saith in these words: *The more reason a man getteth by philosophie, the more pride and arrogancie he loseth.* Wee haue a notable testimonie hereof in *Antisthenes*, who after he had heard *Socrates* dispute, tooke so great pleasure, and found such deepe skill therein, that al- beit he was verie learned, and had a great number of schollers, yet he willed them to seeke a- nother master, because he purposed to learne himselfe. And by reason of the distance of place where he dwelt, he came twise a day aboute three miles on foot to heare *Socrates*. Likewise *Plato* shewed well how smally he presumed of his exceeding great knowledge, when not contenting himselfe therewith, after the death of his master *Socrates* he made a voyage through Egypt, and after into Italie, to heare and conferre with the best best learned of those countries, and to learne that which he knew not before. Which zeale of his and burning de- sire vnto wisdom being so laudable, God so recompenced, that none of the Ethnikes (ex- cept *Socrates*) euer came neere vnto his diuine knowledge of eternall things. We see then how we must be the disciples of Philosophie all our lifetime. Now as there is nothing, wherein a master builder reioiceth so much, after he hath laide a good foundation of some great worke, as to see the progresse and proceeding thereof: so after we haue laide our first happy resoluti- on (as is said) of attaining to the knowledge of Philosophie, and haue tasted of the first prin- ciples of hir wholesome fruites, it will turne to our great contentation, and occasion of procee- ding, when we see and perceiue that we profit and amend by this study. This will appeare vnto vs by the consideration of our present workes and actions, being compared with the former, and by the diminishing and quallifying of our wicked passions and naturall inclina- tions, which the profession of this science will vndoubtedly worke in vs. For as we take it for a good signe when a disease remooueth into some parts of least account: so when our vices are changed into more meeke and soft passions, it putteth vs in hope that wee shall whol- ly deface them afterward. The right and perfect way hereunto is to enter deeply into our selues,

How much
wee owe to
good authors

foundation of
al Philosophy
The chiefe

Necessary
points for a
Philosopher.

We must
learne al-
waies.

Against pre-
sumption and
selfe liking.

A fit compa-
rison.

Antisthenes
an example
of great loue
to knowledge

Plato

How we may
know whether
we profit in
Philosophie.

A good way
to overcome
great faults.

Whē we may
be called Phi-
losophers.

The perfecti-
on of philo-
sophy.

The cōtempt
of worldly
goods neces-
sary in a Phi-
losopher.

Crates.

Notable ex-
amples of loue
to philosophy

Anaxagoras

Democritus

Euclide.

Philosophy
only teacheth
vs to know
our chiefe
good

selues, and to make a perfect and sound knowledge of our naturall, hurtfull, and most vehement inclinations by comparing one with another. Next, as a good and expert Phisition before he dealeth with dangerous diseases, beginneth with gentle preparatiues, we are first to correct lesser faults, that after we may the easier overcome the greatest. For it is certaine, that by such an exercise and custome of keeping our selues from things that are after a sort excusable, yea that are permitted and lawfull, it will be farre more easie for vs afterward to amend and abstaine from vnlawfull things. After we haue thus reformed our selues, we shall wholly forsake small imperfections (which will be easie for vs to doe) and make no more reckoning of little offences, as those which we shall auoid altogether. From thence we shal come to consider and to discover better the nature and cause of our greater and more hurtfull passions, together with their vgliness and deformitie. Then labouring to diminish their force by eschewing prudently the causes of them, and by cutting off one branch now, and then another, we shal in the end wonder to see how reason perfecteth in vs hir office of commanding absolutely ouer all the perturbations of our soule, I meane so farre forth as humane frailtie aided by God, can (as I said before) attaine to perfection. Then may we truly call our selues Philosophers, when by our owne example we may make it knowne, that the life of man at all times, in all places, in all passions, and generally in all affaires receiue the vse of Philosophie. Now after we haue well profited through so great diligence and watchfulness, through such industrie of minde and continuall study, I meane after we are become better than we were before, by reason of the tranquillitie of our soules purged from perturbations, we must be carefull that this our commoditie redound also to others, as the commandement of God and naturall dutie binde vs thereunto. Then (I say) we shall haue attained to the perfection of this goodly knowledge, when we are seruiceable to our neighbors, brethren and cōtriment, not of vaine glory, or for terrestriall riches, but for the loue of vertue onely, which of it selfe is a goodly recompence for it selfe, being ioyned with a happie expectation of heauen. But let vs note further for the last point of our discourse, (whereof I haue already briefly spoken) that one of the surest means, which we can take to come to a true knowledge of Philosophie, is, not to esteeme at all, but rather to contemne whatsoever is subiect to corruption, and is in the power of variable fortune, as the Philosophers vse to speake: namely, vaine glory, worldly wealth, and other earthly goods, forasmuch as the desire of getting, keeping and increasing them is that which carrieth vs away most, & which hindereth euery other good and vertuous inclination. Therefore let vs freely forsake all such things; let vs withdraw our mindes from all by thoughts, and despise all earthly discommodities: yea let vs patiently sustaine all grieffe, that we may yeeld our selues wholly to the study of philosophie, which is the cause of so many good things. *Crates* the Theban forsooke his patrimonie of eight talents (which according to the common computation amounteth to foure thousand, eight hundred crownes) that beeing deliuered from the care of house keeping, and of guiding his goods, he might follow the studie of Philosophy with great libertie. *Anaxagoras* for the same cause suffered his lands to lie wast, and after long study returning to his house, and finding it altogether fallen into ruine and desolation, he said, If these things had not perished, I had perished: as if he had said, that he should neuer haue gotten the treasure of knowledge, which was the ornament of his minde, if he had giuen himselfe to gaine and to gather goods. *Democritus Abderita*, being very rich (as may be gathered by the feast which his father made to that innumerable armie of *Xerxes* who came into *Græcia*, which consisted, as *Herodotus* writeth, of more than two millions of fighting men gaue all his patrimonie to his country, reseruing to himselfe but a little summe of mony to liue withall, that he might haue the more leasure to study Philosophie, for which cause he went to dwell at Athens, *Euclide*, of the towne of *Megara*, being very desirous to heare *Socrates* dwelling at Athens, betweene which two cities the warre was so cruell, that no Citizen of the one cittie durst be seene in the other, without ineuitable danger of death if he were knowne, had notwithstanding so great loue to wisdom, that although he were an *Ethnike*, and doubted of a second life, yet hee preferred the desire of knowledge before the care of his life, and being apparelled like a woman, went once in two daies to Athens, and abode there all night to heare *Socrates*, who commonly spent the most part thereof in discoursing of wisdom, and then returned againe about the breake of the day. Now to conclude our present treatise, wee will hold this, that onely philosophie can giue vs certaine knowledge, and teach vs how we may enioy in this life our onely and soueraigne good, which is the rest and tranquility of our soules. Yea there is vnto vs in steade of a guide to lead vs to the eternall fruition of our supreme and euer-abiding good

good, which is promised, and purchased by the blood of the immaculate Lambe in that second and most happy life. And, as *Plato* said, speaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, that they onely shall attaine to the kingdome of heauen with God, who end their daies in this life purged by Philosophy, so shall it be by the vnspeakable loue of this eternall wisedome, that wee shall bee purged, cleansed, and saued. Yea through the expectation of this blessed felicitie wee may a great deale more perfectly than did all those great and ancient Philosophers, leade a contented, ioyfull and quiet life, voide of all perturbations and feare, forasmuch as they knew the iustice of God onely, and not his mercy, which is assured vnto vs in his beloued Sonne. Moreouer they were ignorant (notwithstanding their Philosophy) of the chiefe point of his iustice, namely of the beginning of all things and of their end, which the word of God teacheth vs together with the truth of that permanent happinesse of the soule, whereof they had but a shadow in their life. Hereof our Lord Iesus Christ himselfe hath left good and sure pledges in the depth of our hearts, saying that he gaue and left his peace with vs, his peace (I say) in our soules, and not with the world. Therefore it appeareth sufficiently, that nothing is so much to be desired, whether we regard profite to our selues, or service to the whole body and societie of our brethren and countremen, as the study of Philosophy, which is the knowledge of life, and the true medicine and tillage of the soule whereby all vertue is taught vs.

The true
cause of ioy
and tranquil-
litie in a Chri-
stian soule.

The end of the first daies worke.

The second daies Worke.

Of Vertue. Chap. 5.

A S E R.



Mongst the infinite number of them that were honoured with this faire name and excellent title of Philosopher, which is as much to say, as a loue of wisedome, there were three principall sects that contented together by generall rules, but especially about the soueraigne good and felicity of man: namely, the Academikes, the Peripatetiks, and the Stoiks. The best of them all, and they which came nearest to the knowledge of the truth were the Academiks,

What this
word Philo-
sopher mea-
neth.
There were
three chiefe
sects of Phi-
losophers.

whose first authors were *Socrates* and *Plato*, who, as we heard yesterday, alwaies taught, that our true good consisteth in the tranquillitie of the soule, voide of all perturbations, and in stead of them adorned and enriched with all vertue, which is the proper substance and matter of Philosophie, and therefore called the onely permanent good of the soule.

AMANA. I cannot but greatly commend this paradox of the Stoiks, that *There is no good but vertue, nor euill but vice, which is the contrary vnto it.* And to go a little further, following their opinion and the opinion of many ancient wise men, I say, that *The vertuous man onely is free and happy*, yea although he were in *Phalaris* bull: and that *The vicious man onely is a bond-man and unhappy*, albeit he had the riches of *Crasus*, the empire of *Cyrus*, and the glory of *Alexander*. For great callings are nothing where the minde is not content, and where the heart pricked with desire troubleth the tranquillitie of the soule.

Who are hap-
py, and who
vnhappy.

ARAM. Riches (saith *Pythagoras*) are no sure pillars, and glory is lesse certaine. Likewise beauty, and the disposition of the body, magistracies and honors are all of no force: but *Prudence*, *Magnanimitie* and *Iustice*, are anchors of greatest stay, which cannot bee plucked vp by any tempest. For it is the will and law of God, that vertue onely should be mightie and firme, all other things being but toies and fooleries. But we must now learne of thee *ACHITO*, that which is necessarie for vs to know concerning this excellent disposition of the soule.

Worldly
goods are of
no force.

ACHITO. The disputation concerning the good of man hath indeed alwaies beene great amongst the learned, so that as well their diuers opinions, as their arguments, would stay vs here with too long a discourse, especially seeing they are vnecessary for vs, who seeke only to be instructed in the truth. Now that we may attaine hereunto, and to the perfect vnderstanding of that matter, which is here propounded vnto vs, we will here set downe this Maxime, or principle, confessed of all the greatest and most ancient Philosophers, and agreeable to that truth, which is taught vs in the holy Scriptures, that, *There are two sorts of goods, the one which is the last end, the other is the meanes to attaine thereunto.* The first is the soveraigne, supreme, most perfect, and eternall good, which we respect and hope for in the immortalitie of the second life, when we shall enioy that true and absolute felicitie, which neither eye hath

Two sorts of
goods.

euer

Vertue is the
effect of rege-
neration.

The definiti-
on of vertue.

Socrates cal-
led religion,
the greatest
vertue.

The dutie of
prudence.

The foundati-
on & spring
of all vertue.

Wherein hu-
mane happi-
nes consisteth

The gifts and
graces of god
are diuers in
men.

euere seene, nor eare heard, neither hath entred at any time into the heart of man. That which we call the meanes whereby we come to the first, is vertue onely, wherof we are now to speak and which is the proper effect of our regeneration by the Spirit of God dwelling in vs. First then let vs consider what vertue is, also the diuision, fountaine, incomparable excellencie, and inuincible force thereof, with those wonderfull effects which it worketh in him that possesseth her: Wherein also we will see some notable examples of ancient men. Vertue (as the Philosophers say) is a disposition and power of the reasonable part of the soule, which bringeth into order and decencie the vnreasonable part, by causing it to propound a conuenient end to it owne affections and passions, wherby the soule abideth in a comely and decent habite, executing that which ought to be done, according to reason. But to speake more briefly Vertue is a proportion and vprightnesse of life in al points agreeable to reason. The diuision thereof is altogether like to that of Philosophie. For they are so linked together, that it is all one to be vertuous, and to be a Philosopher, the one beeing the matter and substance of the other. Vertue therefore is diuided into *Contemplative* and into *Morall*. The eternall Wisdome by the operation of his spirit guideth and listerh vp the contemplatiue vertue to her proper end, which is that happy and immutable knowledge, that concerneth the maiestie of God. This did *Socrates* call *Religion*, and the greatest vertue: saying further: that the contempt thereof brought vpon men a cursed ignorance, and that no man ought to perswade himselfe, that he could finde among the race of men any greater vertue than religion and piety towards God: whose honour is the foundation of euery good work, which if it be ouerthrown, the other parts are as soone disperfed as the pieces of a ruinous building. Yea religiō is not only the head of iustice and vertue, but also as it were the soule to giue vigor and strength vnto it. From this supreme science floweth prudence, which is a worke thereof, appointed to gouerne, rule, and moderate by the meanes of morall vertue, the passions and affections of the vnreasonable part of the soule in all mediocritie, by cutting of all exceffe and defect of those passions, and by moderating them betweene too little and too much, thereby to keepe men from erring. As for example, she holdeth a man within the limits of prowes and valure, lest he should cast away himselfe through rashnes of cowardlinesse: she causeth him wisely to vse liberalitie, because he should not be spoiled by couetousnes, or fall into prodigality. And that he should not be cast downe too much in aduersitie, nor lift vp beyond measure in prosperitie, she keepeth him vpright and constant both in the one, and in the other. Thus doth vertue generally teach a man, by following the reason of true prudence, to rule all his inclinations and actions as well for his owne priuate good, as for the profit and vtilitie of humane societie. Whereby it appeareth sufficiently vnto vs, that the foundation of all vertue is that diuine reason, which floweth into our soules from the free goodnes of our God, and which taketh lively roote by care, study, and diligence, when the selfe-same grace blesteth our labour. For without this we can do nothing, so that all our meditations and purposes to liue vprightly, continently and temperately, become vaine and friuolous before his maiestie. In this manner, of that excellent reason and wisdome, wherewith the eternall wisdome enricheth vs, that wee might know good and euill, prudence is ingendred, which is most necessary for the government of earthly things (whereof we will intreate hereafter) and whereby man is enriched with morall vertue, as with an infallible rule of all his workes and actions, to the end that fullie enioying humane felicity, which consisteth in good manners, qualities and conditions of the soule, he may bring forth the fruites and effects thereof to the profit of many. We say then, that all vertue consisteth in mediocrity, as vice doth in exceffe, or in defect: in regard whereof he is in the midst, albeit in respect of her selfe. I meane of her perfect and absolute excellencie, she is extreme, and standeth not in neede of any increase or diminution. Now as all the imperfections of the soule are called vices and passions, so all their contraries, which serue for remedies vnto them, are named vertues. And although vertue be alwaies one, so that hee which heartily embraceth one part of it, is desirous of them al, yet may she be called by diuers names, euen by so many, as there is alwaies in euery good action some particular vertue, that maketh it eminent, and to be seene aboue others. Moreover, according to the diuers subiects wherin she is, she bringeth forth diuers effects, conforming her selfe in some sort to the manners, conditions, and naturall inclinations of those which possesse her. Hereof it commeth, that some are more apt & constant in some one vertue than others are, (for all cannot do al things) and that one practiseth it after one fashion, and an other otherwise. Now it followeth, that I handle hereafter distinctly and in order, the plurality of vertues, with their severall properties. But in the meane while, to speake generally of this pretious and inestimable riches, I

meane

meane of vertue, and of the great, worthy, and wonderfull effects, which she bringeth forth in men, first, she is the only, proper and true good of the soule, that cannot by any accident be violently taken and carried away. She alone maketh her possessor happie, causing him to finde every kinde of life that is sweet, pleasant, and acceptable, contained in her. Vertue alone is the onely matter of rest and tranquillitie in the mind, being by reason purged of feare, of trouble, of worldly desire and ioy. Of this lively fountaine spake *Democritus*, when he saide that ioy was ingendred in mens hearts, of the mediocrity of pleasure, and of a moderate and temperate harmonie of life. Vertue (saide *Tholes*) is the profitablest thing in the world, because it maketh all other things profitable, by causing men to vse them well. Ye we may say further, that all other gifts and riches, remaine vnpromisable and hurtfull, without the ornament of vertue, *Cicero* prooueth by many goodly reasons, that onely vertue is of it selfe sufficient to cause men to liue well and happily. And surely every good and vertuous man of what calling soeuer he be, is so happy, if he haue grace to know it, that he neede not to wish for any thing with passion or trauell in this life, but rather is content of himselfe in regard of men, and contemneth the care of worldly things, not iudging any thing euill, which necessity of nature, or rather the ordinance of God bringeth vpon him. And where miseries are doubled, there vertue sheweth her effects most wonderfully, giving vs thereby to vnderstand, that she consisteth in such things as are most rare and difficult. For which cause her strength is compared to the date tree, which the more it is pulled downe, the more it returneth vponward: so when vertue is most oppressed of her enemies she shineth most gloriously. Only vertue appeareth wonderfull to the minde, that is cloathed therewith, and keepeth it from co-uetting that which others commonly worship, namely, great callings, riches, pleasures and glory. She despiseth the praise & flatterie of men, whereunto so many others make themselves, and remaineth alwaies free in her selfe, and free to euery one, without any other hope of reward, than to be accepted of God, and to effect things meete to be rewarded eternally in the next life by the liberalitie of God. If we compare worldly goods with vertue (calling that good which vsurpeth that name, and is subiect to corruption) first, as touching those which the Philosophers call the goods of fortune, and namely nobility, whereon at this day men stay so much, what is it but a good of our ancestors? Riches are easily lost: and as for the glory of the greatest, yea of all principallitie, it is no lesse vncertaine. Concerning the goods of the body, beauty, and comelines is but a flower of small continuance: health which is so precious, soone changeth: strength is lost by infinite inconueniences. All bodily pleasure is vnperfect, and followed of perturbations. But vertue is that onely diuine and immortall quality in vs, which (as *Hesiodus* saith) is a stable and sure possession both to the liuing and to the dead: ouer which, neither fortune, slander, sicknes, old age nor aduersity haue any power: and as for length of time, which diminisheth all things, it alwaies addeth somewhat to vertue, and encreaseth it. Al the other goods aboue rehearsed, are from without a man, working oftentimes destruction to their possessors, and commonly comming to those that are least worthy of them. Onely vertue is the proper inheritance of the soule, worketh the happines thereof, and maketh a man alwaies worthie of true glory and praise, causing him to be honoured, and esteemed euen of his enemies. In a word, it cannot (as *Cicero* saith) be vttered how much vertue surmounteth al other things in glory and excellencie. And if all other goods of men (saith *Socrates*) were laid by themselves, they would amount in value but to one mote in respect of the price of vertue. *Plato* his disciple saith, that the difference of vertue compared with other goods, is so great, that if they were put into one skale of the balance, and vertue into the other, this would ascend vp to heauen, and the other would touch the earth. Moreover, he wrote foure and fiftie bookes or dialogues, which did all intreate of vertue, out of which men may reape infinite profite, especially out of those that intreate of a common wealth, or of lawes. In these bookes that he might not seeme vngratefull toward his master *Socrates*, who would neuer write any thing, he bringeth him in rehearsing that, which at other times hee had heard him speake. *Stilpo* the Philosopher, being in his citie of Megara when it was taken and spoiled by *Demetrius* king of Macedonia, who fauouring him, asked if he had lost any thing that was his, made this answere: No sir, (quoth he) for warre cannot spoile vertue. And indeed this is the riches wherewith we ought to furnish our selues, which can swim with vs in a shipwrack, and which caused *Socrates* to answer thus to one, who asked him what his opinion was of the great king, whether he did not thinke him very happie. I cannot tell (quoth he) how he is prouided of knowledge and vertue. Who may iustly doubt whether vertue alone is able to make a man happy, seeing it doth not onely make him wise, prudent, iust and good, both in

The excellen-
cy & proper-
ty of vertue.

Every thing
is made profi-
table through
vertue.

Vertue com-
pared to a
tree.

The reward
of vertue in
the life to
come is of
the free mer-
cy of God.

Comparison
of worldly
goods with
vertue.

Nothing
hath power
ouer vertue.

Vertue can-
not be valued

Why Plato in
his workes
bringeth in
Socrates
speaking.

Wherin the
happines and
greatnes of a
king consist-
eth.

What it was
that procured
to Alexander
the surname
of Great.

his doings and sayings, but also commonly procureth vnto him honour, glory and authority? It was through her meanes that *Alexander* deserued the surname of *Great*, by that experience which she gaue him in warre, by his liberalitie in riches, by his temperance in all his sumptuous magnificence, by his hardinesse and constancie in fight, by his continency in affections, by his bounty and clemency in victorie, and by all other vertues, wherein he surpassed all that liued in his time. Yea the fame and renowne of his vertues procured a greater number of cities, countries and men to submit themselves willingly vnto him without any blowe striking than did the power of his army. Wherein this sentence of *Socrates* is found true, that whole troupes of souldiers, and heapes of riches, are constrained oftentimes to obey vertue. What said *Darius*, Monarch of the Persians, when he vnderstood both what continency *Alexander* his enemy had vsed towards his wife, who being exceeding beautifull was taken prisoner by him, and what humanity hee shewed afterward in her funerals when she was dead? The Persians (quoth he) neede not to be discouraged, neither thinke themselves cowards and effeminate because they were vanquished of such an aduersarie. Neither do I demand any victory of the gods, but to surmount *Alexander* in bountifulnesse. And it it be so that I must fall, I beseech them to suffer none but him to sit in the royall throne and seate of *Cyrus*. Will wee haue testimonies of the inuincible force of vertue, and of her powerfull and praise-worthy effects in most sinister and vntoward matters? Histories declare vnto vs, that amongst all the vertuous acts, which procured praise and renowne to the men of old time, those were the notablest and most commended, which they shewed forth at such time as fortune seemed to haue wholly beaten them downe. *Pelopidas*, generall Captaine of the Thebans, who deliuered them from the bondage of the Lacedemonians, is more praised and esteemed for the great and notable vertue, which he shewed being prisoner in the hands of *Alexander* the tyrannous king of the Phereans, than for all his victories gotten before. For at that time his vertue was so farre from yeelding any iot to his calamitie, that contrariwise with an vnspokeable constancy he recomforted the inhabitants of the towne, that came to visite him, exhorting them to bee of good courage, seeing the houre was come, wherein the tyrant should bee at once punished, for his wickednesse. And one day hee sent him word, that hee was destitute of all iudgement and reason, in that hee vexed his poore citizens, and caused them to dye in torments who neuer offended him, and in the meane time suffered him to liue in rest, of whom hee could not bee ignorant, that escaping his hands hee would be reuenged of him. The tyrant maruelling at his great courage, asked why he made such great haste to dye. To this end (quoth hee) that thou beeing yet more hated of God and men than thou art, mightest the sooner bee destroyed. *Philocles*, one of the most famous Athenian captaines of his time (who caused this law to be made, that the right thumbe of all prisoners taken in war from that time forward should bee cut off, that they might not handle a pike any more, but yet might serue to row with an oare) being taken prisoner with three thousand Athenians in one battell, which *Lyfander* admirall of the Lacedemonians obtained against him, and all of them being condemned to dye, was demanded of *Lyfander* what paine hee iudged himselfe worthy of for counselling his countrey men to so wicked and cruell a thing. To whom he made this onely answer with an vnmoveable vertue, *Accuse not those who haue no iudge to heare and know their cause*. But seeing the gods haue shewed thee this fauour to be a conqueror, dealethou with vs as we would haue done with thee, if we had overcome thee. Which being said, he went to wash and bathe himselfe, and then putting on a rich cloke as if he should haue gone to some feast, he offered himselfe first to the slaughter, shewing the way of true constancy to his fellow citizens. *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher, being taken prisoner by the commandement of *Nero*, that he might know of him, who were the authors of a conspiracy that was made against his estate, and being led towards him for the same cause, he bit his tongue in sunder with his teeth, and did spit in his face, knowing well that otherwise the tyrant would haue compelled him by all sorts of tortures and torments to reueale and disclose them. *Zeno* missing his purpose, which was to haue killed the tyrant *Demylus*, did as much to him. But what is more terrible then death? Notwithstanding when did vertue better shew her greatnes and power, then when death laboured most to overthrow her, as being resolu'd of that saying of *Cicero*, that all wise men dye willingly, and without care, but that the vnwise & ignorant are at their wits end for feare of death? If many who haue not knowne the true and perfect immortality of the soule, & some onely led with a desire of praise and worldly glory, others touched with duty and kindled with a loue towards their countrey, haue shewed the increase of their vertue in the horrors and pangs of death, what ought they to do, who expect certainly

Examples of
the force and
effects of vertue
in aduersitie.
Pelopidas.

Philocles.

A most constant death,
Anaxarchus.

A wonderfull magnanimity

A wife man dieth willingly.

certainly an everlasting life? *Phocion*, after he had beene chosen generall Captaine of the Athenians foure and forty times, and done infinite seruices to the common-wealth, being at length through certaine partakings and diuisions ouercome with the weakest side which he had maintained, & being condemned to drinke poison, was demanded before he dranke, whether he had no more to say. Whereupon speaking to his sonne, he said, I commaund thee to beare the Athenians no rancour and malice for my death. And a little before this speeche, beholding one of those that were condemned to dye with him, to vex himselfe through impatiencie; What meanest thou poore man (quoth hee to him) doest thou not thinke thy selfe happy that thou mayst die with *Phocion*? The feare & apprehension of death doth astonish, as we commonly say, the stoutest, but not the most vertuous. For they know (as *Plautus* saith) that he dyeth not, who for vertues sake is put to death. *Callicratides*, General of the Lacedemonians, being ready to giue battell to his enemies, the soothsayer, after sacrifice done to the gods, said vnto him, that the intrals of the sacrifices promised victorie to the army, but death to the captaine. Wherevnto he answered as one without all feare; although he beleued it as an oracle from heaven, *Sparta consisteth not in one man*. For when I shall be dead my country shall be nothing lessened, but if I recule and draw backe, the reputation thereof will be diminished. Whereupon substituting in his place *Cleander*, as succellor in his office, he gaue battell, wherein it hapned him as the soothsayer had told him. If we desire infinit such examples, histories are full of them, even of those who loued rather to kill themselves (which a Christian neuer ought to doe, but onely to suffer death patiently, if it bee offered vnto him) than to commit any thing vnworthy their vertue. *Themistocles* being vniustly banished from Athens, retired to the king of Persia, whose great fauour and benefits receiued, caused him to say to his children, *We had been undone, if we had not been undone*: as also to promise, that hee would imploy himselfe in his seruice. Notwithstanding when he saw the warre begun againe betweene this King and the Athenians, wherein he was offered a great charge, hee chose rather to hasten his death by a poyson which hee tooke, than to seeme to be pricked or prouoked with malice against his vngratefull countrymen, lest thereby he should obscure and blot the glory of so many goodly exploits, triumphes and victories which hee had obtained. Now if death cannot stop the course of vertue, how much lesse can any other weaker accidents doe it? Old age, which diminisheth and consumeth all the strength of the body, could not weaken the great vertue of *Agefilans* king of Lacedemonia, who being fourescore yeares of age, and seeing the glory of his country brought to nothing by that victory, which the Thebanes had obtained against him, withdrew himselfe into the seruice of a king of Egypt, and tooke the charge of a captaine vnder him, that through the good seruice he should do him, hee might deserue (whereof he assured himselfe) to haue succour of him for his owne country affayres. Enuy (saith *Thucydides*) is hard to be overcome, and followeth great estates and potentates. Honor, glory and riches, are but firebrandsto kindle it. Notwithstanding the excellency of vertue oftentimes triumpheth ouer it, so that the enuious are constrained to speake well of vertuous men. We see then clearely, and haue better experience thereof in our selues, if we be decked with vertue, that shee is of an inuincible force, and that all things are tamed by her. For who can doubt that through her, great Empires, Monarchies, common-wealths, estates and Cities haue much more flourished, than through force and might of armes? The sequelle of our discourses shall furnish vs with examples hereof. Now to conclude our present matter, knowing that vertue deserueth so great prayse in regard of her fruits, and of her wonderfull great effects, we say, that shee is the onely good both for honesty, profit and pleasure, between which there is such a conjunction, that they cannot be separated one from another, (as hereafter we may intreat more at large) so that the seuering of these three thingsto attribute them to other earthly and perishing goods, is the fountaine of all vice, deceit and mischief. If then, trouble, losse, hazard or danger are to bee found in the practise and exercise of this holy and sacred vertue (as even the greatest worldly happines is counterpoyfed with euill and difficulty) ought we not to despise all such things, yea death it selfe for that happy recompence, which is assured vnto vs, not onely of immortal glory and prayse (which the men of old time promised to themselves) but also of life everlasting, whereof the most of them were ignorant? Let vs not bee like to a little childe (for hee that is a childe in mind differeth nothing from a child in age) who seeing a trifle wherewith hee playeth, taken out of his hand, casteth away for anger that which hee holdeth in his other hand, although it bee some dainty thing, and good to eate. But let vs with seruent zeale, and burning affection, alwayes embrace this so precious and chaste beauty, I meane vertue, which alone filleth the life of man with true, sound, and perfect contentation. Let all thinges

The feare of death doth not astonish the vertuous *Callicratides*.

Themistocles loue to his Country.

Age hath no power ouer vertue. *Agefilans*.

Vertue causeth King- domes to flourish.

Verity is the onely honest, profitable and pleasant good

Anacharsis
forsooke a
kingdome
that he might
the better ob-
taine vertue.
Three things
necessarie for
the obtaining
of vertue.

come behind vertue, after the example of so many excellent and auncient personages, who ought to make vs blush for shame, when we consider, that the care of earthly goods hath the first place amongst vs. *Anacharsis* a Barbarian, being led with the onely loue of vertue, left the kingdome of Sythia to his yonger brother, and went into Græcia, where he profited so well with *Solon*, that he deserued to be placed in the number of the seauen Sages. Now if three things (after we haue asked them of him who onely can, and will giue them vnto vs) meeete together in vs, namely, *Nature*, *Reason*, and *Vse*, we may by them, being directed, illuminated, and guided by the Spirit of God, attaine to the top of humane perfection in this rich vertue, which being thus grounded (like to a strong and liuely plant) will take sure footing and roote within vs. If she meeete with a good and well disposed nature, that is able to endure labour, and that is tilled by reason with the precepts of Philosophy, whereby it is made firme, mighty, and fruitfull, then vse and exercise will bring forth the fruits thereof, as well for our owne, as for the common profit of men.

of Vice. Chap. 6.

The know-
ledge of good-
nes must go
before the
loue of it.

ACHITOB. **A**S he that is ignorant of goodnes cannot loue it, or boast (except it be fallly, that he seeketh after it, and if he should finde it, yet he could not acknowledge it, or reape any profit thereby; so he that knoweth not euill, can neuer hate it sufficiently, much lesse shun it, or keepe himselfe from falling into the snares and ambushes thereof, where it lieth in continuall watch to surprise and ouertake men. Yee shall haue very few, but will say, that they are enemies to euill, and that they labour to driue it as farre from them as they can. But what? As they neuer knew what goodnesse meant, so they know as little of the contrary. Now hauing by our last speech declared sufficiently, that vertue is the onely true good of the soule, it is out of question, that vice, which is altogether contrary vnto it, is the onely euill thereof, and the fountaine of all the miseries of man, as well earthly as eternall. Which, that we may more surely auoid, and marke better the excellency and beauty of vertue, by the loathsomnes and deformity of vice (because contraries set one by another, as blacke neere to white, shew themselves a great deale better) I thinke it will not be to wander besides the matter, if we bestow the rest of our mornings worke in the handling thereof.

Vice is the
onely euill of
the soule.

What we
ought to call
euill.

A SER. There is no euill in man (as the philosophers say) but vice, if we take that for euill which is offensive. Neither doth any thing offend and make a man worse, but that which endamageth his soule. And in this manner vice onely and sin is hurtfull vnto him, yea (as *Plutarke* saith) is sufficient of it selfe to make a man miserable.

Vertue is the
health, and
vice the sick-
nes of the
soule.

A MANA. As vertue (saith *Plato*) is the health and forceable vigor of the soule, so vice is the sicknesse and imbecillity thereof, which hauing gotten a habite, maketh a man vicious and corrupt. For it is certaine that if men had sufficient force and constancy to resist vice (which we haue by inheritance) they would follow after vertue. But being overcome by the loosenesse of their sensuality they are led captiues, as it were in a triumph, vnder the yoke of sin. Let vs then barken to ARAM, who I thinke, will not forget to paint out vnto vs this pernicious Hydra with all her colours, that she may be so much the more odious vnto vs.

Vice like a
dropfie.

ARAM. I haue alwaies learned of wise men, that this saying of an auncient man is most true. That there is an hundred times more paine in doing euill, than in well doing: and that vice hath the same effect in the soule, which the dropfie hath in the bodie. For both of them do plant in man a continuall desire of that which breedeth his greatest bane. Whereupon most miserably he seeketh after his owne perdition and ruine with paine and trauell, whereas he might passe through felicitie in this life, into that life which is eternall and most happie. One chiefe occasion hereof, as I thinke, may be attributed to the ignorance of euill. For what wicked man is so dull of vnderstanding, that if he knew certainly what vice were, would not with all his might separate himselfe as far from it, as for the time he drew neere vnto it? By a stronger reason it followeth, that he which truly knoweth it, before it be growne to a habite within him, will shun it more diligently: because we begin then to hate vices (as *Plutarke* saith) when by reason we vnderstand what shame and harme commeth of them. Therefore it must needs bee very profitable for vs to vtter herein that which we haue learned by the study of Philosophie, and that briefly for this present, hoping hereafter to intreate more particularly of the principall parts of vice. First wee will define it; then consider the pernicious effects thereof in the soule, and the fruits which it bringeth with it: thirdly, declare how it neuer escapeth unpunished: and lastly shew how we must fortifie our selues against the priuie watchings

When we be-
gin to hate
vice.

watchings and snares of such a dangerous and mighty enemy. Vice is an inequality and iarring of manners, proceeding from mans naturall inclination to pleasures and naughty desires. This inclination not being reined with the bit of reason, guided by the Spirit of grace, nor ruled by the wise declarations thereof, causeth a man by little and little to give over himselfe to all wicked passions (the end of one being the beginning of another) whereby he becometh most vnhappy, yea more wilde and sauage than any brute beast. *Chrysippus* a Stoicke Philosopher, called vice the proper essence of vnhappinesse. And surely it is a very perfect workemaster of wretchednes, disposing and framing men to all kind of mischief and misery. For after it hath once taken holde of the soule, it will neuer forsake it vntill it hath wholly bruised, ouerwhelmed, and destroyed it, filling it daily with perturbations and new passions, with voluptuousnesse, rancor, enimities, reuenge, murders, anguish, feare, fruitlesse repentance, ambition, couetousnesse, and with all other lusts, which are incurable diseases of the soule, after they haue once taken roote therein. For the more they waxe, the more they will grow, vice being (as *Plato* saith) of an infinite and endlesse race. And therefore the aboue named *Chrysippus* said not without reason, that to auoide so dangerous an enemy, and one that ought to be so odious vnto vs, it were better for vs to cast our selues headlong into the sea, than to suffer it to reigne ouer vs. *Plato* also writeth, that it is farre better for a man not to liue at all, than to liue wickedly, or in ignorance. For such a life can haue no fitter name, than to be called a true shadow of death, I meane of eternall death, which followeth the wicked euen at the heeles. *Bias* one of the Sages said, That no man might iustly be termed a captiue, although he were loden with irons, except also he were compassed about with vices. Moreover, we see that neither sword nor fire doth carry away a man so violently as vice doth. Many haue suffered a thousand outrages and punishments with such constancie, that tyrants were sooner wearie of persecuting them, than they of suffering. Besides, they had so great power ouer themselves, that in the midst of torments they were able to stay their voice altogether: in so much that one would haue either iudged them to be senselesse, or else thinke that in seeing them he did not see them. But vice alwaies discouereth it selfe, and euery where appeareth shamefull, infamous, and hurtfull. *Thales* called vice the hurtfullest thing in the world, because that where it is, it marreth and destroyeth all. Moreover, it maketh those things, which otherwise seeme honourable and magnificall, loathsome and vnpleasant, when it is mingled with them: yea it appeareth so much the more infamous, as the nobilitie and authoritie whereunto it is ioyned is greater, because then it discouereth better what pernicious and damnable effects it hath. For taking a swift course by the high way of power, and driving forward euery wicked affection to execution, it causeth choler to be turned presently into murder, loue into adulterie, couetousnesse into confiscation, and so in other passions. But as the vices of the greater sort are more dangerous, so no doubt, shame and dishonour are likewise doubled vpon them, because they are better seene and noted, whereby they become more odious and contemptible to euery one. Besides, they reward lyeth at their gate in great measure, which will not belong from them. For to whom more is giuen, of him more shall bee required. And I pray you what greater cause of shame and blushing can man haue, who being borne to commaund men of all estates and conditions, doth himselfe obey such vile and abiect things, as are sensuality, ignorance, concupiscence, and other like passions wrought by vice, which being without reason, are made to obey, and to be ruled by reason? Neyther are we more to be excused than the greater sort, when wee follow after such things, because we are but of meane and small calling. For euery one is borne to commaund himselfe, whereunto our chiefe study and labour ought to tend. We haue further to note diligently, that vice is not onely hurtfull to him that is infected therewith, but also that it vseth him as a minister and instrument to corrupt and spoyle others. For you shall neuer see any wicked man, that laboureth not to make others like himselfe: which if he cannot doe, yet he will so thinke of them, and seeke to perswade all others, that they are such, or rather worse than himselfe. Whereby it is easie ynough to iudge, that this is that, which vadoeth and destroyeth Communalities & Commonwealths, Townes and Cities, when the Gouvernours and Magistrates of them are ministers of vices. The change of Monarches, Estates and Kingdomes proceeded alwaies of vice. *Reboam* through want of prudence, *Sardanapalus* through intemperancy & luxurioufnes, the last French king of the race of *Clouis* through retchlesnes, *Perses* of Macedonia through rashnes, with infinit others, whose exâples we shal see hereafter, lost their kingdoms through vices. But that we may yet haue greater occasion to hate this horrible monster of nature, let vs

The definition of vice.

The effects of vice.

Vice is of an endlesse stocke.

Although we are to hate vice with a perfect hatred, yet wee must not kill our selues to be rid of it.

The vicious man onely is a captiue.

Nothing more hurtfull than vice.

Vice ioyned with authoritie is more hurtfull.

A good lesson for great men

The property of the wicked.

The alteration of kingdoms cometh of vice.

Offences are
neuer without
paine.

How a man
may haue
continually
quietnesse.

The force of
conscience in
the wicked.
Leuit. 26. 36.

Esay 66. 24.

Examples of
tormented
consciences in
the wicked.

A wise man is
ashamed to
offend before
himselfe.

Why God
deferreth his
vengeance
vpon the
wicked.

Custome in
finning is
dangerous.

that vice chastiseth it selfe, Which is not done onely by mans law, out of which the mightier sort (as *Anacharsis* sayd) escape as great flies that breake through the Spiders web, the punishment also of which may oftentimes be auoyded for a time, but euen the paine followeth the offence so neare, that it is equall vnto it both for age and time. For from that very instant, wherein wickednesse is committed; she frameth for, and of herselfe her owne torment, and beginneth to suffer the paine of her mischieuous deed, through the remorsse thereof. This is that worme that continually gnaweth the conscience of a malefactor, and accompanieth his miserable life with shame and confusion, with frights, perturbations, anguish, and continuall disquietnesse, euen to his very dreames, so that all his life time hee is destitute of all tranquillity, and rest of spirit, wherein onely humane felicity consisteth. And therefore one of the Hebrew Interpreters well and truly answered King *Ptoleme*, who asked him how he might be in rest when hee dreamed: Let piety (quoth this Wiseman vnto him) be the scope of all thy sayings and doings. For by applying all thy discourses and workes to excellent things, whether thou sleepest or wakest, thou shalt haue quiet rest in regard of thy selfe. Truly that man feareth nothing, whose soule being free from all notorious crimes, followeth the will of God, who directeth all counsell to good. But (as *Plato* sayth) there is nothing that maketh a man so fearefull, as the remembrance of his life passed in shame. Yea presently after the offence (sayth *Iustin Martyr*) the conscience of a wicked man is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnesse, a iudge, and a hangman. This is that, which the Scripture teacheth vs in *Leuiticus*, saying, That the wicked shall tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, and that they shall be as if their life hung by a thread. We ought to be perswaded that this violence of mans conscience commeth from God, who causeth his enemies to feele his iudgement and fury in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselves. And if our heart condemne vs, God is greater than our heart. Now although the Word should wholly fayle in this, yet we haue the testimony of nature imprinted with such characters in our hearts, that it did euen compell the ancient Poets to finde out and faigne *Furies*, as reuengers of our sinnes, which are nothing else but the torments of euill consciences. This is that worme whereof *Esay* speaketh, which dyeth not, but gnaweth and deuoureth them without ceasing. *Caligula*, a most cruell Emperour, neuer had secure and quiet rest, but being terrified and in feare, awoke often, as one that was vexed and carried headlong with wonderfull passions. *Nero*, after he had killed his mother, confessed that whilest he slept, he was troubled by her, and tormented with *Furies*, that burned him with flaming torches. Let vs not then suppose that, although a wicked act may be hidden, and kept close from men, therefore the torment is the lesse, (which a Wise man neuer thinketh of, knowing that hee ought to bee in more reuerence of himselfe than of others) but rather more grievous within vs, not for the onely feare of worldly shame or punishment, but for the apprehension of the iust iudgement of God, from whom nothing is hid. He pursueth the wicked hard at the heeles for the most part, and knoweth how to take vengeance of their iniquity in due time. And if he defer the punishment, it serueth but to aggrauate their condemnation so much the more vpon their heads, and to make the punishment more horrible, whereof wee ought to stand in greater feare than of any bodily paine, because the dolor thereof abideth for ever. He that would goe about to repeate here severally all those vices wherewith men may bee infected, and wherein wee see them commonly wallow, should finde their number very great, yea infinite. But (as *Democritus* sayde) let vs onely lay open that which is within vs, and we shall finde there a heape and conserue of many, diuers, and different euils, which haue their originall beginning from thence. For as shadowes follow bodies, so passions and vices follow soules. Hereafter we may discourse more particularly of the greater part of them, and of their proper and peculiar effects, with that iust punishment, which commonly followed them. In the meane time we may learn this, that if custome be of so great force, that (as we say) it ouercommeth nature, it is chiefly to be seene in vice and dissolutenes which is a gulfe wherein a man may very easily cast himselfe headlong; but it is a very difficult matter, yea vnpowable to withdraw himselfe againe. And (as a wise *Romane* said) most horrible & execrable offences through vse and custome are made small faults, & are commonly practised. For it is the property of vice to be headstrong and contentious, seeking to defend it selfe by reasons, which although they be altogether vaine and iriuolous, yet of great weight in regard of the weak flesh of man, which easily suffereth it selfe to bee bound vnder the yoke of sinne. Therefore we are to take good heed, that we suffer not our selues to bee surprised by so dangerous an enemy, nor giue him any accessse or entrance into vs: I meane that he should not dwell

dwell in vs (for otherwise we know that perfect righteousness is in God onely) but rather let
 vs exercise all those things that are contrary to vice, accustoming our selues in such sort to
 maister our common and small imperfections (which are but too abundant in the iustest
 men) that they take no effect, howsoever of themselves they may seeme excusable. By this
 meanes we shall labour euermore to make choise of the best in all indifferent things: which
 will stand vs in stead of a sure rampire against the tyrannicall reigne of this enemy to vertue.
 We reade of *Pythagoras*, that he accustomed himselfe to abstaine from crueltie and iniustice
 euen towards brute beasts, by requesting fowlers, after they had taken birds to let them flie
 againe. And when hee came amongst fisher-men hee bought their draughts, and after
 caused all the fish to be cast againe into the sea. Moreouer, he forbade all his disciples to kill
 a tame beast at any time. After his example let vs abstaine from all things that may procure
 vice, an neuer suffer such speeches, as these to passe from vs: *What good will this doe if that bee
 wanting? Now I will deale in this manner, another time I will doe better.* O how slippery are such
 waies, how easily doth vice glide away like a streame vnder such pretences? For as a wedge
 maketh but a small clift in the beginning, yet afterward the rift being greater, sundreth all in
 peeces: so the sufferance of vnlawfull things how small soeuer it be, leadeth men by little and
 little to an vnmeasurable licentiousnes. Moreouer, who can assure himselfe of to morrow,
 yea of a quarter of an houre? The oracle of *Apollo* answered those of *Cyrrha*, that if they
 would liue in peace among themselves, they should make continual warre with their neigh-
 bours strangers. So, that we may passe the course of our short daies in peace, rest and tran-
 quillicie of spirit, and that we fall not into the cruell pawe of this aduersary to all goodnes,
 we must daily fight against him, and neuer giue eare to his heralds and ambassadors of peace
 which are pleasures, neglect of duty, and such other baits, which he presenteth to vs, to de-
 ceive and beguile vs withall. It is most certaine, that vice putteth on a vizard, and goeth dis-
 guised and couered with goodly shewes that belong onely to vertue, and chalengech falsely
 vnto it selfe those goods, which indeede and in truth man ought to desire: And being
 thus cloathed with the helpe of corruptible pleasures that lightly passe away, it yoketh bale-
 minded men, whose care is onely set vpon the desire of earthly things which it setteth be-
 fore their eies as their felicity, impudently imputing to vertue all those evils that are in it
 selfe. But they haue sufficiently profited in Philosophy through the knowledge of that which
 is good, and of such things as are truly faire and beautifull, neuer hearken to such hurtfull
 allurements, but rather do as the serpent doth, that stoppeth her eares with her taile, to the
 end she may not heare the charmes and forceries of the inchanter. But if through the neg-
 lect of all good admonition, wee giue place amongst vs neuer so little to the baits of vice,
 they may easily in the end (as thornes and thistles growing neare to good feede, doe
 oftentimes choke it) darken al that good instinct of nature that shal be in vs, *Diogenes* the Cy-
 nique, walking one day through that streer in Athens, wherein there were many images of such
 ancient men, as had best deserved of the Common-wealth, asked his almes of them all one af-
 ter another. Whereat some maruelling and demanding of him the cause why: I learne (quoth
 he to them) to take deniall patiently: euen so when we can so farre command our selues, as to
 shunne all vaine and vnprofitable businesse, wherein this age delighteth, and which serue but
 for allurements and baits to nicenesse and pleasure, let vs not bee ashamed not to follow
 them; but rather let vs say, that we learne to contemne that which is contemptible, and to
 make choise (according to that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*) of the best kinde of life that is,
 to the end, that custome may by little and little make it easie and pleasant vnto vs. To con-
 clude therefore our present matter, we say that vice, being inseparably accompanied with a
 thousand miseries, and with vnspeakable and exceeding mischiefes, which draw man into vt-
 ter ruine and eternall perdition, may bee truly called the onely euill of the soule, as that
 which of it selfe is able and sufficient to make him vnhappy, who receiuech it for a ghest. And
 as such a hurtfull thing, we ought to hate and flie from it, by the meanes of vertue that is con-
 trary vnto it, labouring by all meanes to haue our soules pure and cleane from all wicked
 deeds, wils, and counsels, and our manners vndefiled, not being troubled or infected with any
 euill perturbation, wherewith vice alwaies aboundeth and is rich.

How we should
fortifie our
selues against
vice.

The humani-
ty of Pytha-
goras euen
towards brute
beasts.

An excellent
comparison
teaching vs
not to suffer
any vnlawful
thing.

We must ne-
uer harken to
the heralds
of vice.

How vice de-
ceiuech men.

The prudēce
of the serpēte

Why Dioge-
nes asked his
almes of
images.

Of Sciences, of the study of Letters, and of Histories. Chap. 7.

A R A M. **I**T is a vsuall speech in the mouthes of men altogether ignorant of the beautie
 and profite of Sciences, *That the studie of Letters is a bottomlesse gulfe, and so long*
 and

The speeches
of ignorant
men touching
the study of
sciences.

Why many fa-
thers set not
their children
to schoole.

Man is crea-
ted to under-
stand & to do

The benefits
which come
by knowledge

The proper
worke of the
spirit of man

and *unease a iourney, that they which thinke to finish it, ofrentimes stay in the midway, and many beeing come to the end thereof finde their minds so confused with their profound and curious skill, that in stead of tranquillie of soule, which they thought to finde, they haue increased the trouble of their spirit.* Vnder this goodly pretence, the most part say, that it is better not to know much, yea nothing at all: attributing the cause of mans imperfection vnto science. Being thus perswaded, if they haue alreadie any beginning and entring in learning, they draw backe, and seeke to hinder and to turne others aside from following them. For this cause many fathers set not their children to learning, or else because they finde this way of preferment too long and costly, and haue other more short and profitable meanes now a daies whereby to enrich them. But both the one and the other are greatly to be condemned, because wee are to spare no labour and travell, that we may get the treasures of the soule indued with reason, which are sciences, wherein all humane felicitie consisteth, and which neuer breed vexation of spirit. But all wits are not fit and apt to comprehend and conceive them. Neither doth the corruption of our nature better appeare, than in this, that wee loue rather to enrich our selues and our children with wicked and perishing goods, than with true, certaine and immortall goods, the happie knowledge whereof sciences and arts doe bring vnto vs. Now hauing through the grace of God receiued this benefite by your liberalitie (most honourable fathers) as to haue beene instructed in the best and most necessary points of knowledge, we thought it would not be tedious vnto you to heare vs discourse, that we might stirre vp the memories of our studies, and that the beauty and commoditie of sciences might worke in our affections a liking and desire to continue and to finish them.

A CHITOB. Man (saith *Aristotle*) was created to vnderstand and to do. For it is necessary that instruction goe before working. Knowledge begetteth iudgement, and by iudgement men execute all good and vertuous actions. Whereupon it followeth, that the studie of letters is rich, and vndoubtedly giueth vs the knowledge of things. Moreouer, nothing may bee compared to sciences, which comfort vs in our life time, and cause vs to liue after death.

A SER. O science (saith *Plato*) how would men loue thee if thou wert knowne? Fire and aire are not more necessary for life, than is the art and rule of good liuing, which is shewed vnto vs by learning. And as health is the conseruation of the body, so is doctrine the safegard of the soule. But we are to vnderstand more amply of thee (**A M A N A**) what is the greatnesse & beauty of sciences.

A M A N A. Whatsoeuer is profitable, not only for a house and familie, for a city and nation, but generally for all mankind, may well be accounted deare, pretious and wonderfull, and as so excellent a thing, ought to be bought with all that a man hath: especially if it be the true substance of all happinesse and felicitie, and the efficient cause of prudence; which is an excellent guide for mens actions to make them worthy of an immortalitie. What can one desire more than profite, pleasure and honour, which are those things wherewith all men are commonly led? The treasure of Arabia and India may well bring some pleasure to man, but yet alwaies vnperfect: seeing all riches is of it selfe blinde, and bringeth no light to the soule, but receiueh her brightnesse from the soule when it is framed according to vertue. Great and proud armies may by notable victories procure to themselves renowne and glory, but blame worthy: a title of honour, but forced and vniust, if their enterprises are not grounded vpon equitie and iustice. The merchant sailing on large and terrible seas, may reape profit by his trafficke, but bought with the perill of his life, and hazard of his certaine patrimony. Neither can this be done, except he haue first laide a good ground of his voyage vpon a sure discourse of reason, and vpon the direction of a good and wise pilot. Now of all these things, thus poore of themselves, and begging all their ornaments elsewhere, what certaine ioy, true honour or great profite may a man challenge to himselfe, and not rather looke for a sudden change of them into a worse estate than they were in before, through the inconstancie and vncertaintie of mans nature? Where then shall wee seeke for these great and rare properties, to finde that which of it selfe will be vnto vs profitable, pleasant, and honourable altogether, and that not for an instant, but for ever? Truly in science or knowledge, which first is able to mollifie mans nature, beeing before sauage and wilde, and to make it capable of reason: secondly, frameth and fetleth his iudgement, that hee may passe the course of his daies in all tranquillie of minde to the perfit of many: lastly, causeth him to die in honour, with certaine assurance of eternall life and happinesse. It is knowledge that maketh man prudent, (for doctrine bringeth forth prudence) and worketh vnspeakable pleasure in his soule. For the searching out of the truth is the proper worke and perfection of the spirit, neither

doth

doth any delight come neare to that which a man taketh in learning. It is science which guideth mens iudgements, whereby their chiefest deliberations and counsels are executed, as well in feates of warre, as in the establishment and preservation of lawes, kingdomes, monarchies, commonwealths, cities and peoples: likewise in the regiment and government of all worldly affaires, either generall or particular, which are wel or ill guided, according as he that manageth or governeth them is instructed. To this purpose *Seneca* said, that they, who being destitute of knowledge, did learne onely by experience to governe publike affaires, although they were borne with a diuine and happy spirit, yet both late, and to the detriment of their common-wealth, they would in the end become good gouernours of the people: As contrariwise, they that should come thereunto being guarded with the precepts of knowledge, (so they carried a good mind) would quickly and without paine become worthy of their charge. O wisdom (saith *Cicero*) the guide of our life, the onely cause of vertue, and enemy to vice, what should, not we onely, but even all the life of men be without thee? Thou hast builded townes: thou hast gathered together dispersed and wandring men, that they might liue in a society of life, and in common friendship. Thou compelledst them to come together, first by keeping all in a house and by marriage: then by the common vse of words & speech. Thou hast bene the inventresse of lawes, and the mistres of manners and discipline. We haue no recourse but to thee in our afflictions: we craue aide and succour of thee: we put our selues wholly into thine armes. Truly one day well and iustly spent according to thy holy precepts, is to be preferred before an immortality of time consumed in wickednesse and vice. With what riches shal we furnish our selues rather than with thine, which hast liberally giuen vs the meanes to obtaine tranquility in this life, and hast taken from vs all feare and terror of death? Briefely, we may be assured, that science is the onely diuine and immortall quality in vs, and that infallible rule, which bringeth both peace and warre to their perfect proportion: without which whosoever goeth about to frame any glorious or happy building, doth as much as if he should vndertake to saile in the middelt of the sea without a rudder, or walke through vnknowne places without a guide. Now the ancients knowing the greatness and difficultie of knowledge, and that it cannot be obtained (as it falleth out in al great matters) without great paine and trauell, that their labour might become profitable vnto vs, they, I say, who had spent their life with sweating, in seeking out the secrets of nature, and were desirous to ease mans study, who otherwise is inclined from his youth to pleasure and rest, haue diuided science for vs into diuers parts. Which they did to this ende, that step by steppe, according to the nicenesse of our spirits (even as our bodies are first nourished with milke, and then with stronger meates) we might finde therein apt and conceiueable foode, and in the end be made partakers of the secrets of perfect wisdom, euery one according to his capacity and neede expecting the full vnderstanding thereof in the immortalitie of that second and most happy life. First then all arts and sciences handled by reason, were diuided into three principal kindes: into Philosophie, Rhetorike and Mathematike. Afterwards, each of these sciences was diuided into three other parts and kindes, Philosophie into Morall, Logicall, and Physicall or Naturall. Rhetorike, into Demonstratiue, Deliberatiue and Iudiciall. Mathematike, into Arithmetike, Musike, and Geometrie. Since that, for greater facilitie, and that it might be more easie to learne, all humane philosophie hath bene reduced into art, as we haue it at this day, from whence the name of liberall arts came, because they are worthy and befitting a freeman. Their names are these, Grammer which is the entrance and beginning of all knowledge; Rhetorike, which is the art of fine speaking, and of perswading: Dialectike or Logike, which is to learne the truth of all things by disputation; Phisicke, which is the study of naturall things: Metaphysike, which is of supernaturall things: Mathematike, which hath many members, whereof Arithmetike is the first, which is the science of numbers, and the foundation of all the other parts of Mathematike, without which science of Arithmetike, *Plato* denied that any man could bee either a Philosopher or a capitaine generall. Next to that is Geometrie that is to say, the art of measuring the ground, very necessary likewise for a capitaine, and for many other martiall affaires. Then followeth Cosmographie and Geographie, to know the situation of the whole world, even from the tower of the highest heaven, called the first Moouer, vnto the center of the earth, and likewise of the diuers regions thereof, with their particular temperatures. After that is Astronomie, the science that teacheth vs to know the course of the stars and planets, which thing practise onely might teach vs, I meane so much as is necessarie for vs, as our first fathers were a long time content therewith, vntill the curiositie of men inuented these names,

It is long ere
men without
knowledge
become good
magistrates.

The praise of
Wisdom

The diuision
of sciences.

Grammer
Rhetoricke.

Logike
Phyicke.

Metaphysike
Mathematik
and the parts
thereof as
Arithmetike.

Geometrie.

Cosmogra-
phy.
Geography.

Astronomie
of

Mathematiks.
Poetrie.

Those sciences are first to be learned that are most necessarie.

What kind of knowledge is especially required in a Philosopher.

Anacharsis letter to Cræsus touching the studies of Græcia.

The praise and profit of historie.

of *Saturne Mars*, and others, attributing natures vnto them according to their imaginations and also ouer our bodies: yea those things that shall perish and are without life, are said to haue power ouer our immortall soules. And from thence proceeded iudiciall *Astronomie*, wherewith so many good wits are deceived, and of which so many abuses haue their beginning. Next, *Musicke* is set downe also for a member of the *Mathematiks*, as beeing a science drawne from numbers, because that by them harmonicall proportion was found. Lastly, followeth *Poetry*, which is attributed to *Musicke*. In this short discourse the wonderfull greatness of science appeareth sufficiently, as also how hard, yea vnpossible it is, to attaine to the perfection thereof through the sound knowledge of all the parts thereof. Wherefore we are first to seeke after those that are most necessary, and then to desire a meane vnderstanding of them all according to the gifts and graces of God bestowed on our soules. But aboue all things we must shunn that idlenes rechelesnes which is in many, who by reason of the difficulty, which they heare say is in sciences, and distrusting themselves for euer comming neere the skill of so many good wits, as haue gone before them, remaine as buried in ignorance, and vnprofitable amongst men. The greatnes of *Alexander* staied not his successors from trying the issue and euent of all sorts of noble enterprises. And the wonderfull knowledge of *Plato* could not keepe *Aristotle* from handling *Philosophy* as he thought good. He that distrusteth his wit and the inuention thereof, sheweth himselfe too vngratefull. For it seemeth he will condemne nature the mother of all things, as though shee had put her all gifts and graces in some men, and euer after purposed to be idle and barren, hauing no more strength to bring forth any thing worthy commendatio. We must not therefore in this sort be discouraged in the searching out of euery good discipline, knowing that those things also, which draw neere to perfection are great. But yet for the chiefe part of all our studies, let vs take *Morall Philosophie*, whereof wee haue already discoursed: that wee may frame our manners according to vertue, and leade and direct our soules to the ende, which we desire, even to liue well and happily. So let vs practise that diuine saying of *Plato* speaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, that *More vertue & and pietie is required of a Philosopher than knowledge*: and that all science, which is to be required in him, is, that aboue all things he worship and reuerence God the onely true master of wisdom, and author of whatsoever may bee knowne: and that hee endeauour to separate his soule from his body, as much as may bee, by contemning pleasures, ambition, vaine-glory, and riches, that so he may lay hold of the treasures of immortall life. This wee may learne by reading bookes and writings, which are the instruments of wisdom, and are left vnto vs by learned men for a rule and for instruction. By the study hereof wee shall attaine to that knowledge of the true and perfect good of man, which consisteth in vertue and verity, the onely nourishment, rest and tranquillitie of the minde. But will we know further what profit we may receiue by the doctrine of auncient men? Let vs onely reade that which *Anacharsis* wrote to *Cræsus* king of *Lidia*. Know (quoth he to him) that in the studies of *Græcia* we learne, not to commaund, but first to obey: not to speake, but to keepe silence: not to resist, but to humble our selues: not to get much, but to content our selues with a little: not to reuenge our harmes, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue our owne: not to take care to be honoured, but to labour to be vertuous. Lastly, wee learne to dispise that which others loue, and to loue that which others dispise, that is pouerty. Behold the faire fruits of science, and of the study of these auncient Sages, to which no treasures of worldly riches are in any sort comparable, and which we ought to desire aboue all things. Moreover, by this study of letters, we shall be taught to searce out diligently the vnderstanding of histories, which are the treasure of things past, the patterne of those that are to come, the picture of mans life, the touch-stone of our doing, the worke-master of our honour, and as *Cicero* calleth them, the witnesse of times, the light of truth, the life of memory, the mistresse of life, and the messenger of antiquity. Histories canse vs to behold that without danger, which so many millions of men haue tryed with the losse of their liues, honour and goods, that we may be made wise by their perill, and stirred vp to follow the vertue of others, which hath brought them to the toppe of all felicity and glory. Now if we thinkero learne by our owne experience these excellent instructions which wee may draw out of histories, in steade of so rare treasures we shall know but fewe things, and those with losse and perill amongst a thousand aduersities, from which the vnderstanding of that which is past, saueeth and deliue- reth vs. Prudenee gotten by experience is too perillous, and so long a comming, that very often a man dieth before he haue obtained it, so that he had neede of a second life to imploy about it. But we must hasten it forward by the searching out of things, which haue come to passe

passe both before and since our time, in the study both of Philosophy, which is rich and plentiful in worthy examples, and also of histories, which are a singular gift of God, whereby he would haue his wonderfull workes continued in the memory of men. For this cause *Zeno*, being demanded how a man might become happy, answered, if he drew neere vnto and haunted the dead: meaning thereby, if he read histories, and endeauoured to learne their good instructions that haue gone before vs. *Ptolomie* also asking one of the wise interpreters, wherein a king ought to exercise himselfe: In the knowledge (quoth hee) of things which haue beene done, and in reading bookes of things which daily offer themselves, or which are fit for present affaires, and lastly, in searching out whatsoeuer is written for the preservation of kingdomes and correction of manners. And truely they that are exercised in the vnderstanding of histories, although they bee but yong, yet in knowledge of worldly matters they become like to the aged and gray-headed: as contrariwise they that are ignorant of things done and past before their being, remaine alwaies children, & even within their owne country where they were borne, they are in the same estate in respect of knowledge that forerunners are. If we yet desire more testimonies from amongst the ancients, of the honour, loue, zeale, and ardent affection, which they bare towards the study of good letters, and how the chiefe glory of all their heroicall and noble acts doth of duty belong to science, wee reade of *Philip* king of Macedonia, that when *Alexander* was borne to him, hee gaue thanks to God, not so much because he had this sonne, as because he was borne in the time of so wise a Philosopher as *Aristotle* was, whom he made his schoolemaster. Of him *Alexander* learned many goodly sciences, as well in Philosophie as in Physikes, and namely, those Acroamaticall sciences, that is, speculative, and such as could not bee learned but by hearing a teacher. Of which Sciences this great Monarch was iealous, and taken with so greedy a desire, that hearing how *Aristotle* had published certaine bookes, he wrote a letter vnto him in this manner: *Alexander* sendeth greeting to *Aristotle*. Thou hast not done well to publish these bookes of speculative sciences: forasmuch as wee shall haue nothing about others, if that which thou hast taught vs priuately come to be published and communicated to all. For I would thou shouldst know, that I loue rather to excell others in the vnderstanding of high and notable things, than in power. How greatly this excellent Prince alwaies loued knowledge, appeareth sufficiently by the exceeding liberality and gifts, wherewith hee honoured the masters and teachers thereof, (as wee may somewhat touch it hereafter) as also in that he alwaies carried *Homer's* Iliads about him, which vsually he laid vnder his pillow, naming it the nourishment and preseruer of warlike vertue. *Cæsar* in the midst of his campe had his Commentaries in his bosome, and that time which he spared from fighting, hee bestowed in reading and writing, holding a launce in his left hand, and a pen in the right. We see in these two mighty and sacred Princes, and in infinite other great personages both Greekes and Romanes, the wonderfull effects of knowledge, which conducted them to the toppe of all honour, felicitie, and prosperity. *Xenophon*, the disciple of *Socrates* serueth for another witnesse, who being guided by an vnspokeable prudence & providence gotten in the study of Philosophy, brought an armie of a thousand footemen out of Persia into Greece, going over the foords of fiftie riuers, and through the midst of an hundred thousand enemies pursuing him, and yet his array was neuer broken, albeit he fought with them sundry times. Besides, if we are desirous of testimonies of the incredible delight, which the studie of any science worketh in mens soules touched with the zeale of knowledge, we reade of *Nicias* the painter, how hee tooke such great delight in his workes, that oftentimes he inquired of his seruants whether he had dined or no. *Archimedes* drawing his Geometricall figures vpon a table, was as it were by force drawne away of his seruants, that he might annoint himselfe with oyle (according to their custome) before he did eate: and during the time of his annointing, he would trace new figures vpon his body. *Socrates* was seene standing a whole Summers day for the space of foure and twenty houres continually in contemplation and discoursing in his minde: which was when he drew this conclusion out of his thoughts, that *There was but one onely God, and that the soule was immortall*. The Emperor *Charles* the fourth going on a day to a Colledge in Praga, to heare the disputations of vertue that were there, remained about foure houres on foote in hearing them. And when his courtiers, to whom he was wearisome, told him that it was time to sup, he answered, that *It was no more time for him, and that he had supped*. *Robert* king of Ierusalem and Sicilia, a very learned Prince, was so affectionated to letters, that he oftentimes said, that if he were to lose either his kingdomes or his learning, he would chuse rather to be deprived of them than of knowledge. What greater testimony of loue towards Science can one desire

How a man
may become
happy.
Wherein
kings ought
most to exercise them-
selves.

The saying of
Philip at the
birth of
Alexander.

Alexanders
letter to Ari-
stotle.

His loue to
learning.

Iulius Cæsar.

Xenophon.

Nicias.

Archimedes.

Socrates con-
clusion drawn
out of 24.
houres con-
templation.
Charles 4.
Robert king
of Sicilia.

desire than that of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, that vertuous king of Egypt, who with incredible charges gathered together into his librarie five hundred thousand bookes, and purposely caused seventy and two of the most learned and religious men of Iudea to come and translate the holy Bible out of Hebrw into Greeke? And surely we should bee too vngratefull towards our Princes, if amongst so many famous men we should leaue no place for that great Emperour and king *Charlemaine*, who was skilfull in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and who in fauour of those toungs, and of the louers of knowledge, erected the vniuersity at Paris, and that at Pavia, according to the patterne of those places of learning which were at Athens. *Francis* the first, a Prince of most famous memorie, so loued and fauoured letters, and the professors of them, that he deserued the name of the restorer of sciences and good arts, sparing neither care nor meanes to assemble together bookes and volumes of sundry sortes, and of all languages for the beautifying of his so renowned a librarie, which was a worthe monument of such a magnificall Monarke: whose praise-worthy qualities we see reuiued in our king, treading in the selfe same steps. Now to conclude our present discourse, wee learne hereby to despise all earthly goods for the obtayning of knowledge, which of it selfe is truly profitable, delectable, and honorable altogether and whereby we are taught how to liue and die well and happily. And because that arts and sciences consist of many parts, let vs apply our mindes to the study and contemplation of those which together with delight doe also draw vs to that which is our proper and peculiar good, namely, to the knowledge of truth and vertue, which worke in vs alwaies an affection and zeale to follow them, and cause al arts and sciences teaching other things to be esteemed base, mechanicall, and vnseeming good wits. This did *Antisthenes* giue one to vnderstande, who greatly commended *Ismenius* for an excellent player on the flute: It is true (quoth he to him) but otherwise he is good for nothing, For else had he not bene so good a minstrell, So, every one applying himselfe to some base and vaine art, produceth for witnesse against himselfe that labour, which he hath bestowed about vnprofitable matters, to prooue that he had bene idle and slothfull in learning honest and profitable things. And for the last fruite and vse of our speech, wee see here what great occasion we haue all our life time to become the disciples of knowledge, which is to high and profound; and to diminish all pride and presumption of our skill, after the example of that wise man *Socrates*, who although he were the learnedest of his time, and so iudged to be by the Oracle at Delphos, yet alwaies said, that he knew nothing. And when he was demanded any thing, he would neuer answer resolutely, as if he would haue bene beleued, but doubtingly vsed to say, *I thinke so*, or *It may be so*. Being therefore desirous to learne with all modellie, let vs endeavor to seeke out more and more by trauell and study, the assurance and knowledge of verity and vertue.

Charlemaine

Francis. i.

Antisthenes
saying touching
a flute-
plaier.Themodesty
of Socrates
touching his
owne skill.

Of the Spirit, and of Memorie. Chap. 8.

AMA. **H**Auing now discoursed of the greatnes, beautie, and profit of knowledge. I think that if we were to wish for two helps very necessary for the attaining vnto it, those ought to bee a spirite or minde ready to conceiue, and memorie: firme to retaine: without which two things we shal profit our selues little, and much lesse a great many.

Quicke wits
commonly
want memo-
ry.

ARAM. Those two things, which thou propoundest vnto vs would seeme wonderfull if they were togither. For we commonly see, that they who haue a ready and quickewit, for the most part want memorie; and they that learne with greatest difficultie and paine, do best retaine and keepe that which they haue once learned.

Psal. 102. 26.

ACHITOB. This talke of the spirit, whereunto you attribute the property of comprehending (and yet speake not of the soule) is vndoubtfully worthy of great consideration. For euen when we speake of a young infant we say by and by, that his spirit or wit will grow with his body, and of a crooked old sire, we say that his spirit waxe old with him, which in many we see oftentimes becometh altogether dull and unfit for the ordering and gouernement of affaires. Now that which waxeth old draweth to an end, as the Scripture it selfe teacheth vs, concerning times and seasons, which waxe old like to mens garments, and are to take end. And yet we know that the soule is immortall, and therefore waxeth not old, So that one would thinke, that the soule and spirit are two distinct things, although we see euery where the one taken for the other. But let vs heare *ASER* discourse of this matter, and so wee shall learne what the spirit is in the soule,

ASER.

Of the spirit, and of Memorie.

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ASER. As the workes of the diuine power are altogether incomprehensible to the outward sence of man, and very hard to be comprehended by reason guided and conducted by grace from aboue, so we are not to thinke much if the knowledge of a mans selfe, which is most necessary, be so hardly found out by him, seeing his composition farre passeth all the workes of nature, that are visible and subiect to sight. Now if a man cannot know himselfe, how should he hope to comprehend greater matters, which are supernaturall and hidden in the heavens? And who can rightly boast, that he hath the true and perfect vnderstanding of the chiefest part and most powerfull beginning of himselfe, namely of his spirit? Who am I, saide *Socrates*? Am I a subiect, compounded of soule and body? Or rather a soule, that vseth the body, as a horseman doth a horse? Or, is every one of vs that principall part of the soule, whereby we vnderstand, discourse, and doe, and all the other parts of the body but instruments of this power? Or if there be no proper substance at all of the soule by it selfe, but that it is only a temperature and complexion of the body so framed, that it hath power to vnderstand and to liue; am I not a sauage beast, more crafty, bold and furious then euer was the serpent Typhon? Or else, am I a meeker and simpler creature, partaker of a better estate, and voide of pride? Al the excellentest Philosophers that euer were, handled this selfe same matter as well as *Socrates*, with incredible trauell and paine, that they may attaine to this knowledge of the noblest part in them, which is the soule and spirit, taking indifferently the one for the other. But first of all this wise *Socrates* spake excellently of the dignity and immortality of the soule, saying, that in truth the soule is man, and not this mortall masse and linpe of the body, which of it selfe is no more than a simple and base instrument in regard of the most cunning work-man of any art or science. And for this cause gining vp the ghost amongst his disciples, and being asked by *Clito* where hee would be buried: As for *Socrates* (quoth he to him) takethou no thought or care. For thou canst not stay him, whose tombe hath bene from all time ready for him. But concerning that which he leaueth here below, it is not worthy to be cared for by him, The greatest thing (saide *Periander*) that may be said to be contained in a little place, is the soule in a mans body. *Empedocles* speaking of the generation of the soule saith, that neither blood, nor the vitall spirit congealed haue giuen vnto vs the substance of the soule, and the beginning of life. The body onely is compounded earthly and mortal, But the generation of the soule is heavenly. being sent here below as a passenger, and stranger, or as one that is banished and sent out of his country. Whereupon she continually sigheth, groneth, and as it were drieth away, (like to a good plant translated out of a good plot of ground into a bad) vntill in the end shee returne, and be receiued into her immortall habitation, after she hath changed her present life, which is vnto her but as a vaine illusion of some dreame; in respect of a true, certaine and permanent life. Surely, these philosophicall speculations are not vaine and friuolous, but very necessary to leade vs to that happy end of our being, which we seeke for. For if we be well instructed concerning the great and honourable place and condition, which the soule enioyeth aboue the body, as well in her immortall generation, as in her contemplation and action, as also that of her happines dependeth (as before wee handled it) the felicitie of the whole frame of man, wil we not apply all our principall care, study, and diligence in providing such things for her as she desireth, and which are meete and healthful for her? But we haue further (thanks be giuen to the authour of all good) a second and more perfect vnderstanding of the soule, than had all these notable heathen men, both in respect of the blessed immortality and also of the cause thereof. We know also that so long as she is detained in this mortall prison of the body, and that we are become new creatures by the grace of God, she is diuided into these two parts, the spirit and the flesh, betweene which there is a perpetuall combat. Yea the flesh continually offereth to the spirit a thousand temptations, to delight it withall. For the body and flesh consisting of mortall and corruptible matter, are but a lumpe of sinne, and full of wicked desires, whereas the spirit of it selfe vertuous and good, and of an immortall essence, is of it owne nature enemy to vice and iniquitie: so that being ruled and guided by the Spirit of God, it loueth and desireth eternall happines, and reioyceth in iustice, purity, and holines. And yet the soule is not so freed from the slavery of sinne, but that there remaineth in her many steps of the earthly man, so that she alwaies carrieth about with her the relikes of the flesh, whereby her libertie is so much diminished. This is that fight whereof the true children of God haue daily experience, when they are lifted vpward by the spirit, and by the flesh turned downward: by the spirit they bend with an ardent desire towards immortality, by the flesh they are carried astray into the way of death: by the spirit they think to liue iustly, by

It is very hard for a man to know himselfe.

Socrates opinion concerning man.

The soule is truly man.

Socrates answer touching his buriall.

Periander.

Empedocles. Of the generation of the soule.

The soule is diuided into the spirit and the flesh.

The spirit of the godly both by creation & regeneration is enemy to vice.

The fight betwene the spirit and the flesh.

Rom. 8. 7.
What we are
being left to
our selues.

The difference
betweene the
soule and the
spirit.

The three
parts of the
spirit.

Of Memorie.

Mithridates.

Frederike.

Genusby.

P Crassus.

flesh they are stirred forward to iniquitie: by the spirit they contemne the world, by the flesh they desire worldly things. But in the end the grace of God causeth the spirit to remaine superior; so that his children walke not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. Whereas if we be left of God to our owne corrupt and peruerse nature, we haue not sufficient strength to resist the temptations of this wicked flesh, but in stead of commanding it, we obey it with shame and confusion. And then accustoming our selues to sin, and to consent to the desires of the flesh, the diuine part of the soule is so weakned, that she hath no more strength or feeling of her essence, which is enemy to vice, but hauing forsaken God, he forsaketh her, and giueth her ouer into the power of carnall desires. So that by this long dwelling in sinne, being as it were altogether dead, she taketh no more counsell of reason, but followeth after detestable vices, and such as are against nature. But on the contrarie side beeing guided by the grace of God, after we haue laboured by fasting, watching and prayer, to resist the vnpure desires of the flesh, all the concupiscences thereof, will at length be so tamed and forced, that the soule shal execute her office in commanding ouer them absolutely, and in choaking them so soone as they shall spring vp. Therefore it commeth from the spirit, that we aspire continually to our last and soueraigne good: that with a singular desire of heart, and with all our affection we study to seeke and finde it out, even with teares and sighes, by reason of those continually impediments, which the flesh laieth before vs in following our course. Moreover, the spirit causeth vs to imploy all our might in the separation of the soule from the body, and in despising pleasure, ambition, vaie-glory, and riches, that we may offer an acceptable present, by yeelding vnto him the soule, which he hath giuen vs. Which thing cannot be done (saith *Plato*) but by keeping it, as much as may be, purged and cleansed from earthly spots, that shee may be knowne and acknowledged aboue amongst her companions, considering that no defiled thing shall enter into the kingdome of heauen. In this discourse of the soule and of the spirit thus intermingled, I thinke we may here set downe some speciall difference betwixt them, although vndoubtedly the one is taken indifferently for the other, without any absurdity, yea they are one and the same thing. The difference may be made in this sort, if wee say, that the soule is common to all things that haue life, as we vse to say, that all beasts are animated, and haue sensible soules: but that the spirit which is immortall, and capable of reason & knowledge, is proper and peculiar to man onely. And it seemeth that *Sophocles* would teach vs this distinction, when he saith, that *The spirit is the same thing to the soule, which the eye is to the body.* *Socrates* also putting a difference betweene the soule and the spirit, said, that as every seditious man is to be banished out of a well gouerned citie, so a spirit inclined to all mischief is to be remooued from that soule, which we would saue. Or else we may say otherwise (not diuiding any thing) that the spirit is the first and principall part of the soule, wherein the *Mind*, the *Vnderstanding*, and the *Memory* are contained, which are most necessarie for the direction of all good and vertuous actions, and which stand in neede of preseruatiue, nourishing, and exercise, & therefore they are said (not without reason) to increase and decrease in the mind of man. The mind is as a white paper, wherein as a man groweth in age and iudgement, hee writeth his cogitations & thoughts, which the studie of letters and learning do afford him. *Vnderstanding* is framed by the knowledge of reason, and lastly *memorie* followeth and preserueth it, being the mother of the *Muses*, and the treasure of knowledge. *Plutarke* calleth it the hearing of deafethings, and the sight of the blinde. There is nothing, that serueth so much to beget and preserue learning and knowledge, as *memorie* doth, wherof we haue many examples among the ancient. We reade of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, who was a great enemy to the Romans, that he had vnder his dominion two and twenty nations, speaking diuers languages, all which he learned, and answered their ambassadors in their owne tongues. Which thing he could neuer haue comprehended without an excellent and happy *memorie*, which also was the cause, that *Themistocles* knew personally and could name all his countrey-men by their proper names. The Emperor *Frederike* the 11, spake the Greeke, Latine, Hebrew, Arabian, Morisko, Almage, Italian and French tongue. In our time there was an interpreter of *Sultan Solymannus*, named *Genusby*, borne in Corfou, endued with the richest memory that euer was. For he spake perfectly, the Greeke tongue, both vulgar and learned, the Turkish, Arabian, Moorish, Tartarian, Persian, Armenian, Hebrew, Russe, Hungarian, Slaucionian, Italian, Spanish, Almage, Latine and French. It is recorded of *Publius Crassus*, that at one instant hee heard five sundry languages spoken, and answered each of them in the same tongue. Wherby we see that he was endued with an excellent and quicke spirit, apt to conceiue, and with a firme memory, able to retaine them altogether: and this may be seene in many. But the perfection

Of the spirit, and of Memorie.

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tion of these two great gifts of nature, is a good & sound iudgement, proceeding from pondering, and from a firme discourse of reason lightened by the Spirit of God, and by the same Spirit purged from error, illusion, and all vaine opinions, which are vsuall in man, and hinder him from iudging aright of the truth. But to continue our speech of the wonderfull effects of memorie so much esteemed of *Plato*, that he writeth, that wee should leaue off to bee men, and become like to the gods, if our memory could retaine and keepe so much as the eyes can reade and see. We must not here forget to make mention of *Iulius Caesar*, that great Monarch, of whom Historiographers report, that at one time hee caused his Secretaries to write vnto foure seuerall persons of sundrie matters, and that oftentimes he would indight a letter to one of his Secretaries, reade in a booke, and heare another speake all at one time. *Seneca* rehearsed two thousand sundry names, hauing onely heard them pronounced before, beginning at the last and continuing to the first. By these examples, we see the greatnes of memory, wherby we may easily iudge how profitable it is for the enriching of the minde with all things necessary to the government of mansestate. Yea it is vnto vs a helpe requisite vnto saluation, as that whereby we keepe in remembrance the gifts & graces which we daily receiue from the goodness and fauour of God, to this end that we should not be vngratefull, but yeeld vnto him glory and praise without ceasing. Now because one of you (my companions) touched this, that they which haue a ready and quicke wit, commonly want memory, and that they which hardly learne, retaine and keepe better that which they haue learned, I will giue you this reason with *Plutarke*, that hardnesse of beleefe seemeth to bee the cause why men comprehend slowly. For it is very eident, that to learne, is to receiue some impression: whereupon it followeth, that they which resist least, are such as soonest beleue. And therefore youth is easier to be perswaded than old folkes, sicke than sound, women than men: and generally the weaker that thing is, which discourseth and doubteth, the easier may a man put and adde vnto it, what he will, as likewise the selfe-same thing is sooner lost and let slippe away. Some others (as *Iustine Martyr* saith) haue rendred this reason of the quicknesse or slownesse of mans wit, saying, that it commeth of the good or immoderate mixture and temperature of the elements, of which our bodies are compounded and framed, and of the symmetry and proportion of the organically or instrumentally parts ioyned together in him. And surely these seeme to giue vs the true reason thereof. For we see many, who in their beginning and first age shew that they haue prompt and sharpe wit, but when they come to old age are changed, and become slow and dull to conceiue. Which is a great token and argument, that a good or bad complexion and constitution of the body, is the cause of such a disposition, either in quicknesse or slownesse of spirit, as the difference of yeares doth affoord them. Besides, do we not perceiue, that they which haue the head ouer great and ill fauoured, whom wee commonly call great blockheads (because there is not an equall symmetry and moderate proportion betweene that and the other parts of the body) are naturally vnapt to conceiue, and to bring forth any sensible and witty thing? But the resolution of all this speech shall bee, that all gifts of the Spirit are from aboue, and that amongst all sorts of men, there are some found, that are prompt and witty to comprehend great and diuine things, by a specially grace and fauour, which God hath bestowed vpon them. Some by the gift of the holy Ghost haue wisdom, others knowledge and vnderstanding of things, and all giuen to euery one for the profiting both of himselfe and of his neighbour. Knowing therefore by this present discourse, according to the weakenesse of our iudgement, the creation and nature of the spirit, which is the principall and most noble part of vs, and that whereof dependeth and proceedeth all our happinesse, rest and felicity, let vs be carefull and diligent to search it out, and to provide such things as it desireth of vs, as helps to that effect, bestowing all our care, labour and study, to adorne and decke it with righteousnesse and holinesse, according to the holy desire thereof, wherein consisteth life and peace. And let vs beware that we seeke not to feede it with strange meates, which may make it sorrowfull, & with which our flesh aboundeth to her death and destruction. But mortifying all the deadly desires and affections thereof, let vs labour not to walke any more according to the flesh, but according to the spirit; and let vs know that all wearisomnes and tediousnes which troubleth the tranquillity and rest thereof, proceedeth from the want of experience in affaires, from the want of good discoursing, grounded vpon a resolute and settled iudgement, and from the want of skill fitly to apply our selues to present occasions. And this is that which troubleth all sorts and conditions of life, as well rich as poore. But the way to preserue the spirit in rest and quietnesse, is to nourish and exercise it in the study of wisdom, where it learneth reason, which of it selfe can cure it of all sorrow,

From whence iudgement proceedeth.

Iulius Caesar.

Seneca.

A good vse of memorie.

Reasons why quicke wits haue worst memories, & contrariwise

1. Cor. 12.

Rom. 8. 1.

anguish and griefe, through wise discoursing, and worke in it a like inclination and constant behaiour in every alteration of life, causing man to liue happily throughout the whole course of his life, not without the hope and certaine expectation of a blessed immortality.

The end of the second daies worke.

The third daies worke.

Of Dutie and Honesty. Chap. 9.

A SER.



The end of
the creation
of all things.

What ho-
mage we owe
to God.

Which is the
chiefe end of
our being.

Although all things were created of diuers natures and properties, and many of cleane contraries, yet by an incomprehensible wise- dome the were appointed to refer themselves to one onely certaine and common end, namely, to shew forth the infinite power and greatnes of their work-master, sufficient in the least of his workes with admiration to raiſh man, to whom he hath made all things subiect. But as in him alone the treasures of his heavenly graces haue been without comparison more liberally vnfolded, and that in all fulnesse and bounty, as well in regard of the goods and commodities of this life, which he draweth from heauē, from the earth, from the aire, from the water, from beasts and plants, and generally from all things contained vnder the cope of the firmament, as also in respect of that vnſpeakeable happines and eternall felicity, which by the ſpeciall grace of God is purchaſed & aſſured to him onely in the immortality of the ſecond life, ſo alſo hath God from the beginning vntill this preſent and for euer, reſerued to himſelfe a particular homage, and that not for a time or for certaine yeares of his life, but to continue without intermiſſion from time to time, namely loue teſtified by obedience, which we may comprehend vnder this onely word of *Duty*, call- ed by the Philoſophers, the wellſpring of all vertuous & laudable actions, and the foundatiō of honeſty. Therefore I propound this matter to you (companions) to be diſcourſed vpon.

AMANA. The duty of a good man conſiſteth in his good behaiour towards the chiefe & onely end of his being compounded of theſe two things, the glory of his creator, and the loue of his neighbour. But the laſt vndoubtedly dependeth of the firſt. For without the feare of God, men will neuer preſerue equity and loue amongſt themſelues: as contrariwiſe the hono- ring of his maiesty teacheth them to liue vprightly one with another.

ARAM. We ought not to aſſure or fortifie our ſelues with any other bulwarke, than to do, to counſell, & to viter all good and honeſt things, according to duty, wherunto we are, called by nature, not onely for our ſelues, but alſo for the beneft and profit of many. Therefore of thee (ACHITOB) we ſhall vnderſtande more at large, what *Duty* and *Honeſty* is,

ACHITOB. No treatiſe in Philoſophy (ſaith *Cicero*) is ſo neceſſarie as that of *Office* and *Du- ty*: for aſmuch as no part of mans life, whether it be in publike or priuate affaires, or in what action ſoeuer it be, either ought or may be deſtitute thereof. For therein conſiſteth all hone- ty of life, and, if it be neglected, all infamie. And albeit moſt part of the ancient Philoſophers comprehended *Duty* and *Honeſty* vnder vertue, affirming them to be one and the ſame thing, yet following the opinion of that great orator and Philoſopher, who hath handled morall Philoſophy in very good order, we may diſtinguiſh them after this ſort, ſaying, that *Dutie* is the end whereunto vertue tendeth, namely, when in all our actions we ob- ſerue honeſty and comelineſſe. In which diſtinction we ſee neuertheleſſe ſuch a coniuncti- on of theſe three things, Vertue, *Duty*, and *Honeſty*, that the one is the end of the other, the perfection thereof conſiſting in all three together. *Dutie* then is that, which bindeth the ſoule, cheerefully and willingly without force or conſtraint to giue to every one that which belongeth vnto him: honour, to whom honour: reuerence, to whom reuerence, tribute: to whom tribute, and ſuccour, to whom ſuccour belongeth. This duty is diuided into two ge- nerall kindes: the one is that which appertaineth to the perfect and ſoueraigne good: the other concerneth the preſeruation and ſafety of the common ſocietie of men, and conſiſt- eth in morall precepts according to which the behaiour of all ſorts of life may be ſquared. As touching the firſt, no doubt but all men are beholding and bound vnto God, both for their being and preſeruation thereof, as alſo for that abundance of goods neceſſarie for this life, which he powreth forth moſt liberally, both on the good and on the bad. More- over, Chriſtians are further tied and bound vnto him for the certaine hope of their ſaluation

What duty is

The diuiſion
of duty.

What dutie
we owe to
God, and
wherefore.

in

in his eternall Sonne. For all which things he asketh nothing of vs but loue and good-will, testified by honour, reuerence, and seruice, according to his holy ordinance, every one after the measure of giftes and graces, which bee hath from aboue: knowing that more is to bee required of him to whom more is giuen. This obedience being grounded vpon that rule of perfect righteoulnesse, which is giuen vnto vs in the law of God, is the mother and preseruer of all vertues, yea the beginning and roote of all goodnesse. The other part of duty, which respecteth our neighbour, and whereof wee are chiefly to intreat in this our Academy, is nothing but charitie and loue of our like, as of our selues, which is greatly recommended vnto vs in the Scripture, as being very requisite vnto saluation. This is that duty, whereby we are bound not to do any things against publike laws, equity, and profit, but to be alwaies constant in the perfect exercise and vse of vertue, by doing honest and seemely things for their owne sakes, and not of necessity and constraint. Wee are not onely borne (saith *Cicero*) for our selues, but our countrey, parents, and friends both will and ought to reape some commodity by our birth. For whatsoever is vpon earth was created for men, and they for themselves, that one might aide and helpe another. So that if wee will follow nature, wee must imploy our goods, trauell, and industrie, and whatsoever else is in our power, in the behalfe of common commodity, and in the preseruatiō of humane society: yea, that man liueth most happily, who as little as may bee, liueth to himselfe. And on the other side, no man liueth more disorderly, than he that liueth to himselfe, and thinketh on nothing but his owne profit. This is that duty, which requireth that for the safety of our parents, friends and countrey, wee should offer our selues to all perils, not respecting our owne profit or commodity. Neither ought we to esteeme any thing iust and profitable, except honestie: which are so linked together, (as the philosophers say) that they can no more bee separated than whitenesse and cold from snow, and heate and light from fire. So that if any man bee perswaded, that the rule of honesty and profite is not one and the same, hee will neuer be without fraud or wickednesse. For thinking thus with himselfe, this indeed is honest, but that is profitable for me, he will not feare to breake and rent asunder all equity ordained and appointed either by diuine or humane lawes. And this diuision is the fountaine of all vice, falshood, and mischief. A good man (saith *Plato*) may not slander, steale, or lye for his owne commodity. Is there any thing then in this world of so great value, any treasure so pretious, that ought to cause vs to loose the name of vertuous and iust? We ought rather to turne profit towards honestie, and that in such sort, that howsoever the words seeme to differ one from another, yet we should make them but one thing. Moreover, the same diuine philosopher saith, that the true beautie of the soule, which is honesty, is nothing else but the brightness of that perfect and chiefe good that appeareth in those things, which may bee knowne by the eyes, eares, and minde, whereby it is caused to returne towards the Idea and patterne of goodnesse. Whereby this excellent man meaneth no other thing, than to giue vs to vnderstand, that whatsoever goodnesse and honestie is in vs, commeth from God, as from the fountaine thereof, vnto which by the same vertue it returneth, leading the soule with it to liue eternally. Besides, from him and by him commeth the beginning and proceeding of our good workes: yea it is he that maketh vs to goe forward according to our dutie, which consisteth in these two points: first, that the intention and end of our actions be rightly framed: secondly, that the like meanes to attaine to that end bee found out. For these two things may agree or disagree one from another, as wee see sometimes the end well propounded, and yet men erre in the meanes to attaine vnto it: and contrariwise, it falleth out oftentimes, that the meanes are good, and the ende oftentimes propounded bad. So that it is from this liuely and euershowing fountaine, which is the cause of all good, from whence we are to looke for the perfect knowledge of our duty, and the ends and meanes whereby to execute it, to the glory of God, and to the good and profite of our like. And from this generall vertue, and fountaine of honesty and duty, foure riuers issue and spring, called morall vertues: namely, *Prudence*, which is as a guide to the rest, and knoweth what is profitable for it selfe, for others, and for the common-wealth: *Temperance*, the mistress of modesty, chastity, sobriety and vigilancy, and of all order and mediocrity in all things: *Fortitude*, which maketh a man constant patient, couragious, hardy, and readie to enterprise high, great, profitable, and holy things: and *Iustice*, which is the bond and preseruatiō of humane society by giuing to every one that which belongeth vnto him, by keeping faith in things promised, by succouring gladly the afflicted, and by helping every one according as ability serueth. Which vertues are the true and certain goods

Obedience to Gods law is the mother of all vertues. What our duty towards our neighbor is.

Man created for man.

Profit must not be separated from honestie.

Two things requisite in every good worke.

Foure riuers issue out of the fountaine of dutie.

Examples of
the zeale of
the ancients
in the seruice
of their gods.

Calanus.

The zeale of
the Iewes to
their law.

Of the loue
which a man
oweth to his
countrie.

Cato of Utica

In what case
a good man
may sue for
an office.

of the soule, whereby all actions are directed according to duty, as we shall speake particularly thereof hereafter. In the meane while let vs enter into the examples of the ancients, and see how exactly and inuolably they obserued all points of duty, choosing rather to sacrifice their liues, than to infringe, and breake any of them, much more contemning all other weaker occasions, wherewith lewde and base minded people suffer themselves to be easily corrupted. And first, touching the first point of duty naturally imprinted in the soules of the greatest infidels, which is to acknowledge some diuinitie, with what zeale (although inconsiderate and rash) did the auncient heathens and pagans precisely obserue their paganisme, even to the sacrificing and cheerefull offering vp of their owne children to their gods, as we reade of the Carthagenians? What say I, their children? yea oftentimes themselves, whereof *Calanus* an Indian Gymnosophist serueth for a witnesse, who seeing himselfe old, after he had offered sacrifice to the gods, bad *Alexander* the Great farewell, with whom he came to Babylon and tooke his leaue also of all his other friends. Then lying along (according to the custome of his countrey) vpon a little pile of wood, which he had prepared for that purpose, hee caused fire to be put vnto it, and so burned himselfe for a burnt offering to his gods, not stirring at all, but continuing with such a wonderfull constancie, that *Alexander*, who was present, confessed himselfe to be vanquished of him in greatnesse of heart, and magnanimity of courage. Who will not admire the strict obseruation of the ancient religion of the Egyptians, Græcians, and Romanes moued with a desire of yeelding the duty of their being to the honour of a diuine nature? But for shortnesse sake, and not to wander farre from the subiect of our assemblie, I passe it ouer with silence. Here I will onely alleadge one notable example of the Iewes, who weremore zealous professors of their law, than ever were any people. *Caius* a Romane Emperor, sent *Petronius* into Syria with commandement to make warre with the Iewes, if they would not receiue his image into their temple. Which when they refused to doe, *Petronius* said vnto them, that then belike they would fight against *Cesar*, not weighing his wealth, or their owne weakenesse and vnability. We will not fight (quoth they) but had rather dye than turne from the lawes of our God. And forthwith casting themselves on the ground, and offering their throates, they said, that they were ready to receiue the blow. In this estate (as *Iosephus* reporteth it) they remained for the space of fortie daies, letting slip the time which then was, of sowing their groundes. Which caused *Petronius* to deferre the execution of his charge, and to send the declaration of these things vnto *Cesar*, whose death rid the Iewes out of danger. Now we are to consider with what burning affection the ancients imbraced common benefite and safety, seeking to profit all men, according to the true dutie of a good man, but especially their countrey, in whose seruice they thought it great happinesse to lose their liues. For truly besides the sweete affection, which nature hath imprinted in our hearts towards our countrey, and the conformity of humours, which commonly is found in our bodies with that heauen and aire where we haue our first breathing, which seemeth to be a mutuall and naturall obligation, the reason of all humane right, and the religion of diuine equity, besides the dutie of conscience, binde all persons to serue the publike wealth of their countrey, to the vttermost of their power: and that so much the rather, because that vnder it, the life, honour, and goods of euery particular man are comprehended. This reason caused *Cato* of Utica, a Consul and noble Romane, to answer one of his friends, who was come to giue him thanks for defending him in iudgement from a false accusation, that he wasto thanke the Common-wealth, for whose loue onely hee did speake, and counselled all things. This also made him to vndertake the sute for the office of Tribuneship of the people, that he might resist the faction of *Pompey*, by whom he saw *Metellus* set on worke to sue and seeke for the same office, for the assurance of his affaires and strengthening of his league. Now is the time (quoth *Cato* to his friends) wherein I must imploy and bestow the power of such an office, and of great authority, as a strong medicine, in time convenient, and vpon necessarie causes, and either ouercome, or dye honourably in the defence of common liberty. So likewise he opposed himselfe as much as he could, against all nouelties & alteration of affaires betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*. And when the selfesame *Pompey*, beeing desirous to winne to himselfe, sought to bring it to passe by alliance, and thereupon demanded two of his neeces in marriage, one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne: *Cato* without any longer deliberation, answered him presently (as beeing netled) that carried backe the message, that he should returne to *Pompey* and tell him, that *Cato* was not to bee taken by the meanes of women. Which was not because hee would haue him esteeme greatly of his friendship, which hee should alwayes finde in him to be more sure and certainethan

than any alliance by marriage, so that hee onely sought after and did things honest and iust, but at this time he would not giue hostages at *Pompeies* pleasure against the Common wealth. Afterward the affaires of Rome being brought to such necessity through corruption of money, and by vnlawfull and forceable meanes in procuring publike places of authority, many Senators being of opinion, that *Pompey* was to be chosen sole and onely Consul: *Cato* also was of the same mind saying, that men ought to choose a lesse euill to meete with, and to redresse greater mischietes: and that it were better willingly to bring in a kind of monarchie, than to defer it so long, vntill the issue of present seditions should by force & constraint establish one. And it may bee (quoth he) that *Pompey* will haue a longing desire to preserue the Common wealth, when he shall see, that it is so liberally and freely committed to his fidelitie. This election being approued and ratified, *Pompey* sent to seeke *Cato*, and hauing heartily thanked him for that honour, which he had done him, requested him to be a daily assistant and Counsellour vnto him in his office. To whom this graue man made answer, that he did neuer oppose himselfe heretofore against him for any ill will hee bore him, neyther gaue this last counsell for any good he meant towards him, but all for the good and profite of the Common wealth. And as touching his priuate and particular affaires, he sayd, he would giue him the best counsell he could, whensoever he asked his aduise: but for publike matters, he would alwayes speake what he thought were best, although hee neuer asked him any thing. Thus did *Cato* behaue himselfe all his life time as a good Citizen, and as an vpright and iust man, free in speaking for the truth, and altogether voide of corruption. *Metellus* a Senator of Rome left vs a notable testimonie, that he esteemed of *Dutie*, as of a sacred and inuiolable thing, when he would not sweare to the people to obserue and keepe that, which was to bee ordained and established concerning a law put vp by one of the Tribunes against all right and equity, notwithstanding that the Consul with the rest of the Senators through constraint and feare, which they had of the people, had sworne vnto it, and giuen their promise. Then *Metellus* departing from the assembly, said, that it was too easie a matter to doe ill, as also a common thing to doe well where no danger is, but to doe well when perill is certaine and sure, that was the proper duty of an honourable and vertuous man. For this cause being banished, and making light account of the matter, hee vsed these or the like speeches: When things shall bee amended, the people repenting them of their error, will call mee backe againe: but if the affaires continue still in the same state, wherein they now are, it will be best for a man to keepe himselfe afar off. *Lycurgus* after his lawes were giuen to the Lacedæmonians, fained that he had something elsie whereof to take counsell with *Apollo* concerning their estate, and therefore at his departure from Lacedæmon to goe to Delphos, he caused his citizens to sweare and promise, that they would keepe his lawes inuiolable vntill his returne, either dead or aliue. This done hee went to the Isle of Candie, die, where hee remained in perpetuall and voluntary banishment, and commanded that after his death, the ashes of his body being burnt, should be cast into the winde, that by this meanes the Lacedæmonians might neuer bee absolved of their oath, but that his countrie might alwayes receyue the fruit of his labors, for desire whereof hee had freely forsaken it altogether. *Marcus Otho* the Emperour hath left behind him a more wonderfull example of the great loue he bare towards his Country, for the benefite whereof he dyed willingly. For after hee had lost a battell against *Vitellus* and *Cecinna*, fighting for the Empire, he was solicited by the rest of his army, which was yet of great strength, to trie fortune one again, & to vse them and their persons as long as they had one drop of bloud, and life in their bodies. And at the same time a simple souldier having a sword in his hand, spake thus vnto him: Know, O *Cesar*, that all my companions are determined to die thus for thy sake, and therewithall hee slue himselfe before him. Then *Otho* casting his eyes all about, spake vnto them in this sort: I account this day more happy to me (Companions) than that other wherein yee did choose and pronounce me your Emperour, beholding you so well affected in my behalfe, and receyuing such honor from you with so great a demonstration of friendship. And if I haue been worthy to hold the Empire of Rome by your election, I must now shew it, in not sparing my life for the good and safety of my Countrey, I know very well that the Victorie is not yet wholly mine enemies: and I haue receyued newes of such and such Forces (which hee named particularly vnto them) that are readie to ioyne with vs. The Senate is on our side, and the Wiues and children of our enemies are in our hands. But what? This war is not against a *Hannibal* or a *Pyrrhus*, or against the Cymbrians, that wee should fight for the possession of Italie, but it is against

Metellus.

Lycurgus.

Marcus Otho

The courageous mind of a Souldier.

A notable example against ciuill warre.

the Romans themselves: so that in this war both the conquerour and conquered shall offend and hurt their Country, because, whatsoever serueth for the benefit of him that overcommeth, turneth to the dammage of the Common wealth. Beleeue me, I know better how to die than to raigne, especially considering that I shall not so much profite the Romans, although in the end I should remaine the stronger, as now I can by sacrificing my life for the peace, vnion and concord of my Countrymen. This done, he tooke order for the Senators and others of his army to retire and saue themselves: and sayde to a Nephew of his whom hee had adopted, I commaund thee my sonne, as the last admonition which I can giue thee, not to forget altogether, nor yet to print it too much in thy memory, that thou hast had an vnckle, who was Emperour. Then laying him downe to rest, the next morning very earely he tooke his sword, & turning the point thereof with both his hands against his stomacke, he fell vpon the toppe of it, without shewing any other token or feeling of griefe, and so dyed, being onely seuen and thirty yeares of age. *Codrus* king of Athens did no lesse for his Country. For hauing vnderstood that the Oracle had promised and assured the victory to the Thracians, who were enemies to the Athenians, if they saued their King alieue, he went into their Campe disguised like a handycrafts man, and slue one of their men, whereupon he was preserly slaine of others, not being knowne what he was. And thus were the Thracians deprived of the hope of victory, which before they accounted certaine, and in a manner gotten of the Athenians. *Marcus Curtius* a knight of Rome, who being Consull was a notable battell against the Cymbrians, threw himselfe headlong into a deepe gulfe, which was made in the middest of Rome by an earth-quake, and which had greatly dammaged the City. The reason mouing him so to do, was, because the Soothsayers had giuen out, that the gods would not be pacified and appeased towards the City before the gulfe had swallowed a man alieue. *Curtius* being desirous to procure the benefite and ease of the Common wealth, would serue himselfe for this sacrifice. And so it came to passe, for presently this gulfe closed vp to the great astonishment of all the people. How shall we thinke that these, and so many others as histories set before our eyes, who haue freely offered their liues for the safety of many, and chose rather to vndertake any danger, than to turn aside in any thing from that which they knew to be the duty of a good man, how (I say) shall we think that they would haue fainted or yeelded through the inticements of honor, grace, fauor, and riches, whereby the greatness of their courage, limited onely with the bounds of right and iustice, might haue bene weakened? But hoping that the sequelle of our discourses will furnish vs with more ample testimonies both of this, and of all the other parts of duty, which respect euery particular action, and fearing lest I haue bene somewhat too long in the examples already alledged, wee will conclude our present matter with this generall instruction, that vnto what estate, quality or condition soeuer men are called, they ought to propound to themselves in all their actions, *Duty & Honesty*, searching for them in the holy Scriptures, and in the precepts of good life conformable thereunto, which are left vnto vs by the ancient Sages and wise Philosophers, to this end, that being well instructed in true piety, we may first of all giue honour and glory to God, and then be beneficiall, helpfull, and profitable to his creatures. These graces we may, by the direction and blessing of God, draw out of those foure riuers which proceede and flow from this generall vertue and fountaine of *Honesty*, of which we are to discourse particularly hereafter, namely, of *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Iustice*, which are those morall vertues whereby all good and vertuous actions are brought to passe.

Of Prudence. Chap. 10.

Eccles. 1. 18

ACHI-
TOB Here is one onely wise, soueraigne Creator of all things, the Almighty, strong and terrible, who sitteth vpon his throne, from whom commeth all wisdom, which alwaies hath bene, and is for euer with him, and which he hath powdered out vpon all his works, and vpon al flesh according to his liberality, and giueth her abundantly to them that loue him. Shee teacheth the doctrine of God, and causeth vs to chooseth his workes. Shee decketh vs with prudence, iustice, and courage, giuing vs the knowledge of the time past, and iudgement of that which is to come. The multitude of those which are endued with these gits and graces, are the guard of the world, and a prudent king is the assurance of his people. The sequelle therfore of our speech leadeth vs to the handling of Prudence the first riuier of the fountaine of *Duty*.

Eccles. 1. 23

ASER. Wisdome raineth downe knowledge, and wise vnderstanding, and bringeth to honour

Codrus.

M. Curtius.

Duty and honesty are to be propounded in al our actions.

honour those that possesse her. Of her therefore we are to seeke for true prudence, a necessary guide to all our actions; but we must hate the prudence of the flesh, which is folly before God, and maketh all the thoughts of the wise of this world to become vaine & foolish. Moreover, *Cicero* saith, that no man can be prudent but he must be good.

AMANA. O how learnedly bath *Socrates* taught vs to know and marke this true and heavenly prudence, proceeding from the loue and feare of the Highest, from that earthly Prudence, which is full of darkenes; when he saith, that *Prudence is the generall vertue, the princeesse and guide of moral vertues, and that wherein the knowledge of our soueraigne good, and of the end of our being consisteth*, as also the choise of those waies whereby we may come vnto it. But let vs heare ARAM discourse more largely of the great, worthy, and wonderfull effects of this rich vertue.

What prudence is.

ARAM. All the life of men expressing a worthy end of their beeing, consisteth in contemplation and action. For knowing that the thoughts of all mortall men are vnstable, and their inuentions vncertaine, because the body and the affections thereof oppresse the soule, and cast downe the spirit loden with care, they lift vp their hearts towards the brightness of the eternall Light, who of his meere grace prepareth their soules, lightneth their vnderstandings, and directeth their paths, to the knowledge of that true and perfect Idea of Good, from whence Prudence floweth, that she may gouerne their actions according to Gods will, and to the profit of humane society. Therefore it is from knowledge and reason gotten in the study of wisdom by the grace of God, from whence the vertue of Prudence proceedeth, which is that rule of all the actions of man, whereby through good and sage aduice he decerneth and chooseth good from bad, that which is profitable from the contrary, to the end he may shun the one and the practise the other. This is that which *Aristotle* saith, that the office of prudence consisteth in skil to consult and to choose, to the end to execute that which vertue commandeth, namely, Honesty and decency, and that for noe other respect than for the loue thereof. And therefore wise men haue put a difference betweene *Science*, and *Prudence*, saying, that *Science* is a dead knowledge of things, which of it selfe cannot change the will in such sort, that it may imbrace and follow the knowne good, or auoide the euill, which is euident in wicked men indued with knowledge. But *Prudence* is a beame proceeding from that true sunne, which doth not onely illuminate and lighten the vnderstanding, but also warmeth, and kindleth affection. This vertue (saith *Bias* one of the Sages of *Græcia*) is amongst the rest of the vertues, as the sight is amongst the five senses of mans body: thereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that as the eie, of all the other senses is most beautiful, subtil, and piercing, so the vertue of Prudence by her quicke and cleare light directeth and conducteth all vertues in their good and commendable operations. It is by her that man is alwaies cloathed with a mild and settled disposition, whereof he standeth no lesse in neede, than a ship floating on the sea doth of the presence of a pilot, that he may prudently vnder-take, and wisely execute whatsoeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation, and consideration of all the circumstances of the fact. Morall Philosophers attributed three eies to this vertue of Prudence, namely, Memory, Vnderstanding, and Providence: which three things *Cicero* calleth the parts of Prudence. With the first she beholdeth the time past: with the second, the time present: with the third, the time to come. Moreover, a prudent and wise man, by the consideration of things past, and of that which hath followed since, iudgeth of that, which in the like case may fall out in the time following. And after long deliberation, he expecteth the times, weigheth the dangers, and knoweth the occasions: & then, yeelding now and then to the times, but alwaies to necessity, so it be not against duty, he boldly setteth his hand to the worke. For this cause *Isocrates* said, that a prudent man ought to remember things past, to vse things present, and to foresee things to come. A prudent man (saith *Demosthenes*) accounteth it a point of folly to say when a thing is come to passe, *Who would haue thought it could haue beene?* Now Prudence is apparant in him that possesseth her, first by the rule and government of his person, whether it be in things within him, as in his manners and conditions, or in outward things concerning his body, as in sobriety or diet, comely entertainment: good house-keeping, commendable vse of his substance and riches. Of which perfections and other praise-worthy effects that flow from prudence vnder the name of sundry vertues, we are to intreate particularly hereafter, as also how a prudent man being adorned with them may first become a good Oeconomist, that is, a gouernour and father of a family, and after attaine to that great vertue of politicall knowledge, which is the art of skillfull governing and ruling a multitude of men. And then although he doubt not, but that it is an

The effects of the vertue of prudence.

The difference betweene science & prudence.

Prudence compared to the sight.

Prudence hath three eies.

The praise worthy effects of prudence.

act of Prudence to know what is good and profitable for the Common-wealth, yet that he may know how to execute that office with a perfect and absolute vertue, he seeketh for all occasions to profite the same, and vnto what place of authority soeuer he be called, he alwaies sheweth foorth dutiful effects of a good man. He neuer giueth or taketh but good counsel and alwaies vttereth the same freely. He is able (saith *Plato*) to discerne the good from the bad. He helpeth innocency, and correcteth malice. He is not astonished for any feare, nor altereth his mind for dispraise or commendation: he is not discouraged through violence or false accusations, neither is pressed downe with sorrow, or puffed vp with prosperity. And as one not ignorant of the vncertainty of wordly things, he abideth constant in all changes, and like to himselfe, knowing how to choose the lesse euill in all inconueniences, as the better. He sheweth himselfe valiant in all things. He is maister of his pleasures, and knoweth how to command himselfe. He can reape profit by most sinister accidents, yea by his greatest enemies, and yet hurt them not. The conuersation of the Prudent is alwaies healthfull and profitable. His quips, his laughers, his sports, are not without some fruite, having in them a certaine power to correct and mooue those that do amisse. He beleueth not (saith *Heraclitus*) any thing lightly, but is a seuerer examiner of the truth. To be short, Prudence can seth a man to referre all his actions, both private and publike, to the best end, which is, to serue God, and to profit his neighbour. This did *Socrates* teach very well, saying, that all the desires and inclinations of our soule guided by prudence, tend to happines. Wherein we may note the indissoluble coniunction of all the morall vertues, of which no one can be had perfectly, but with her companions, albeit each of them haue her particular and proper duty. But prudence is especially necessary in them all, as it will yet better appeare in the further handling thereof, albeit the effects hereunder mentioned of this first vertue being narrowly considered, may giue vs sufficient prooffe thereof. Now to incite and stirre vs vp to imbrace it with greater zeale and affection, and to seeke after all meanes of obtaining it, either by good instruction, or by long vse of things, let vs call to minde certaine examples of the ancients, thereby to marke what wonderfull fruits this vertue of Prudence hath brought foorth in them. If wee consider all the heroicall facts of the worthiest Captaines and Generals of armies that euer were, wee shall finde that they brought them to passe more by prudence, than by any other force and meane. Which thing *Alexander* the Great, and first Monarke of the Gracians knowing very well, whensoever any speech or comparison was made before him of Vertue or Science, he alwaies had this verse of *Homer* in his mouth: *In counsell wise and valiant in the fight*: as if he would haue said, that of al vertues, prudence was most prince like, and that prowesse was practised by meanes thereof. And indeed he being richly endued therewith vnderooke the conquest of the Persian Empire, yea of all the world, when he had but thirty thousand footemen, and foure thousand horsemen, with money and victuals to furnish them onely for thirtie daies. But what? The means whereunto he trusted was Prudence, followed of patience Valure and Temperancie, wherewith the study of philosophy had furnished him for his voyage. In this iourney he did not onely in two battailes, ouerthrow *Darius* Monarch of the Persians, who had about twelue hundred thousand men, but also brought vnder subiection 15. sundry nations, and tooke fife thousand cities and townes, and laboured to put in reall execution and practise that forme of gouernment of estate, which was so greatly esteemed of *Zeno* the Stoicke Philosopher, and tended in effect to this end, that all men generally might liue together, not being diuided by townes, peoples and nations, nor separated by particular lawes, rights and customes, but that wee should take all men for our countrimen and fellow citizens: that as there is but one world, so there might be but one kinde of life. Thus did this prudent and vertuous Monarch giue out that he was sent from heauen to be a common reformer, gouernor, and reconciler of the whole world, so that he employed all his might to reduce and bring to ciuility barbarous kings, to plant Gracian cities, that they might liue ciuilly amongst the vntamed and sauage nations, and established euery where lawes and a peaceable kinde of life, euen amongst vnbrideled people, who neuer heard word spoken either of peace or lawes. Those whom he could not assemble together by perswasion of reason hee constrained by force of armes, so that he caused them all to drinke, as ye would say, in the same cup of loue and friendship, by intermingling their liues, manners, marriages, and fashions of liuing. Hee commanded that all men liuing should account the whole habitable earth for their countrey, and his campe, for their castle and tower of defence, and that all good men should be of kin one to another, and the wicked onely strangers. Moreover, he willed, that the Gracian and Barbarian should no more bee distinguished by their garments, but that the

The coniunction of all the vertues,

Of the prudence of Alexander

the Græcian should be knowne and discerned by vertue, and the Barbarian by vice, according to all vertuous men Græcians, and all vitious men Barbarians. Therefore *Plutarke* sayde very well, that they who were tamed and brought vnder his yoke were a great deale more happy than those that escaped his power, because these men had none to cause them to leaue off from liuing miserably, and the other were compelled by the Conquerour to liue happily. Whereby he deserued no lesse the name of a great Philosopher, than did *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, and others, who although they wrote nothing, yet were so called, for their manner of life, and for that which they spake, did and taught. In all which things *Alexander* approaching next vnto them, went also beyond them in this, they taught men of good vnderstandings, namely such as were Græcians as well as themselves, & that without great paine and trauell: but this Monarch sustaining infinit labour, and cheerefully shedding his blood, did change into a better estate, and reformed the rude manners of innumerable sauage people, even of such as were brutish by nature. Now let vs speake of *Cæsar* the first Romane Emperor. Was it not prudence especially that prepared the way for him to so mighty an Empire, first, by reconciling together *Crassus* and *Pompey*, two of the greatest Romane Senators, by whose fauour he obtained afterwards the dignity of Consulship? When he was placed therein, being desirous to win the good wil of the people, & knowing that he was already well vnderdropped of the Senators, he preferred many lawes in their behalfe. Besides, he was very sumptuous and popular, if euer any Romane was, not sparing any cost vpon plaies, turneies, feasts, largesses, and other baits to curry fauor with the meane sort of the people, & to gaine the honour and credit of a man that is gracious and charitable towards the poore. And when he was sent to take vpon him the gouernment of the Gaules, he warred there ten yeares, being guided by an vspeakable prudence, that was accompanied with diligence and forecast: so that by vsing all occasions wisely and to purpose, he subdued there three hundred sundry nations, tooke eightene hundred townes, and in many battels discomfited three millions of men. The Commentaries which he wrote himselfe, declare sufficiently that his own vertue wrought more exploits than all his army. Of this also he gaue prooffe enough in the beginning of the ciuill war between him & *Pompey*, wherein he vsed such diligence, that coming out of France, he made himselfe master of all Italy in threescore daies, without any effusion of blood, & droue away his enemy. And *Cicero*, who (as some say) conspired his death, in an Epistle calleth him a monster of prudence, and of incredible diligence. Was it not prudence, whereby he noted two faults in *Pompey*, which after were cause of his ouerthrow? The first in an incounter of their armies, wherein *Cæsar* being at that time the weaker had the worst. And when hee perceived that his enemy pursued him not, but retired to his Campe, he sayde: The victorie this day was in the power of our enemies, but their captaine could not perceiue it. The other fault which hee noted was at the battell of *Pharfalia*, where *Pompey* was quite ouerthrowne, because he charged his souldiers being ranged in battle, to stand still in their places, and so to attend their enemies. Then *Cæsar* said, that in so doing, *Pompey* tooke from his souldiers the vehemency and violence of giuing the onset, which is as a spur vnto them in their race, besides the heate of courage which this speedy running forward worketh in them. We see then how necessary this vertue of prudence is in the feates of war, which caused *Agésilæus* king of *Lacedomonia*, after great losses sustained by the violence of *Agésilæus*, *Epaminondas*, the generall captaine of the *Thebanes*, to say to his men, that they should not greatly care for the multitude of their enemies, but bend all their force against *Epaminondas* onely, because none but wise and prudent men were valiant, and the onely cause of victory. And therefore if they could beate him downe, they should vndoubtedly haue the rest at their deuotion. As indeede it came to passe in that battell which they fought together, wherein the *Lacedomonians* halfe discomfited, one of those that fled being pursued by *Epaminondas*, turned backe and slue him: whereupon the rest tooke such courage, and the *Thebanes* were so dismayed, that the victory remained with *Agésilæus*. Now if in warfare prudence beareth such a stroke, who doubteth but that in ciuill and politike gouernment she is as necessary or rather more? Diuine *Plato* in his booke of a common wealth saith, that if a man would do notable acts worthy of perfect praise in the administration of the commonwealth, he must haue prudence and iustice, followed of power and fortune. But we may further say, that onely prudence hath set aloft and preserved many great estates from ruine and subuersion. The *Athenians* being diuided and banded into three contrary parts and factions, *Solon* being very prudent and wise, would not ioine himselfe to any of them, but kept himselfe indifferent to all, practising and speaking whatsoeuer he could deuise to ioine of *Solon*.

Of the prouidence of Iulius Cæsar.

Cæsar noted two faults in Pompey.

Agésilæus.

The losse of a captaine is commonly cause of the ruine of an Army.

The prudence of Solon.

The prudence of Lysurgus.

Phocian.

The prudence of Demosthenes in defending the innocency of a poor woman.

How a prudent man may reape benefite by his enemies, and by mishap.

Anaxagoras.

The prudent foresight of M. Cato.

The prudence of Scipio in answering to an yniust accusation.

Emilius Scaurus.

The sports of prudent men.

and reconcile them together againe, Wherein he behaued himselfe so well, that being chosen by them all for the onely pacifyer and reformer of theyr estate, hee placed it in greater glory than euer it was in before, by his prudent and wise lawes which were receyued as inuiolable, The prudence of *Lysurgus*, the reformer and law-maker of the Lacedemonians, was the cause of the maintenance of theyr estate aboue five hundred yeares, so that it was the chiefest in all Grecia, both for excellencie of gouernement, from whence they fell not vntill such time as they wholly neglected those goodly ordinances and lawes which hee left them. A prudent man alwayes giueth good counsell, and vttereth the same freely, being also a good and willing helpe to innocency. *Phocion* speaking his mind one day in the counsell chamber of the Athenians, against the enterprising of a certaine warre, and seeing that his aduise so greatly displeased them, that they would not giue him leaue to vtter his minde, he spake freely vnto them in this manner: Yee may peraduenture (O Athenians) force me to doe that which ought not to bee done, but yee cannot constrain me to speake any thing contrary to my opinion that ought not to be spoken or counselled. *Demosthenes* knowing the innocency of a poore woman drawne into iudgement with danger of being ouerthrowne, saued her by his great prudence. For two strangers hauing giuen her a good summe of money to keepe, with this condition, that shee should not restore it to the one except the other were also present, within a while after one of them came very sorrowfull, sayning that his companion was dead, and bringing some counterfeite token thereof with him. Whereupon he so perswaded this poore woman, who meant simply and plainely, that she restored the money to him. Afterwards the other came, and demaunding the money also, brought this woman before a iudge, who being without hope of escaping, *Demosthenes* answered for her, that she offered to giue him the money, so that he brought his fellow, because, as himselfe confessed, she ought not to giue it to the one without the other, The profite which a prudent man draweth from his enemies is in this, that he knoweth and taketh them for spies, for enuiers at his life, and ioynt-labourers with him for honour and glory: whereupon hee is the more carefull that his doings may be blamelesse. And to this purpose *Diogenes* answered wisely to one, who demaunded how he might be auenged on his enemy: By making thy selfe (quoth he) a vertuous and good man. Most sinister accidents likewise turn to the profite of a prudent man. For being long time before prepared for all euents, the worst that happen confirme him further in the knowledge of the vncertainty of humane things, and lift him vp so much the more to the contemplation of heauenly things, that he may desire nothing but the blessed immortality of the soule. *Anaxagoras* hearing newes of his sonnes death, said nothing but this, that he knew he had begotten him a mortall creature. The foresight of Prudence maketh it also to be greatly admired. *Marcus Cato*, when he saw that *Pompey* ioyned himselfe in league with *Cesar*, tolde him, that he did put *Cesars* yoake vpon his owne necke, which then he perceyued not, but that shortly it would weigh heavy vpon him, and then should hee finde himselfe taken and tyed. A prudent man is not amazed through feare either of blame or of false accusation, but alwayes goeth with his head vp-right, trusting to his innocency, and to his owne vertue. *Scipio Africanus* being accused of many things by the Tribunes of the people, answered nothing to the crimes layde against him, but onely sayd thus: In such a day as this is, sirs, I ouercame both Carthage and *Hanniball*, and therefore I am now going to the Capitoll to sacrifice to *Iupiter* the best and greatest God, and to giue him thanks for the victory. In the meane while if any man long to proceede against me in iudgement, let him doe it. After he had so sayd, he went towards the Capitoll, being followed of his friends, and of the greater part of the Senators. When the people saw this, they likewise accompanied him, so that in stead of condemning him, they caused him in a manner to triumph againe. *Emilius Scaurus* being also accused of a certaine crime by *Varius*, made this onely answere: O ye Romanes, *Varius* affirmeth this crime laide against me to be true, and *Scaurus* denyeth it: whom will ye rather beleue? By this wise and couragious answere he made the accusation of none effect, because his honesty was well knowne to every one. The conuersation, assemblies, laughters, quips and pastimes of prudent men, are neuer without some profite. *Plato* in his booke intituled *Cominius*, that is a feast, discourseth of the last end of mens actions, and of the soueraigne and chiefe good of man, but yet in very familiar speeches, by certain examples, and pleasant fictions, and deuises fit for the time and place, and not with serious and graue words, as he vttereth to doe in his other writings. Moreover, learned deuises are the sports & delights of wise men, who account all other pastimes vaine and vnbecoming them, and as hinderances and

lets

lets rather of their pleasure, than occasions of any recreation. Notwithstanding, wisely applying themselves to places and persons, they can in their serious discourses intermingle some honest pastimes, but yet not altogether without profite. As *Plato* in his foresayd feall interlaceth certaine comicall speeches of ioue, howbeit all the rest of the supper there was nothing but wise discourses of Philosophy. A Lacedemonian being asked of a certaine matter by an other, answered cleane contrary to the truth. And when the other tolde him that he lyed. Behold (quoth he againe) what a foole thou art to aske me that which thou knowest well ynough. *Diogenes* in a great assembly of people purposely going backward, and seeing that euery one laughed at him, asked them aloud if they were not ashamed to mocke him for going backward when he walked, whereas they did so all their lifetime. And as *Aristippus* on a time beheld him washing of Coleworts for his supper, hee sayd vnto him; If thou diddest know (*Diogenes*) how to obey Kings, and to seekethem out, thou wouldest not wash Coleworts. And thou *Aristippus* (quoth he) if thou knewest how to wash Coleworts, thou wouldest not serue Kings, but liue at liberty. What profitable doctrine may a man draw out of these Philosophicall disports and iests? Further, a prudent man neuer beleueth any thing ouerlightly, but layeth aside all reputation and credite of him that speaketh, and examineth the speech by it selfe: so farre is hee from giuing credite to an ignorant or naughty fellow. Neyther will he be dazled with fine and eloquent speech, but (as *Zeno* sayd) considereth whether his speech bee tempered with sense and reason, that so hee may iudge soundly of the truth, and take order thereafter. O what number of examples to this purpose might be alledged of that great harme that hath followed the credulity and light beleefe of Magistrates, Gouvernours and heads of Monarchies and Nations? Alas, our poore France hath but too great experience thereof to her confusion and destruction. But this matter may offer it selfe hereafter to be more amply handled, as also other effects of Prudence, which I haue briefly touched. In the meane while wee will conclude, that Prudence is an excellent gift of God, that it is the guide and light of all the morall vertues, from whence all good and noble actions haue their being and beginning, and that without it a man can doe nothing that is excellent and prayse-worthy.

Pleasant sayings full of doctrine.

A prudent man doth euer lightly beleue any thing.

Of want of prudence and of ignorance, of malice and subtiltie. Chap. II.

A R A M. **N**O man (sayth diuine *Plato*) can be hurt or deceyued, but by himselfe. Which proposition at the first sight may seeme somewhat absurd. But if, being well instructed in Philosophy, wee will follow the opinion of the ancient Sages, that *What soeuer wee see of the body subiect to sight, is not man, but that the soule onely, which is immortall, is that which truly ought to be called man, and that wheteby wee liue, and for which wee ought to liue.* It is out of doubt, that none can hurt our soules but our selues. The kniues wherewith we hurt our soules are eyther want of prudence or malice, which are as pernicious things as can come to man, seeing by them he committeth all sinnes and offences whatsoeuer, and by them hurteth himselfe onely, when as oftentimes hee thinketh to offend another. As then in our former discourse we haue seen the laudable effects of Vertue and Prudence, so let vs now consider, my companions, the dangerous fruites of these two vices, which are altogether contrary vnto it.

How none can be hurt, but by himselfe.

A C H I T O B. If the blind lead the blinde both will fall into the pit: and he that knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not, shall be much more chastised than the ignorant. So that both want of prudence and malice are two plagues in the soule greatly to be feared: and therefore *Bias* sayth, *Be neyther simple nor subtilt.*

A S E R. *Herillus* the Chalcedonian affirmed, that science was the soueraigne good. But we see contrariwise many excellent men for skill and doctrine, who liue most wickedly. So that in my opinion if it be not accompanied with vertuous deedes, it ought rather to be called the chiefe euill: forasmuch as hee that sinneth through ignorance, is more excusable than the malicious, who sinneth wittingly. And for defence of my saying, besides the authority of the Scripture, I haue *Plato*, who sayth, that science without the knowledge and practise of that which is good, is very pernicious. But let vs hearken to A M A N A, who wil discourse vnto vs more at large of these two vices, want of discretion, and malice or subtilty.

Vertuous actions are to be ioyned with knowledge.

A M A N A, All vertue being in the midst of two vices, the one of them is cleane contrary

48 Of want of Prudence, and of Ignorance.

What want of
prudence is.

The perniti-
ous.
effects of ig-
norance.

All ignorant
men are euil.

The effects of
ignorance
both in rich
and poore.

trary vnto it, and the other being more dangerous, seeketh to couer it selfe with her name and it is called of the philosopher a false follower of vertue. For this cause they placed want of prudence, which vice is in the defect, at the right hand of prudence: and at the left hand, malice or craft, which is the excesse, and causeth a man to sinne, not through ignorance, but by deceite and subtiltie, and that vnder the name of prudence. First then let vs consider of want of prudence or vnskilfulnesse, & of the effects thereof in the soule. Vnskilfulnes proceeding or rather being the same thing that ignorance is, causeth a man (as *Aristotle* saith) to iudge euill of things, to deliberate worse, not to know how to take the aduantage of present good things, but to conceiue ill of those things that are good and honest in mans life. And as prudence is the knowledge of that which ought to be done or est vndone, so vnskilfulnes is the ignorance of those selfe same things, and is alwaies followed of incontinency, of want of ciuility, and of forgetfulnes. Briefly want of prudence is so contagious and pestilent a thing in the minde of man that all other infirmities of the spirit, wherewithall it is commonly molested, and all euill actions seeme to proceed from the same. And truely wheresoeuer it is, there neither God can be truely honoured and serued, nor vice auoided, nor any action, either publike or private can be orderly, and according to duty executed. For as a weake and diseased sight cannot behold the light of the Sunne, so an vnskilfull soule cannot know the truth. Vnskilfulnesse causeth a man to fall into seuerity, when he thinkes to exercise iustice. If he would be liberall, he becommeth prodigall. If he thinketh to auoide superfluitie, he falleth into couetousnesse. If he haue any apprehension of the diuine nature, he consumeth his soule with a confused feare through superstition, If his mind cannot conceiue that there is a most happy and blessed nature, foorthwith he indgeth that there is none at all: and thus guided by ignorance, all his desires and inclinations tend to wretchednesse and miserie. Moreouer, *Plato* saith, that ignorance taketh away the sight of the minde from those that are tainted therewith, as blindness taketh away the sight of corporall eies from those that are tainted therewith, as blindness taketh away the sight of corporall eies from those that lacke their sight, And further he testifieth, that the ignorant minde is vile and wretched, and that it is more expedient not to liue at all, than to liue in ignorance. But if we giue credit to *Cicero*, he onely liueth indeed and possesseth a soule, who setting himselfe to some good matter, seeketh after renowne by some notable fact, or by some good art. It is good (saith *Socrates*) to leaue off altogether the vse of that thing wherof we haue no skill to vse it well. And so for those that know not how to vse their eies, eares, and whole body, it were more profitable neither to see, heare, or helpe themselues any way with their body. In like manner it were better for him that knoweth not how to vse his soule, to haue none at all, than to liue. And if he must needs liue, being borne, he should be happier in the estate of a slaue than of a freeman. The speech of this wise philosopher expoundeth it selfe sufficiently, as tending to none other end than to giue vs to vnderstand, that it is better not to be, yea neuer to haue bene borne, than through ignorance to follow vice: and further, that it is more dangerous when a man may freely do so without feare of any greater than himselfe, For as drunkennesse engendreth rage and madnesse, so (saith *Aristotle*) ignorance ioyned with power begetteth insolencie and fury. And it is all one (as *Plato* saith) to place an ignorant man in authority, as to lay a great burden vpon the shoulders of a man halfe dead through weakenes. All these things make me iudge an ignorant man to be, I will not onely say, like an image or blocke of wood, but in a manner nothing differing from the brute beasts. This caused the ancients to vse this saying: that *Every ignorant man was euil*. And *Terence* going yet further saith, that The earth beareth nothing worse than an ignorant man. And in truth what mischiefes doe wee not see to come of ignorance? If a man be of a meane or base estate, it maketh him good for nothing, fearefull, superstitious, vnprofitable, needy, vnciuill, slothfull, and vnfit to e- uery good thing. If hee bee mighty and rich, besides that he may fall into the said miseries through the same imperfection, hee will so much the sooner become arrogant, cruell, rash, talkatiue, couetous, vnconstant, giuen to voluptuousnesse, and vniust. In a word, the more meanes hee shall haue to exercise vices, the richer in them will he grow to be through ignorance: and so not being able to gouerne himselfe, he must needs be vnworthy to intermeddle at all either in politicall or oeconomicall gouernment. If an ignorant man possesse any great benefite or felicity, he can neuer know so much, before he hath lost it againe. Moreouer, this mischiefe followeth him, that he can neuer make his profite of any good counsell, because of the presumption of his owne opinion, which he alwayes thinketh better then any other: yea hee supposeth that nothing can bee well done, except he put to his helping hand.

hand. For (as *Menauder* saith) nothing is so rash as ignorance. And the more that an ignorant man is lift vp vnto some excellencie of dignity or riches, the more vnufferable hee is, as one that knoweth not how to vse them: so that he is puffed vp with pride aboue measure, and not content with his estate, but driuen with ambition, hee presumeth oftentimes to vndertake things against all reason and equitie. And contrariwise, if fortune change, hee abaseth himselfe out of measure, shewing nothing but abiection of mind, inconstancie and impatency, and that with so great trouble and disquietnesse of spirit, that oftentimes hee is wholly besides himselfe. Now these are but small fruites of ignorance, namely, to make a man importunate: to cause him to slay another that hath great affaires, saying that he hath many things to communicate vnto him, when in truth they will doe him but small pleasure: to desire one that hath lost his suite to bestow a dinner vpon him, promising to tell him a way how he may recouer it againe: to speake ill of women, when he is invited to weddings, or in their company: to request him to walke that hath already gone a great way: when he seeth a thing sould to bring a chapman to the seller, who would haue giuen a great deale more for it: to repeate one thing oftentimes: to shew himselfe ready to doe that which a man would not haue him to doe, and yet dare not well deny it him: to wonder at all things; and to speake all in a word, an vnskillfull man is alwaies in all places and in all affaires vacuill and impertinent. The examples of these foresaid effects are but too familiar amongst vs. And first concerning these of small and meane estate and condition, how many millions of men haue there bin in the ages past, and doe liue yet among vs, whose life being ignorant of euery good cause and reason, is not much vlike, and in many things worse than that of brute beasts? The originall of so many errors, foolish opinions, and impieties, hath it not had passage through the midst of their soules, because they had no true knowledge of the end of their being, nor of his will by whom they liue? From thence it cometh, that the best aduised among them exercise base handicrafts, not being desirous to learne further: that some leade a seruile & contemptible life, bringing their bodies and soules in subiection to the lusts and wicked desires of the greater sort: that others remaine idle and vnprofitable, seeking to maintain their liues by vnlawfull meanes: that all through a blockish ignorance deprive themselves of all present and eternall felicity. Now albeit these poore men, who haue no great meanes to execute their wicked desires, may after a sort seeme tollerable and excusable to mans iudgement, because their ignorance doth not greatly hurt any but themselves, yet it falleth out far worse with those that haue wealth at will, and authority to command others, who not knowing how to vse their goods well by vertuous deedes, abuse them to all vice, dissolutenes, and pleasure: whereby for the most part they cast themselves headlong into infidelity and Atheisme, because they neuer had true vnderstanding of the perfect diuinity, nor yet considered the perfection of his works both in heauen and earth. O pitifull calamity abounding in this our age more than euer it did. A thousand millions of Pagans and heathens considering that there was nothing to be misliked in the heauens, neither any negligence, disorder, or confusion in the moouing of the stars, nor in the seasons of the yeare, nor in their reuolutions, nor in the course of the sunne about the earth, which causeth the day and the night, no not in the nourishing and preservation of all sorts of liuing creatures, nor in the generation of yearely fruits, and for a thousand other good considerations, beleueued & worshipped one supreme eternall essence, which governeth all things: and shall they that carry the name of Christians, to whom the vnspokeable treasures of the heauens haue bin opened and offered with innumerable graces, shall they, I say, doubt, yea impudently deny that there is a God? But let vs returne to our matter. It is most certaine, that the higher that ignorant men are aduanced, so much without question are their faults greater than those of meane estate, because they are hurtfull to many. Yea oftentimes it hath come to passe, that one onely fault of such a man hath bin the losse and destruction of an infinite number of men. *Nicias* the general Captaine of the Athenians, through the feare which he had conceiued of the darknes of an Eclipse of the moone, and not knowing the cause thereof, staid so long vntill his enemies had inclosed him round about: whereupon hee was taken aliue of them, and put to death, besides the losse of 40000. Athenians that were taken and slaine. Who doubteth but that ignorance draue *Caligula* and *Domitian* into such pride and cruelty, that whilest they sought to be worshipped in stead of the true God, they were the cause of the death and destruction of more then a hundred thousand men? In the time of *Otho* the first, there fell a stone from heauen, which astonished all Germany, and turned them from prosecuting an enterprize of great weight and importance for the benefit of their country. If they had knowne it to bee a naturall thing, and such as had come to passe long before

Common effects of ignorance.

The spring of all errors.

The reasons which mooued the heathen to beleue that there was a diuinitie.

Nicias feared an eclipse of the moone.

Caligula and *Domitian*.

Otho the first.

50 Of want of prudence, and of Ignornace.

Anaxagoras,
saying against
the superstiti-
ous feare of
celestiall
signes.

Cleander a
traitor to
Commodus
his Lord.

The base
mind of perſes
being ouer-
come of
Emilius.

What malice
& craft are.

before, as *Aristotle* affirmeth, they had not bin so fearefull, nor receiued that dammage to the detriment of the Common wealth, which came to them afterward. That speech of *Anaxagoras* a Greek Philosopher, agreeable hereunto, is worthy to be remembred, when hee saide, that a man ought to driue out of himselfe, and to treade vnder his feete all superstitious feare of the heavenly signes and impressions of the aire, which worke great terror in them that are ignorant of their causes, and that feare the Gods with a forlorne and amazed feare, because they want that certaine knowledge that Philosophy bringeth, which in stead of a trembling and alwaies terrifying superstition, engendreth true deuotion, accompanied with an assured hope of good. Let vs looke a little into our Chronicles, and consider what profit our kings receiued by their ignorance, when they were called *Simple*, when they stood but for images, and were seene of their subiects but once a yeare. They suffered their wise maisters of the pallace to take knowledge of, and to order and to rule all things, who depriving them as vnworthy, of al authority, took possession in the end of their crowne. And surely it is no lesse pernicious for the greater sort to aduance ignorant men to charges and places of honor, and to vse their counsell, than to be ignorant themselves. For (as we said) ignorance causeth him that is aduanced to forget himselfe, and listeth him vp into all pride. There are amongst vs too many examples of the ambition and presumption of many ignorant men: who, contrary to *Torquatus* that refused the Consulship because of his diseased eies, altogether blind as they are deafe, dumbe, and destitute of all naturall light, of prudence and experience to guide themselves, are not contented to manage the sailes & tacklings, but desire to haue the rudder of the Comowalth in their hands. And it is greatly to be feared, that such vnskilfull and ambitious men will in the end shew themselves both in wil & practise to be imitators of one *Cleander* an outlandish slaue, who being preferred by *Commodus* the Emperour to goodly offices and great places of honour, as to be great Master of his men of war, and his chiefe Chamberlaine, conspired not withstanding against his Lord, seeking to attaine to the imperiall dignity by seditious, which hee stirred vpe in Rome betweene the people and the soldiers. But through good order taken, his enterprise tooke no effect, except the losse of his own head, and destruction of his house. Although oftentimes it falleth out cleane contrary through the iust punishment of God, for the ignorance and impiety as well of the monarchs themselves, as of their people. Now if fortune turne her selfe about, and set her selfe neuer so little against an ignorant person, he is straight way overcome with a thousand perturbations, and vrged with despaire, as being onely grounded before vpon the vaine and weake hope and confidence in externall and vncertaine goods. *Perſes*, King of Macedonia, and one of the successors of *Alexander* the Great in his great conquests, but not in his vnspeakeable vertues, was overcome in battle by *Paulus Emilius*, chiefe captaine of the Romans, and was led towards him. *Emilius* as soone as he saw him, arose from his seate, and went forward to receiue and honor him, as being a great personage, and fallen into that mishap by the hazard of fortune. But *Perſes* being wholly beaten downe through faintnes and basenes of mind, cast himselfe at his feate vpon the ground with his face downward, vsing such abieft requests and supplications, and so vnbeseeing the vertue of a king that the conqueror could not abide them, but said thus vnto him: Alas poore ignorant man as thou art, how dost thou by discharging fortune accuse thy selfe in this sort to be the onely cause of this ill successe that is befallen thee, seeing thou neuer deseruedst that honor, which thou hast had heretofore, because of thy base minde within thee, which hath made thee an vnworthy aduersary of the Romans? And truly a man cannot iustly bee called through the benefite of fortune, but by knowing how to vse her wel & wisely both in prosperity and aduersity. As for an ignorant and base minded man, the higher that fortune listeth him vp in great estate where he shall be viewed of many, so much the more she discovereth, descrieth, & dishonoureth him. For great calling, & riches are no more able to lift vp the hart of a base minded fellow, than pouerty can abate and lesse the great courage of a noble heart. I could here alledge many moe examples of the pernicious effects that are (as wee haue said) wrought in the soule by ignorance, but hereafter they wil come in more fitly, when we shal discourse particularly of vices. Onely I say here with *Plato*, that arrogant ignorance hath now more than euer seized vpon the minds of men, and filled them with euills, as beeing the root and spring of them: that it peruerteth all things, and causeth him that possesseth her to taste in the end of a most bitter fruite. Now to come to malice and craft, which is the excellence of prudence, it is that which leadeth a man through wilfull ignorance, to oppose himselfe against that which he knoweth to be dutifull and honest, causing him vnder the counterfeit name of prudence to seeke to deceiue those that will beleue him. This vice is the

Of want of prudence and of ignorance. 51

the chiefe cause of ambition and couetousnes, which most meserue in these daies: but aboue all things it is an enemy to iustice, causing all their actions to tend to the ouerthrow therof. To this purpose *Cicero* saith, that the craftier and subtiler a man is, the more he is to be suspected and hated, as one that hath lost all credite of goodnesse. All knowledge seuered from iustice ought rather to be called craft and malice than science and prudence. Neither is the onely act of malice (as the same author saith) euill and wicked, but also the deliberation therof although it take no effect, yea the onely thought thereof is vile and detestable: so farre is it, that any couering or cloake can excuse a fault committed of malice. Also he saith, that in deliberating all hope of concealing and hiding the fact must be taken away, for as much as vertuous men ought to seeke after honest, not secret things. Moreouer it is the property of a malicious man to choose hypocrisie and dissimulation for his companions. Besides he hath for his first author and father *Sathan*, who by his subtiltie and craft abused the simplicity of our first mother to the ouerthrow of all mankind. Amongst many we may note here the example of *Nero* a most cruell Emperor, who being instructed from his youth by that wise man *Seneca* his schoole-master, in the beginning of his Empire counterfeited so great bountifullnes and clemencie, that when he was to set his hand to the condemnation of one adiudged to die, he cried out and said, Would to God I had no learning, then should I be excused from subscribing to any mans death. Notwithstanding within a while after he disclosed his detestable impiety & cruelty, by putting to death his mother, his tutor, and a great number of honest men against all right and iustice. Moreouer he purposely caused fire to be put into all quarters of Rome, forbidding vnder paine of death that any should quench it, insomuch that more then half the city was cleane consumed: Afterward, to the end he might haue some colour to persecute the Christians, he laid to their charge the kindling of the fire, and so put a great number of them to death. *Tyberius* also in the beginning of his reigne behaued himselfe so wisely, vertuously, and gently, that he seemed to be (saith *Suetonius*) a simple and plaine citizen. And yet soone after he became as detestable a tyrant as euer was, for cruelty and filthy pleasures. True it is that one may attribute the cause of such sodaine alteration of humors to the soueraigne authority and power of commanding, which commonly hath this property to make him that seemed good to become wicked: the humble to be arrogant: the pitiful, cruell, the valiant, a coward. But it is alwaies more likely that a Prince changing his nature so quickly vseth to counterfeit and to dissemble, and to put a goodly vizard vpon his face, as historiographers write, that *Tyberius* could behaued himselfe cunningly in that sort. Now that we may profit by this discourse, let vs learne to be prudent and simple as the Scripture speaketh, eschewing all shameles and damnable malice and deceite, all want of prudence and ignorance, which procure the losse of soule and bodie, whereof a man may accuse none but himselfe. For ignorance (saith *Menander*) is a voluntary mischiefe. And although the knowledge of good and euill is most necessary of all others, yet it is most easie. For the obtaining whereof, and auoiding (through the grace of God) of that condemnation, which is to fall vpon the blinde, and vpon the guides of the blinde, let vs neuer be ashamed to confesse our ignorance in those things whereof we want instruction: following therein that precept of *Plato*, That we must not be ashamed to learne, least happely we be hit in the teeth to our confusion with that saying of *Diogenes* to a young man whom he espied in a tauerne, who being ashamed to be seene there, speedily step further into the same. The more thou runnest in (quoth this wise man to him) the further thou art in the tauerne. Euen so we shall neuer cure our ignorance by denying or hiding it, but the wiser we seeke to be accounted, the more ignorant we shall remaine: not vnlike to poore men, who beeing desirous to seeme rich, in the end finde themselves poorer than before, by reason of their vaine & foolish expences. But the ignorant man that searcheth for wisdom and inquireth after her, shall be in some sort esteemed wise, and that iniquity ought to be taken for an argument of his wit and prudence: as contrariwise he that taketh himselfe for a wise man and presumeth too much of his skill, falleth often into shame and dishonour, being reprobued of many. Therefore let vs daily accuse our selues of too much ignorance, knowing that euen the sharpest sighted do see but through a cloud & mist, I meane the instrument of our body, from which we shall not be deliuered vntill we haue put off this mortall to be clothed with that which is immortall in the enioying of the blessed life. So that it will be alwaies necessary for vs during this life, to learne and to profit in the knowledge of the truth, which is an enemy to ignorance.

Vertuous men
seek after honest,
not secret things.

Satan the father
of malice & subtil-
tie.

The malice
of *Nero*.

Tyberius.

Mat. 10. 16.

We must not
deny or hide
our ignorance.

AMANA. **H**Aving spent all this day in discoursing of prudence, and of those vices that are contrary vnto it, I thinke that to finish this daies worke, wee shall doe well to take in hand againe, and to follow that which was too briefly handled concerning the commendable effects of this vertue of prudence in the soule of a wise man. This appeareth no lesse in speech than in any other action thereof, forasmuch as of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. But it is a great vertue to speake little and well. The discourse of this matter I leaue to you my companions.

ASER. Surely the speech of man is a diuine worke, and of great admiration. And therefore wee ought to account it sacriledge to pollute and defile so holy a thing with filthy and vile talke. A good man alwaies draweth good things out of the treasure of his heart, and a wicked man euill things. Therefore I greatly commend that saying of *Plutarke*: *That speech is as it were the nourishment of the soule, which is corrupted, and becommeth odious through the wickednesse of men.*

ACHITOB. Hee that hath knowledge (saith the wise man) spareth his words: euen a foole, when hee holdeth his peace is counted wise, and hee that stoppeth his lippes prudent. If any man long after life, and to see good daies, let him refraine his tongue from euill, and his lips that they speake no guile. For euery one shall eate of the fruite of his mouth to saluation, or to condemnation. But wee will heare ASER discoursing more at large vpon this matter.

A double reason of speech. ASER. In the writings of the learned we finde mention made of a double speech or reason: the one internal, or of the minde, called the diuine guide: the other vttered in speech, which is the messenger of the conceites and thoughts of man. The end of the first is friendship towards a mans selfe. For respecting onely the marke of vertue, through the instructions of philosophie, it maketh a man to agree alwaies with himselfe, it causeth him to complaine neuer, to repent him of nothing, it maketh him full of peace, full of loue and of contentation in his owne vertue, it healeth him of euery rebellious passion that disobeieth reason, of all contention betweene will and will, and of the contrariety of discourses. O rare excellencie, which floweth from wisdom into the soules of blessed men! The end of the other reason, or vttered speech, is friendship towards others, which causeth vs to speake and teach whatsoeuer is fruitefull and profitable for euery one, and carrieth with it great force to perswade. Of this speech we purpose heere to intreate, as of that which occupieth no small place, but euen very great amongst the secrets of nature, and which ought to raiuish vs into an admiration of his workes who is author thereof. The Philosophers, diligent searchers out the reason of all things, say that speech is made by aire beaten and framed with articulate and distinct sound. But howsoeuer it is framed, the reason thereof is harde to bee comprehended of humane sence. And wee ought to bee so much the more desirous to know for what cause it was giuen vs, and to feare least wee make it vnprofitable or wickedly imploy so great, wonderfull, and diuine a thing. *Democritus* saide that words were the shadow of workes. *Themistocles* compared speech to a rich cloth of tapestrie, figured and set forth with stories, because that both in the one and the other those things that are fashioned and represented, are then seene when they are opened and displaied, and are not subiect to sight, neither bring any delight or contentation, when they are folded vp and hidden. When a wise man openeth his lips (saith *Socrates*) we behold as it were in a temple, the goodly similitudes and images of the soule. Vertue (saith *Plutarke*) hath no instrument so gracious or familiar as speech, which being followed of workes, is of great efficacie and force, and wonderfully pricketh forward those that heare vs, causing them to giue credite to our sayings, and working in them a desire to resemble vs. *Aeschines* said very well, that it is not so necessarie, that the Orator and the Law should agree in one and the same thing, as it is requisite, that the life of a Philosopher should be conformable and agreeable with his doctrine and speech. Moreouer, a wise man ought to take euery word he speaketh for a voluntary and particular law, laide vpon himselfe, seeing that Philosophie is a profession of serious, graue, and weighty matters, and not a play or prittle prattle, vnconstantly vttered to obtaine honor onely. Whereby we see that all talke ought to haue reason for a foundation, and the loue of our neighbour for a marke to aime at. This is that which *Agabus* would teach vs, when he saith, *That the tongue is a slippery instrument, and bringeth great danger to those that neglect it: but if we direct it with a religious vnderstanding,*

How speech is framed.

Words are the shadow of workes.

The foundation and trope of all speech.

Of speech and speaking.

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standing, it will sing vs a song tuned with all the concords of a true harmonie of vertue. *Plutarke* saith, that speech ought to bee like gold, which is then of greatest price of value, when it hath least dross in it: so a few words ought to comprehend great store of substantiall matter and instruction. Such was the speech of the auncient Gracians, as the sentences vttered by them doe testifie: namely, *Know thy selfe, Nothing too much, Nothing more than enough*, and other short speeches full of great and profitable doctrine. Whereupon this prouerbe arose, *Laconicall sayings*, that is, short and sententious, which resemble streames running through a narrow straight, where the water is so pressed together, that one cannot see through it. And so truly it was very harde without skill and great labour to comprehend the depth of the sence and vnderstanding of their wordes, which were full of sententious grauity. And when they were to answer any thing propounded on a suddaine, auoiding all superfluous speech, their answers were very witty and well contriued, their wordes very significant and short, hauing in them both grace and grauity ioyned together. As when *Philip* king of Macedonia wrote vnto them, that if hee entred within Laconia, hee would ouerthrow them topsie turuie: they wrote backe vnto him onely this word, *If*. And another time, as *Demetrius* one of his successors, beeing angry with the ambassadour which they sent vnto him, asked if hee came alone from the Lacedæmonians to him, the ambassadour made this onely answer, *One to one*. *Pittacus* vsed to say, that a drye and thirstie eare must bee washed with a sentence that is good to drinke, and that speech grounded vpon reason onely, is able to content and satisfie the hearing. Notwithstanding that we may the rather and the more profite others, wee are not to neglect, if it may be, the ioyning of graue doctrine with sweete gracious and eloquent speech, mingled with some pleasure, grace, and delight, but voide of all dissolutenesse. For (as *Euripides* saith) that is the goodliest assemblie in the world, where the Graces and Muses meete together. Right and reason are inuincible, beeing well vttered, because the soule is thereby induced easily to beleue the good reasons shee heareth, through the delight that is ioyned with them. Examples also being vttered fitlie, and with a good grace, profite no lesse than the other, because with the force of perswading, which is in the nature of the example, there is ioyned the vertue of delighting. But we must carefullie auoyde all subtiltie of speech, all proude, superfluous, and vnprofitable talke, lest that bee iustly objected vnto vs, which *Phocion* replied to *Leosthenes* who laboured to perswade the Athenians to warre by an eloquent and verie loftie oration. Thy words, (quoth hee to him) young man and my friend, may fitly bee compared to Cypres trees. For they are great and tall, but beare no fruit worth any thing. Or else that may be objected vnto vs which *Aristotle* answered to a great pleader of causes, who at euery sentence he rehearsed, asked him, if that were not a strange thing. Not that, (replied he) but this is a greater maruaile, that any man hauing two legges can abide thy babling. And to another, who after a long discourse said vnto him, I haue troubled thy head Philosopher: Not a whit (answered he) for I thought not vpon it. Such bablers, whom *Plato* verie aptlie calleth the eues of time, are compared by *Plutarke* to emptie vessels, which giue a greater sound thā they that are full. So hee that is poore in respect of the goods of the soule, hath alwayes some fonde speech in his mouth. But wee must aboue all things shunne this vice of intemperancie of the tongue, which *Bias* calleth the best and worst thing that was. It serueth vs to profit & instruct others, and by the same also wee hurt and corrupt others. And as a little fire consumeth a great wood, so this little member, which is a fire, yea, a world of iniquitie, defileth all the bodie, and setteth on a flaming fire the whole world, if it bee not extinguished and repressed. It seemeth that nature would teach vs by fortifying the tongue better than any other part of the bodie, and by setting before it the bulwarke of the teeth, that if it will not obey reason, which being within ought to serue in stead of a bridle, to stay it from preuenting the thought, we might restraine and chastice the impudencie thereof with bloudie biting. And because we haue two eares and two eyes, it ought to serue vs for instruction, that wee must heare and see much more than wee speake. Doe we not also see, that sight & hearing goe before speaking, and that of necessitie, an infant must first vnderstand before hee can be able to speake? *Isocrates* appointed onely two times to speake in: the one, when the matter is necessarie: and the other, when a man speaketh that which he knoweth. And this we may put in practise without blame in this maner. As touching the first point, it is lawfull and seemelie for vs to speake, when we stand in need of any thing, secondly, when our speech shal profit any, also to delight & recreate one another with pleasant deuises, void of dissolutenesse, to mollifie and to ease the trauell of our affaires, or else to relish our rest the better,

Of Laconical speech.

A pretie saying of Pittacus.

Of graue and eloquent speech.

Against prating pleaders.

The tongue is the best and worst thing that is.

Isocrates appointed two times of speaking.

Appelles
speech to a
perthan lord.

How great
men ought
to speak.

Appelles speech
to a shoe-
maker.

Alexander
gaue money to
a poet to hold
his peace.

Nothing
ought to bee
written with
out great de-
liberation.

Notable and
pithy letters
of ancient
men.

A good pre-
cept for spea-
king.

and to induce vs thereby to giue glory to God. All speech not grounded vpon one of these three causes were better restrained than vttered, Moreouer wee ought to obserue inuolably the second point of not speaking that which we know not, except it be in seeking and asking after instruction: remembring that which *Apelles* once spake to *Megabytes* a great Persian Lord, who comming into his shoppe to see him, intermingled some talke of the art of painning, So long(quoth *Apelles* to him(as thou were silent, thou seemedst to be some man of great account: by reason of thy chaines, carquenets of gold and purple gowne: but now there is not the least of these boies that grinde oker, who doth not mocke thee, hearing thee speake that which thou knowest not. By which saying wee may note, that great men ought to weigh well, and to consider of that which they speake in publike places, and to vse graue and sententious words of another phraze than that of the vulgar sort, or else to holde their peace if they haue not this gift of speaking. Or at the least they are to speake but little, seeing the very words, gesture and countenance of a prince, are oftentimes taken for Lawes, Oracles, and decrees. *Tiberius* also brought vp this custome of speaking to the Prince by writing, and of his answer by the same, to the end that nothing should escape his mouth that was not well considered of before. But to continue our matter, as the aboue named painter had set foorth a table of his owne for all men to behold, & had hid himselfe behind it, that he might heare what could be reprehended, a shoemaker espied a fault in the fashion of the latchet, which *Apelles* afterward corrected. And hauing the next morning hung it out againe to be viewed, this shoemaker passing by, and seeing that his opinion was followed, entred further to speake against other lineaments. But the painter not able to beare his boldnes came from behinde his table, and stopped his mouth with this saying, *That a shoemaker ought not to iudge of greater matters than of the shoe*. This is the meaning of that common prouerbe, to goe about to teach *Minerva*: which is so intolerable a thing in men of honour, and so pernicious in the simpler sort that are light of beliefe, that for this cause *Alexander* the Great gaue money to *Cherillus* an ignorant poet, to hold his peace and to leaue writing. And seeing we are entred into this matter, we must know that wee ought to bee much more staied and aduised in writing any thing, than in bare speaking: because a rash and inconsiderate word may be corrected presently, and that which is once set downe in writing can no more be denied, or amended but with infamy. As therefore a man had neede of a ready and quicke wit to bee able to speake well: so great wisdom is very necessary to write well, yea the same rules and precepts that belong to speaking, agree also to writing. Besides, writing is called of many, a dumb speech, which ought to be short and full of instruction. *Cesar* in a letter which he sent to Rome from the Persian battaile, wrote but these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, that is to say, *I came, sawe, and ouercame*. *Oetavian* writing to his nephew *Caius Drusus*, said thus: For as much as thou art now in *Illiria* remember that thou descendest of *Cesars*, that the Senate hath sent thee, that thou art yong, my nephew, and a Citizen of Rome. *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the younger, vsed these words onely. To kill thy brother, to double thy tributes, to force the people, to forget thy friends, to take good men for thine enemies, are the works of a tyrant. *Pompey* writing to the Senate from the east parts: saide thus: Fathers of the Senate, *Damascus* is taken. *Pentapolis* is subdued, *Syria*, *Afcalonia* and *Arabia* are confederates, and *Palestina* is vanquished. Wee see then the manner of writing vsed by the auncients, for which breuity they were as much esteemed, as the great discoursers of these times after iust occasion of correction. But to returne againe into the path way of speaking, we haue in *Cicero* a notable instruction for this matter. Let our speech (saith he) be sweete and pleasant, not headstrong: and when wee discourse, let vs not be so long that wee hinder others from speaking. For speech of all other things ought to be mutuall and equall. Moreouer we must haue respect to that thing whereof we speake. If a man discourse of graue matters, he must adde a certaine severity, but if he speake of delectable things, a pleasant and gracious behauiour. Aboue all things we must take heede, that our speech discouer not some vice to be in our maners, which commonly falleth out when wee speake euill of a man in his absence, either to moue laughter, or to his shame and reproach. We must also remember, if our speech vpon some occasion coming between intermit the first discourse, that it return again in coueniēt time. But that is as things fall out. For al take not pleasure in the same things, nor at all times, & as we haue begun vpon some occasiō, so we must end by some means. Now because in euery actiō of our life the perturbatiō of the soule are to be eschewed, we must be careful that our speech bee voided thereof: namely, that it bee without choler, without extreame affections, also without carelesnesse, and other such like imperfection. Especially we must strue to make it knowne, that we

we loue and reuerence those with whom we speake. Further, we must know that silence in due time and place, is profound wisdom, a sober and modest thing, and full of deepe secrets. This caused *Archidamus*, when hee saw that *Hecatus* the Orator was blamed for not speaking one word at a banquet, to answer for him, that they which know how to speake well, know also the time of silence. *Hyperides* likewise being at a feast amongst a great assembly, very full of noyse and pleasure, and being asked why hee spake nothing, answered thus: It is no time now to discourse of those things for which I am fitte: and as for those things, which the time now requireth, I am vnfitte. *Bias* being mocked of a babler, because hee spake nothing all a Supper while, answered him thus: How is it possible that a foole should hold his peace at the table? The Ambassadors of the King of Persia being at a feast with a citizen of Athens, and seeing *Zeno* the great Philosopher say nothing; they began to flatter him, and to drinke to him, saying; What shall wee tell the King our master concerning you, Master *Zeno*? Nothing else (quoth he) but that you saw an oldeman, who knew well how to hold his peace at the table. And truely no speech vttered did euer so much good, as many kept in, haue profited: and that which is restrained may be spoken at any time; but a word giuen out can no more bee called backe againe. For wordes (as the Poet sayth) haue wings, and are presently dispersed euery where: and many repent that they haue spoken, but neuer that they held their peace. How many examples do histories set before our eyes of men, who through the intemperancie of their tongues, haue throwne themselves headlong into infinit calamities, and of mightie Cities and great Estates destroyed & ouerthrown through the disclosing of some secret? The City of Athens was taken and destroyed by *Sylla* the Romane dictatour, who by his spies was admonished of the prating of certaine oldemen in a Barbers shop, where they talked of a certaine place of the towne that was weakest, and worst defended. The ouermuch talke of one only man was the cause that Rome was not deliuered from the tyranny of *Nero*. For seeing one of the prisoners that was taken by the tyrant to be dismayed because hee should be put to death, he willed him to pray to God that he might escape but vntill the morrow onely, and then he should haue cause of reioycing. Whereupon the Prisoner thinking with himselfe, that it were better for him to choose a certainty than to expect an vncertainetie, and to prefer a safe way to saue his life, before a iust, disclosed this speech to *Nero*, who knew well how to remedie the conspiracie. The Gentleman of Normandie who in his confession, told a Franciscan Fryer, that he was once minded to haue killed *Francis* the first, may well be placed amongst these ouermuch speakers. For the King being aduertised hereof by the Franciscan Frier, sent the poor penitentie to the court of Parliament, where he receiued sentence of death. Those that are noblie & royally brought vp (sayth *Plutarke*) learne first to hold their peace, and then to speake. Therefore *Antigonus* the Great being demanded by his sonne, at what houre the Campe should dislodge, Art thou afraid (quoth he to him) that thou alone shalt not heare the trumpet? He trusted not him with a secret matter, to whom the succession of the Empire was to come: teaching him thereby to bee more close and secret in such matters. Euery particular man likewise ought to be no lesse aduised in vsing great discretion, when the question is of vttering any thing which a man would haue concealed. For hee (saith *Plato*) to whom one discloseth a secret, getteth the others libertie. Now in this laudable silence which we commend here, we haue this to marke well, that when the question is of speaking a truth, or of profiting another, we ought not to doubt in anie case, what pretence soeuer there be, to speake, vtter, maintain, & free lie to giue counsell in that thing, which concerneth the duty of a good man, or the charge whereunto we are called. The Sages and vertuous men heretofore haue alwayes shewed themselves to be such in their free counsels and wise declarations, as hereafter we may handle more largely. In the meane time wee may haue here *Demaratus* for an example of this commendable liberty of speech, who coming from Corinth into Macedonia, when *Philip* was at variance with his wife and with his sonne, was demanded by the King, whether the Græcians did agree well among themselves: Truely sir, (quoth he to him) it becommeth you well to enquire after the concord of the Athenians and Peloponensians, and in the meane while to suffer your owne house to be full of diuision and domesticall discord. *Diogenes* also being gone to the Campe of the same *Philip*, at the same time that hee returned from making warre against the Græcians, and being led before him, the King asked him if he were not a Spie. Yestruely, answered the Philosopher, I am a Spie, and come hither to espie thy impudencie and folly, who not constrained by any, doest set downe as it were on a dycing boord in the hazard of one houre, both thy kingdom and life. *Demosthenes* being demanded

The prayse of silence.

Hyperides.

Examples of mischiefs caused by the intemperancie of the tongue.

Of concealing a secret.

Examples of the commendable freedom of speech.

of the tyrant *Epemetes*, why hee wept so bitterlie for the death of a Philosopher, a companion of his, seeing it was a strange matter to see wise men weepe, yea altogether vnbeseeming their profession. Know (said he to him) that I weepe not for the death of this Philosopher, but because thou art a liue. For I tell thee that in the Academies we are more sorrowfull for the life of the wicked, than for the death of good men. Let vs learne then by our present discourse, that talk being the messenger of thought discloseth our maners a great deale more than the lines and draughts of our face doe. And as that tree whose roote is drie can haue no greene leaves: so from a vitious and corrupted soule, nothing but vile and filthie speeches can proceede, which a wise man ought wholie to shunne, because to make small account of euill words, leadeth a man by little and little to dishonest deeds. Let all vain speech also bee banished from vs, and let vs take great heed, that we neuer speake, either in sport or earnest any one word that is not true, knowing that to be true in word, is the beginning & foundation of a notable vertue. Moreouer, let vs know, that truth is not onely betrayed of those that speake falsely, and maintaine a lye, but also of those that dare not confesse and defend it publikely. Let vs know that aboue all things we must dedicate our voice & speech to sing the prayes of God, remembring the saying of that holy man *Gordius*, who, as he was led to the place of punishment, was exhorted by some to leaue his opinion, and to saue his life. To whom he answered, That the tongue ought to vtter nothing that is iniurious to the Creator thereof. Lastly, let vs know that we must referre euery word to the glory of his name, and the profite of our neighbours.

The constancie of Gordius.

The end of the third daies worke.

The fourth daies worke.

Of Friendship, and of a Friend, Chap. 13.

A SER.



An being a reasonable Creature, born for ciuill societie to obserue lawes and iustice, and to exercise in the world all duties of gentleness and goodnesse, the sayrest and most fruitfull seedeth that God hath infused and sowne in his soule, and that draweth him to this end, is loue and charitie towards his like. But as euerie action of mans life standeth in need to be guided by the vertue of prudence, whereof we discoursed yesterday, so in truth she is verie necessarie in euerie good and vnfained friendship, For this cause I thinke (companions) that we shall obserue the order of our discourses, if wee beginne this dayes worke with the handling of friendship, and of the true and perfect dutie of a friend.

Prudence requisite in a friend.

No outward thing is to be preferred before friendship.

Nothing more rare or excellent than a friend.

A M A N A, Nothing that seemeth to be profitable, whether it be honour, riches, pleasure, or whatsoeuer else is of this kind, ought to be preferred in any respect before friendship. Yea, a man is to make more account of friendes (as *Socrates* said) then of any other mortal thing.

A R A M. Perfect friendship (sayth *Aristotle*) is to loue our friend more for his benefite than for our owne: and therefore a friend is alwayes profitable and necessarie. But hee is greatly deceyued (sayth *Homer*) that seeketh for a friend in the Court, and proueth him at a feast. But let vs heare A C H R I T O B discourse hereupon.

A C H R I T O B. Rare things are commonly most esteemed amongst men, and the more precious they are of their owne nature, so much the more are they had in request. This wee may verie aptly apply to a friend, seeing there is nothing so rare as one that is vnfained and stedfast, neyther any thing so excellent and perfect as he is, if he be a good and prudent man. And for this cause the Philosophers accounted friendship to be the chiefest and most excellent good of Fortune, as being least of all subiect to her, and most necessarie for man. But because the wickednesse of men is so great in these dayes, that nothing is so sacred and holy which is not violated, corrupted and brought to confusion: no maruell if men impudentlie abuse this name of a friend (so much reuerenced in olde time) that some take it to themselves being altogether vnworthie thereof, and others as freely, although to their losse and shame, grant them this excellent title, and esteeme them for such in truth towards them, as they falselie vaunt themselves to be. But that wee bee not deceyued with the great number which

which is not alwaies the surest marke, let vs briefly consider what friendship is, what fruits spring from her, who may rightly challenge this title of a friend, what manner of one we ought to choose, how we must trie him before we take him for such a one, then the meanes whereby to keepe him, and lastly what mutuall dutie friends are to vse one towards another. First we say with *Socrates*, that true friendship cannot be framed but by the helpe and grace of God, who draweth like to the loue of his like: that euery perfect friendship is to be linked with the bond of charitie, and ought to be referred to God, as to our soueraine good and chiefest friend: and therefore that true friendship cannot be settled betwene the wicked, who being at discorde within themselves, can haue no concord and agreement one with another. Moreover, there is to be found in friendship whatsoeuer men thinke worthie to be desired, as honesty, glory, tranquillitie of minde, and pleasure: and consequently a happy life, which cannot be amongst the wicked. Friendship is a communion of a perpetuall will, the end whereof is fellowship of life, and it is framed by the perfect habite of a long continued loue, Whereby we may perceiue, that there is a difference betwixt loue and friendship: because loue is a desire of the thing loued, and a beginning of friendship, but friendship is an inveterate and ancient loue, wherein is more pleasure than desire. To loue (saith *Cicero*) is nothing else but to be desirous to profite and pleasure another without hope of recompence. For otherwise friendship would be a meere merchandise, whereas it ought to be as free as charitie. *Socrates* also said, that the end of friendship was, that of two soules one should be made in will and affection, and that none should loue himselfe better than his friend. For there is a meane to be kept in all things, except in conuersing with a friend, in regard of whom this ought to be resolved vpon, that he is either wholly to be forsaken, or wholly to be trusted. What shall I hide from my friend (saith *Homer*) or what letteth why I may not thinke my selfe alone when I am with him? Whereby it appeareth vnto vs, that a friend is a second selfe, and that whosoever would take vpon him this title in regard of another, he must transforme himselfe into his nature whom he purposeth to loue, and that with a steadfast and settled minde to continue so for euer. Hereupon one of the ancients speaking of him that loueth perfectly, saith, that he liueth in another mans body. Friends therefore ought of necessitie to haue a coniunction and conformitie of manners, of desires, of passions, of speech, of studies, of pleasures, of inclinations, of intermissions, if they minde to professe perfect friendship. Whereby we may easily ghesse, that he which entertaineth many friends, depriueth himselfe of the name of a true and stedfast friend, because it is altogether vnpossible for a man to fashion himselfe to all patterns, and to apply himselfe to all natures, so diuerse in euery one: especially considering that he shall very hardly finde himselfe like affected in all things to one alone. Now after we haue found such a disposition and conformitie in him that offereth himselfe to be our friend, we must enter further into the knowledge of him, by sounding out the depth of his heart, that we may be certaine and sure of his good disposition. For to see outwardly a resemblance of our manners and conditions in another, is not sufficient to prooue them such indeede without dissimulation, vnlesse they be grounded vpon a good and vertuous nature, which is simple, vpriight, and vnfaigned. For otherwise we see that many (like to *Proteus* taking diuers shapes) are so subtil, that when they would curry fauour with any man to deceiue him, they disguise themselves, and for a while apply themselves to all his humours. This is practised chiefly by flatterers towards great men, who will counterfeit rather than they will not immitate the naturall vice of the Prince: so that as soone as euer they see him laugh, they betake themselves to laughing, albeit they know not wherefore. And namely, we reade that *Alexander* the Great, and *Alphonfus* king of Arragon, hauing each of them somewhat a wrye necke, this by nature, the other through custome, the flatterers and courtiers held their necks on the one side, to counterfeit their imperfection. To the end therefore that the sugred poison of such fained friends deceiue vs not, wee must make choise of an honest, prudent and wise man for our friend, whose fidelity (as *Cicero* saith) integrity, constancy and liberality are approoued of euery one, and whom wee shall perceiue to be led and possessed with the same zeale to vertue that our selues are, to the end we may be aided and furthered by them in all good and laudable actions. For (as *Plato* saith) friendship is giuen by nature for a helpe to vertue, not for a companion of vices. To this effect *Pythagoras* saith, that it is not good to ioyne hands with euery one. *Dicarchus* also would giue vs to vnderstand the same when he saith, that we must make all men our well willers if it be possible, but onely good men our friends, who are not obtained but after a long time, and that by vertue. And as when we passe by a bramble or burre that taketh hold of vs, we cast it farre from vs, but contrariwise seeke for

The principal
cause and end
of all true
friendship.

What friend-
ship is.

The differ-
ence betwixt
friendship and
loue.

What things
are requisite
in friendship.

The common
practise of
flatterers.

What manner
of man we
must choose
for our friend.

How we must
prooue a
friend.

How we must
shake off a
false friend.

How Alcibiades
tried his
friends.

The meanes
to keepe a
friend.

Friendship
must be free.

for the Oliue and the grape: so we ought to seeke after their friendship that deserue it, whose minds haue sufficient matter in them to cause them to be loued, but to forsake, yea to reiect such as are vnworthy, and vicious, sensuall and disordered, although they fawne vpon vs: because their conuersation marreth and corrupteth every good nature. Therefore *Bias* said very well, that a wise man receiue not every one vnto his friendship. Hauing thus chosen him whom we desire to intertaine for our friend, and laid the chiefe foundations of friendship vpon his agreement of manners with vs, and vpon his good disposition (which we may know by familiar conuersation with him, and by diligent inquirie) before we can assure our selues or boast that we haue a true friend, we must prooue his stedfastnesse and constancie, and not trust to offers and promises, whereof men are very prodigall now adades. But this is cleane contrarie to the dutie of a true friend, whose propertie is to be sparing in speech, and prodigall in deeds, because great proffers are meete to be vsed towards strangers, and good deedes towards true friends. Now to prooue a friend, wee must not stay vntill neede and necessitie vrge vs, least such triall be not onely vnprofitable and without fruite, but also very hurtfull and dangerous vnto vs, because at such a time as necessarily requireth friends, wee make triall of him, who in truth is no such man. But we rather to gouerne our selues with prudence and foresight, as we vse to doe in the receipt of gold and siluer. For before we haue need to imploy it we consider whether it be currant, that wee may bee sure it will serue the turne when necessitie requireth. To this purpose *Theophrastes* said, that we ought to prooue strangers to loue them, and not loue them to prooue them. Therefore albeit the true and and right triall of a friend is in aduersitie, as of fine gold in a furnace, yet that is to be vnderstood of him, who is such a one indeede. For if we should expect the first triall vpon our selues in time of certaine danger, thereby to be assured and out of doubt, if then he should faile vs it would bring vs in great perill: so that we were better to trie him when we stand not in need, requesting him notwithstanding, as if we were vrged, and stood in need of his helpe and assistance in a matter of importance. If then he goe forward with a sound zeale and ready affection, we are assured of him against another time. But if hee stagger, and doe it coldly, or turne away his face and refuse it, besides that we haue no hurt or hinderance, wee shall also gaine much by withdrawing such a friend gently, and by little and little from our table, and from our prosperitie: alwaies wisely obseruing that this friendship be simply forsaken, and no enmity vnderaken. For it is not good or seemely to quarrell with him, with whom wee haue liued familiarly. Moreouer, we must note here, that triall is to be made in an honest, not in a wicked matter. For we must not doe, as we read that *Alcibiades* did, who, being desirous to know whether he had so many friends as he thought he had, called them vpon a day one after another into a darke place and shewed vnto them an image of a dead body, saying, that it was a man whom he had killed, and requesting them to helpe to carrie it away. But amongst them all he found none except *Callias* that would harken thereunto. This kinde of proouing a friend maketh vs vnworthy of such a name, and occasioneth every good man to withdraw himselfe from our friendship. If we doe all things (saith *Cicero*) both good and bad for our friends, such friendship may more truly be called a conspiracie of euill men, then a confederacie of good men. But, as we haue said, we must gaine another mans friendship by vertue, and not by vice, as also trie a friend in iust and reasonable causes: as if we be oppressed vniustly, if affliction and aduersitie follow hard at our heeles, if need or any other humane accident betide vs, into which the best men commonly fall. After we are sure that we haue a friend, (which truly is very great riches) there is nothing that we ought to desire more than to preserue and keepe him. And first the mutuall opinion, which ought to be in every friend of the vertue of his companion serueth very much for this matter. For as *Cicero* saith, The opinion of vertue is the fountaine of friendship, and it is proper to vertue to win mens hearts, to draw them vnto it selfe, and to preserue their friendship. Next, the coniunction of manners and wils keepeth backe all riot and contentions, when as the will and minde of the one shall no sooner be declared, but the other presently putteth to his helping hand to bring it to passe. Thirdly, we are to obserue this first law of friendship inuolably, not to require our friend to doe any thing that is not iust, or not in his power to performe, but to content our selues with the vse and seruice of that which he hath, without further seeking his hinderance. After the example of the industrious and painfull Bee, which draweth hony out of flowers, and hurteth not the fruit. Aboue ail things we must hold this for a generall, which wee haue already touched, that true and perfect friendship ought to be free, as charity is, from whence she hath her beginning: I meane, that it ought to exercise it selfe not for hire or recompence, but onely for

for his loue, who is beloued of vs. For the one is proper to a friend, the other fauoreth of a hireling. True it is that friends in these daies are like to crows, which flie not but towards those places where there is something to feede vpon: euen so they commonly visite not mens houses except it be for profite, neither reuerence a friend longer than they see him in prosperitie, or may reape some commoditie by him. But we must shunne such parasites, who are but saluting and table friends. Moreover, wee must reioyce and delight in the companie and conuersation of our friend, as in that wherein the sweetest and most pleasant fruite of friendship consisteth. And for want of this benefite, friends must often communicate together by letters, thereby to shew that they liue in remembrance one of another. For by the letter of a true friend the spirit is refreshed, the eies delighted, friendship confirmed, and the minde contented. Besides, we must haue our vertues, spirits, prosperitie, yea acquaintance, and all common together, and nothing secret or hidden. Lastly, we must yeeld to our friend all duties and seruice of sincere friendship, and that in all honest and profitable things according to right and iustice, which are the bounds and limits of an holy loue, desiring the like of him towards vs. Above all things his affliction or aduersitie, and all iniurie offered him, ought to be common to vs with him, wherein we are to assist and helpe him with all succour and sweete consolation, which is as soveraigne and fit a remedie as can be applied vnto him, especially when good doctrine is ioyned with our speech, Hereof *Phalerens* confessed very well that he had good experience when he was banished from his kingdome, saying, that his meeting with *Crates* the wise man had taken from him all care and thought of his miserie. And if friendship can greatly diminish the griefe that cometh by aduersitie, no doubt but it can adde as much grace and pleasure to prosperitie. We may effect all dutie whatsoeuer wee owe to our friend, by succouring him with foure things: namely, with our person, with our goods, with comfort, and with counsell. Which we may also comprehend vnder these two duties, of relieuing the necessitie of our friend, and of comforting him in his tribulation. Now because, what perfectio soeuer is in our friend, as like wise in our selues, it cannot be but there will be alwaies some imperfection mingled therewith, (mens doings being neuer without some euill) we must not presume to be able to build such a perfect friendship as shall bee voide and free of all vice. And therefore we must gently support and beare with all wants and discommodities of our friend, and oftentimes frame our selues to many passions, so they be not directly contrary to vertue, but such as proceede from the imbecillitie and frailtie of nature common with vs. Neuerthelesse against such imperfections we must in time conuenient and to purpose, vse free and gentle admonitions, which are so necessary in friendship, and worthy of such consideration, that in my opinion wee shall doe well to make a seuerall discourse thereof. Now if it come to passe, that some displeasure or iarre happen betweene vs, then is the time wherein we ought most of all to studie & labour how we may do some profitable or honorable thing to our friend: & not harken to slanderous tongues, which watch for some small & light occasion to powre out the poison of discord, thereby to rent and breake asunder our good & sure friendship. To such parasites, & scrap-gatherers at free-cost feasts, who seeke for nothing but their own gaine by the disagreement of others, we must neuer giue eare, but drive them as far from vs, as they thinke to come neere vs. And to the end we may bee the better affected and disposed hereunto, we must often call to remembrance, what benefite and happinesse cometh to such men as are linked together by true and vnfaigned friendship: as namely, in those affaires at which cannot be present our selues, the fidelity of a friend supplieth our place. From whence we will draw this conclusion, that he which violateth friendship, setteth himselfe against the common succour and aide of all men, and as much as in him lieth, overthroweth humane society. For we cannot doe all things our selues, and therefore friendships are ioyned together, that by mutuall duties one may profit another. Now considering that all the aboue named things are both necessary, and also very hard and difficult to be obserued & kept in true friendship, a man may easily iudge that this so excellent Sympathie and fellow feeling of two friends is very rare, and not easily found: and by a more forcible reason it followeth, that it is altogether impossible that many such friends should be linked together. So that whosoever goeth about any such matter can neuer attaine to a certaine and durable friendship. For it must needs follow, that he which beginneth new friendship cannot but diminish and waxe faint in affection in regard of his former friendship, wherein he was in a manner settled. Yea, how can he obserue all dutifull points of astedfast friend, as well in mutuall conuersation and communication of all things, as in helping his friend in all his affaires, if he haue many friends to looke vnto, who may all stand in neede of him at one

Phalerens.

How many waies we owe dutie to our friend.

How we must beare with the imperfections of our friend.

Against the pluralitie of friends.

He that hath
never a foe
hath never a
friend.

The best and
most excellent
friendship is
betweene one
couple.

Pisistratus let
ter to his ne-
phew.

Titus Flami-
nius.

one and the same time? It is certaine that in serving one hee would be wanting to the other, and peradventure to both, whilst he doubteth which to helpe first. But there is yet a further matter in it. Doe wee not take him for our enemy, who is enemy to our friend? It is most certainly so: as the wise man *Chilon* very fitly signified so much to one who boasted, that hee had never a foe. Then hast thou never a friend, quoth *Chilon*, seeing it is impossible, by reason of the wickednesse of men, that two persons should live in the world without enemies. Whereupon *Plutarke* saith, If thou seekest for a swarme of friends, thou considerest not that thou fallest into a waspes nest of enemies. Hereof it is that histories, when they set before vs examples of true and excellent friendship, make mention onely of two persons: as of *Jonathan* and *David*, whose friendship could not be hindred by the wrath of the father of the one, no not although he knew, that his friend should reigne over him, notwithstanding he were by inheritance to succeed next in the kingdome. So we read of one *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, of whom the one falsified his oath, which was that he would never fight, to the end he might revenge the death of the other. There was but one *Orestes* and *Pylades*, both of them calling themselves by the name of *Orestes* who was condemned to dy, thereby to save the life of his companion. Neither was there any more then one *Ephesus* and *Eueritus*, and one *Damon* and *Pythias*, two of which being condemned to die by *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Syracusa*, had their pardon granted them by reason of the constancy and stability of the friendship that was betweene them and their companions, whereof they shewed this prooffe. The two condemned persons besought *Dionysius* to licence them to go vnto their countie, that they might take some order for their household affaires before they died. The tyrant scorning at this asked them what pledges they would pawne for their returne. Whereupon the two other friends willingly offered themselves for pledges, and so sixe moneths space being granted, they were set at liberty. When the end of this time drew ny, many mocked these poore caitifes: but they nothing astonished made answer, that they were certaine and sure their friendes would not in any case faile of their promise. And indeede they arrived the last day that was granted vnto them. Whereat the tyrant wondering, forgave the condemned parties, and praied them to receive him for a third man vnto their friendship. So great force had vertue, that it could pacifie choler and cruelty in his heart, whose vertue consisted in nothing els but in vice. We reade of a letter written by *Pisistratus*, a Prince of the Athenians, serving for a notable example of the force of friendship, which oftentimes is greater than all consanguinity. For having intelligence, that *Thrasillus* his nephew was of a conspiracy against him, he wrote vnto him in these words: Nephew *Thrasillus*, thou shouldest haue called to remembrance, not that I brought thee vp in my house, that thou art come of my blood, that I haue communicated my secrets with thee that I haue given thee my daughter to wife with the halfe of my goods, but above all things, that I loved thee as a friend. Thou art become a traitor towards mee, which I would never haue suspected, considering that I never deserued any such thing at thy hands. And therefore I would gladly I had so much authority over my selfe, that as I can shake off this alliance, so I could also falsifie our friendship, which I can neither do, nor determine of my fidelity saved. For the consanguinitie that I haue with thee may bee separated, as being within the veines: but the love I beare thee cannot, seeing it is within my heart. A thousand other examples of couples ioyned in friendship are to be found in histories. In the mean while we haue to note, that although we measure friendship here by the number of two, yet our meaning is not to exclude others altogether. For we know, that true charity extendeth it selfe vnto every one, that wee are bound to love even our enemies, and to doe good to all, but yet amongst all wee may choose one onely friend to love, and to be loved againe of him in perfection. Neuertheless, we must labour by a thousand good duties to get the good will of all men, and in what place soeuer we be, to follow the wise counsel of *Polybius* giue to *Scipio Africanus*, that he should never depart from the publike place of authoritie before he had gotten vnto himselfe some new friend and well willer. This belongeth to them especially that haue wealth at will, and are in publike offices, and fauored of the mightier sort: and therefore are so much the more bound thereunto, as also to take delight in doing good to many, not sparing any of their substance. We haue famous examples hereof amongst the ancients. That great Romane captaine and Consul *Titus Flaminius*, who deliuered and freed all *Græcia* from bondage, and and wise in battle ranged discomfited *Philip* king of *Macedonia*, is exceedingly commended of historiographers, not onely because hee was ready to pleasure every one, but also because hee tooke such delight therein, that hee would alwaies remaine well affected even

to more whom he had once pleased, as if himselfe had received the benefite: insomuch that he was alwaies ready to doe them more good. Whereby he shewed himselfe truly zealous of vertue which is neuer set on worke for the hope of any earthly recompence, seeing the price and reward of a vertuous deed ought onely to be the doing thereof. Therefore *Cicero* said very well, that no common-wealth can either with too little, or too late recompence her native countreman. Now to conclude our present discourse, we say, that friendship is so excellent a thing, that there is no comparison betwene it and any other worldly good: that it is vertue, which frameth and vniteth together perfect friendships, and that if it be once forsaken, they cannot longer continue. Therefore honesty (as *Cicero* saith) is to be placed aboue friendship and profite: and religion, iustice, and fidelitie are to be preferred before the vniuersall requests of our friends, howsoever they might be profitable for this life, either to them or to our selues. We say, that whilst we labour to make all men our well-willers by doing them good, according to the duty of a good nature, if we meete with one sure and certaine friend amongst them all, wee haue gotten a great and incomparable treasure: seeing there is nothing more fit for life, or more commodious for a good and happy life, than to liue with a vertuous man and our friend, whose fidelitie, integritie, and constancie are ruled by charitie. Lastly we say, that three things are very requisite and necessarie for the foundation and assurance of his friendship: namely, *vertue*, as that which is honest: *Conuersation*, as pleasant and agreeable: *Profit*, as helpfull. Which is as much to say, as that we must receiue a friend after we haue knowne and proued him, that we must reioyce in his company, and vse him in our need, as we desire him to doe the like by vs. So that he which can boast of such a friend is very happy.

Nothing better than to liue with a vertuous man. Three things necessarie in friendship.

Of Reprehension and Admonition. Chap. 14.

A CHI-TOB. **D**iuine *Plato* writing a letter to *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Syracusa* in the behalfe of *Helicon* the Mathematician, after many and great commendations spoken of him, addeth this, that he wrote these things of a man, that is, of a liuing creature, by nature mutable and soone changed. The like also he spake of those that were well brought vp and instructed in *Athens*. I feare yet (quoth he) that beeing men, and the offspring of other men, they will make knowne the great infirmity and frailtie of mans life, which truly, being compassed about, and as it were besieged with infinite miseries, is so easily troubled, that the wisest stand alwaies in need of instruction, and ought to be awakened and admonished of their dutie. Whereunto the free reprehension, and sweete admonition of a friend doth not a little profit. Wherefore my countell is, that we handle it presently, without departing from the matter of our former discourse.

Man is mutable.

A SER. True friends (saith *Socrates*) must not through flattery seeke to gaine the fauour of their friends, but reprove them rather, that for their benefite they may reduce them to a better way.

A MANA. To admonish and to bee admonished (saith *Seneca*) are proper to true friendship. And *Cicero* saith, that a man may despaire of his safetie whose cares are closed vp against the truth, and cannot abide reprehension. Let vs therefore heare **A RAM** handle this subiect.

A RAM. One of the greatest, most profitable and necessarie fruits, which spring out of every good and holy friendship, and are noted and reaped by the acceptacle and long conuersation of a prudent and wise friend, is that free reprehension and sweete admonition, which ought to be mutual between all true friends: seeing the fraile inconstancy of man is such, that euen the iustest man (as the Scripture saith) sinneth seuen times aday. But man hauing pride and presumption naturally rooted in his soule, howsoever hee seeth a mote in his brothers eye, yet he perceiueth not the great beame that closeth vp his owne eyes. This maketh him bold (as it is the propertie of vicio) to bee headstrong) to defend and maintaine, that, hee hath alwaies done well, and not easily to hearken to his reasons that reprove him were it not that the mightie and inviolable bond of friendship, as of a second-selfe did constrain him to lend his care to his friend through the opinion which hee hath conceived of him and his vertue. True it is, that if there were amongst vs such a reformation of life and manners, and that loue ioyned with obedience might take place now, as it did long since amongst the *Lacedæmonians*, (who obserued this custome inviolable, to punish him that did not reprove anothers fault committed in his presence, with the same punishment which

One of the greatest fruits reaped in friendship.

A notable custome of the Lacedæmonians.

was inflicted vpon the offender himfelfe, and sharply to chaſtiſe him that reſiſted, or was angry at the reprehension) we ſhould not ſee ſo great winking at vices and imperfections, nor ſuch impudent reſiſting and ſhameleſſe contempt of all good admonition, as reigneth now adaiſes amongſt vs, who vnſkilfully terme this friendſhip, not to correct one another, but rather to couer and winke at all faults. But ſeeing our age is ſo greatly corrupted, we may eaſily know what a pretious and neceſſary thing it is, to haue found a prudent and wiſe friend, who knoweth how to vſe wholeſome and ſharpe reprehension, as a preſervative medicine, that ſaueth the patients life, being miniſtered in conuenient time, and to purpoſe. Which thing if it be not wiſely obſerued herein, (as in all other things) it greatly hurteth, and depriueth the admonition of profite and efficacy. Therefore a friend being oppoſite to a flatterer, who ſtudieth for nothing but to pleaſe, to do and to ſpeake to his liking whom he flattereth, (which is ynough to overthrow friendſhip, whoſe ſtrength is onely in vertue) ought to deale as a ſkilfull muſitian, who in the tuneing of his inſtrument ſetteth vp ſome of his ſtrings, and letteth downe others. So a prudent friend yeeldeth vnto ſome things, but refuſeth and contrarieth others, changing his mind as honeſtie and profit require. He is not afraid ſometime to make his friend ſadde with intent and purpoſe to profite him, not to breake friendſhip. Likewiſe he is not greatly to care although he ſee his friend angred, ſo that he be bettered. conſidering that anger may better be tollerated than vice. *Agſilaus* king of Sparta ſaid, that he liked well to be praized of ſuch friends as would not ſpare him at all, but were ready to blame him alſo whenſoeuer he gaue them occaſion ſo to do. To this effect *Epiſtetus* ſaid, that as a wolfe in ſome ſort reſembled a dogge, ſo a flatterer was like a friend: and therefore that we ought to beware, leaſt in ſtead of good dogs for a ſafegard, wee receiue vnto vs moſt pernitiouſ and hurtfull wolues. For it is bettee (as *Antiſthenes* ſaid) to ſtand at the curteſie of crows then of flatterers, ſeeing the one deuoure dead carkalles, and the other liuing men. Now let vs conſider of the meanes how to vſe aptly and to purpoſe this ſo healthfull medicine in friendſhip, I meane reprehension and admonition. Sometimes it is neceſſary (ſaith *Cicero*) for vs to rebuke our friends, wherein wee are to vſe a more auſtere countenance and vehement ſpeech: but to great ſeuerity and ouermuch ſadnes ought to bee far from vs. For although grauity be a vertue, yet friendſhip is more familiar, free and pleaſant. We muſt alſo take heed that it appeare not we be in choler, but rather that we come againſt our wiſt to doe this dnty, as ſurgeons do to cut off and to burne, and that very rarely, when there is no way to finde or vſe any other receit. Moreover, if one behold his friend in ſome great affliction, knowing it to be the nature of aduerſity to make men of troubled and vexed ſpirits, ſoone cholericke and vnwilling to heare, and at ſuch a time to be offended a good and true ſpeeches (euen as hony although it be ſweete, yet breedeth griefe when it is applyed to vlcers) I ſay a friend well aduiſed ought then to beware that hee vſe no ſharpe or biting words, which are apt to prouoke him to anger, that is preſſed with aduerſity. And this did *Pythagoras* meane to teach vs learnedly by that enigmaticall precept or riddle, which forbiddeth vs to *Stirre vp the fire with a ſword*, A man ought rather in ſuch a caſe to miniſter ſome ſuch ſweete and gracious ſpeech of comfort, as yeeldeth and giueth place a little to the iuſt griefe of his friend, and from whence hee may draw ſome eaſe of his euill, whether it be in talking thereof together with him, or otherwiſe in lamenting the ſame. And this muſt be done before any mention be made of a remedy, or any other conuenient matter of talking with him be ſought after. In this ſort for a man to comfort himſelfe is no leſſe difficult a matter (as *Thales* ſaid) than it is for a Phiſition to cure himſelfe. Above all things wee muſt be very circumspect when wee ſee our friend lately angred by reaſon of ſome pregnant and notable iniurie or wrong receiued from another. For then in ſtead of being importunate with him preſently to forgiue the iniury, or of ſeeking to perſwade him to thinke it a ſmall fault, thereby endeauoring at the firſt daſh to bring him to reaſon, wee muſt intreate him gently to deferre the puniſhment, and after by little and little, and by degrees to pacifie and appeaſe him. For it is very certaine, that when wrath is much kindled, and the heart intraged, a man cannot eaſily receiue comfort, nor ſo ſuddenly conceiue and vnderſtand reaſon. And therefore *Plutark* amongſt other things gaue this counſell to the Emperour *Traian*, to be patient towards furious folkes, conſidering that time moderateth as many things as reaſon doth change. Notwithſtanding when the queſtion is of reſtraining a diſordinate pleaſure, of reſſing choler and peeuishneſſe that paſſeth the bounds of all reaſon, of bridling inſolency which is gone too farre out of ſquare, of hindering ſome notable couetouſneſſe, or of ſtaying ſome fooliſh motion or ſuperfluous paſſion, then is the time wherein a prudent

A friend compared to a muſitian.

Agſilaus.

How we muſt vſe reprehension.

Time bringeth as many things to good order as reaſon doth.

and good friend ought to bee vehement and earnest, and to double the speech of his admonition: yea to frame himselfe so, as if the imperfection proceeded from himselfe, and as though his owne vtter vndoing lay thereupon. In such a case he is to follow that good Græcian captaine *Phocion*, who, when his friend would haue cast away himselfe, saide, that hee would not suffer him, because he was made his friend for that purpose. Therefore whensoever any such occasion is offered, a man is not to stay vntil the fault be committed, that he may then giue his friend some good instruction. For then it would come too late and no lesse vnfitly, than that Porters warning, who after he had hit *Cato*, bad him beware. What (answered *Cato*) wilt thou giue me yet another blow? Moreover, we must take good heede, that all reprehending of one friend by another be done (as we commonly say) between two priuate wals, that is, secretly when the dore is shut: because the discouery of any sinne or vice (euen as of some foule disease) is alwaies shamefull. The example of these two Sages, *Socrates* and *Plato*, wil fitly agree to this matter. *Socrates* being somewhat more earnest than his custome was with one of his familiar friends before a great company, *Plato* could not containe himselfe, but said vnto him: Had not this beene better spoken priuately apart? And had not your selfe (quoth *Socrates*) done better, if you had told me priuately of this which now you vtter? Whereupon we may further learne this lesson, that it is alwaies easie enough to reprove another, but that all our reprehensions are blame woorthy, if we reape not this instruction thereby, to correct, or to auoide the like errors in our selues. Thus doth the selfe-same *Plato* teach vs, saying, that we must descend into our inward parts, and say euery one with himselfe, *Am not I such a one?* Otherwise a man might truly reproch vs with that saying taken out of an old Tragedie, *Ech wounded might doth seeke to salve the sores that others haue*. But as we see our owne eies shine within the apples of our neighbours eies, so ought we in the life of other men to lay our owne before vs, and to purge them of those vices which wee reprehende. For as *Lysander* made this answer to Megarian, who thrust himselfe forward to speake aloud for the libertie of Græcia in a generall assemblie of counsell, *That speech my friend had neede of a mightie citie*, so may it be said to euery one that vseth freely to reprehende others, that his manners had need to be well reformed. Therefore *Plato* said that he corrected *Speusippus* by the example of his life. In like sort, *Xenocrates* calling his eie vpon *Polemon*, who in dissolute apparell was entred into his schoole, changed and reformed all by his onely lookes. This also will be a good and honest way to make our reprehension both profitable and well liked of, when we infold our selues in that fault, which we reprove in others: as that wise man *Socrates* vsed to do, when he checked and taught young men: saying, that himselfe was not deliuered from ignorance, but had neede to be instructed with them in vertue, and to seeke out the knowledge of the truth. For when one accuseth himselfe as a subiect to the same faults that his friend is, and protesteth that his meaning is to correct and reprove him, as if hee were himselfe, it causeth him that reprehendeth to be loued and reuerenced, and procureth greater credite to his sayings. Let vs further obserue this, that euery reprehension betweene friend and friend ought to be pure, and voide of all priuate passions. In so much that if we perceiue our selues contemned, and after a sort despised, yet must we testifie our sincere and louing affection in speaking freely in the behalfe of others that are likewise despised, but not framing our talke in any sort for our owne defence. Euery admonition thus grounded as I haue said, cannot but be profitable and well liked of our friends, as that which causeth the offender both to reuerence him that gaue it, and to blush for shame, not daring once to lift vp his eies against it. But forasmuch as naturally we hate to be reprooued and blamed, as we learned in the beginning of this discourse, wee must know that to cure such a pernicious inclination, nothing can profit vs so much as to beleue, that the beginning of good life is to be blamed & baited at. For man, by nature inclined more to vice than to vertue, can neuer hate euill before he vnderstand what misery it bringeth. So that when he sinneth, if his friend lay the infamie and shame of his offence before his eies: vnlesse he be altogether past shame, and fraught with impudency, he must needs giue place to the truth, which is inuincible, and so with shame not to be discommended, he is induced to reforme his life according to the patterne of comelineesse and honesty. Therefore *Plato* saide, that wee are greatly beholding to them that tell vs of our faults, and shew vs what way we must keepe: because it is better for vs to amende by being corrected of another, then to vndoe our selues by foolish perseuerance. Moreover as all true and perfect loue ought to be generall, and to extend it selfe indifferently vnto all without exception of person, so likewise euery one according to his seuerall place, ought to admonish and to correct those that doe amisse as

We must correct in our selues those faults which we reprehend in others.

Sundry instructions how to admonish wisely

Reprehension is the beginning of good life.

Solons good
advice for
counsellors to
princes.

Philosophers
ought to be
conuersant
with princes.

Solons coun-
sell giuen to
Cresus.

Why Plato
went into
Sicilia to Di-
onyfius.

Arrogancie
dwelleth in,
the end with
solitarineffe.

Notable
counsell for
princes.

Demetrius.

often as occasion is offered vnto them, and chiefly they that are neere to great men are bound to doe it, but with discretion and great deliberation. Thus much did *Solon* signifie to one, who by way of admonishment told him, that princes were either not to bee approached vnto, or else to be pleased: Nay contrariwise (said the wise man) either they are not to become neere vnto, or els the truth is to be told them. We may obserue infinite examples amongst the auncients woorthy to be remembered, of the great freedome, which they vsed in reprehending and shewing the faults not onely of their familiar friends, but generally of all others: and especially of their kings, princes and magistrates, who because they see and heare for the most part by other mens eies and eares, ought necessarily to haue such friendes, counsellors and seruants about them, as will freely tel them the truth, as hereafter we may discourse more at large. This caused *Plutarke* to say, that a Philosopher ought chiefly to keepe company with princes and great lords, and that it was the point of a wise man, and of one that is well affected to the common-wealth, to be endued with common loue, and to inquire after, or to accept & entertaine such a friendship, as might be commodious and beneficiall to many in particular and much more in generall to them all. And truly they that company with priuate men, and labor to instruct them, may wel make them contented, mild and gracious in themselves, & profitable to them onely: but he that taketh away an euill quality from a Lord and magistrate: or directeth his will and intention, as it ought to be, plaith the part of a Philosopher in the behalfe of common commodity, and correcteth that mould and patterne according to which all the subiects are framed and gouerned. This kind of free admonition *Solon* vsed towards *Cresus*, whom he perceiued to be blowen and puffed vp with pride, through an opinion of earthly and vncertaine felicity, admonishing him to expect what the end would be. The gods (quoth he to him) haue giuen to vs the residue of the *Græcians* all things after a meane sort, and namely a base and popular wisdom, not royall or magnificall: which as it giueth vs to vnderstand, that the life of man is, subiect to infinite changes, so it forbiddeth to trust or glory in the grounds of this world, or to make great account of any mans felicity that is yet in danger of alteration. For time daily bringeth many sundry accidents to many hereof hee neuer thought before. But when the gods continue the prosperous estate of man vnto the end of his daies, then will we account him happy. The desire which *Plato* had to profite many caused him to saile from *Græcia* into *Sicilia*, that by graue discourses and wise instructions he might stay and containe within the bounds of reason the young yeares of *Dionysius*, prince of that countrey, who through vnbridled liberty, and power not limited, waied hither and thither without restraint. Afterward when hee began to bee in loue with the beauty of learning, hee left off by little and little his drunkenness, maskings, and whoredomes, wherein before he gloried, insomuch that his court was wholly changed vpon a sudden, as if it had bene inspired from heauen. But within a while after, *Dionysius* giuing eare to flatterers, banished *Plato*, to whom when he tooke his leaue of him, the tyrant said, I doubt not, *Plato*, but thou wilt speake ill of me when thou art in the Vniuersitie amongst thy companions and friends. Whereupon the Philosopher smiling, and obseruing that freedome of speech, which hee had alwaies vsed towards him, made this answer, I pray God, *Sir*, there may neuer bee so great want of matter to speake of in the Vniuersitie, that we neede to speake of thee. He was no sooner shipped from *Sicilia*, but *Dionysius* returned to his former fashions, and called backe againe dancers, minstrels, bauds, and such like vermine, whereof commonly there is no want about great personages; so that presently you might haue seene his court, yea all the rest of his people, ouerwhelmed in all delights and pleasures. Such great force hath a prince to alter and change at his pleasure the hearts of his subiects, but yet rather alwaies to vice and folly than to vertue. And to goe on with our matters of the free and bold admonition of great men, the selfe same *Plato* vsed it very fitly towards *Dion*, who had driuen *Dionysius* out of his iurisdiction, and that at such time as the said *Dion* was in the greatest glory of all his prosperity. Amongst other things he willed him to beware of arrogancy, as of her that dwelt with solitarines: that is to say, which in the end was forsaken of all the world. The same kinde of admonition *Spensippus* followed, writing to the same *Dion*, willing him not to presume to waxe proud of himselfe, because he heard women and children utter his praises and commendation, but to haue regard onely to this, that *Sicilia* might be adorned with religion and piety towards God, with iustice and good lawes towards men, and that the Vniuersitie might alwaies be had in honor and estimation. O counsell full of Christian instruction, and woorthy to be daily set before the eies of Christian princes, who may also learne of *Demetrius* king of *Macedonia* to take in good part, to reape commodity,

commoditie, and to reward those that reprehend and admonish them of their dutie. After he had taken the citie of the Athenians, who had rebelled against him, and stood in great neede of victuals, he caused a generall assembly of the people to be made, wherein he declared, that he gaue them freely a great quantitie of corne. In which oration it fell out so, that he committed an incongruitie of speech, whereat one of the inhabitants suddainely stood vp, and pronounced the word aright as he should haue vttered it. For this correction (quoth *Demetrius*) I giue thee besides five thousand measures of wheat. The example of good *Traian* writing to his master *Plutarke*, ought especially to be imitated of great men. I aduertise thee (quoth he) that hence forward I will not vse thy seruice to any other thing, than to counsell me what I ought to doe, and to tell me of those faults, whereunto I may fall. For if Rome take me for a defender of her Common-wealth, I make account of thee as of the beholder of my life. And therefore if at any time I seeme vnto thee not well pleased when thou reprehendest me, I pray thee master not to take it in ill part. For at such a time my griefe shall not be for the admonition thou vset towards me, but for the shame I shall haue because I offended. *Philoxenus* the poet may also serue for a witnesse of free correction, voide of all flatterie in regard of great men. For when *Dionysius* prince of Syracuse sent vnto him a tragedie of his owne making, that he should reade and correct it, he sent it backe againe vnto him all rased and blotted from the beginning to the end, because hee found it in no respect worthy to be published. Neither doth antiquity onely afford vs such examples of bold reprehension by word of mouth, vsed by wise men in old time, but there hath beene also in our ages worthy examples of base and contemptible men, yet full of good learning. For prooue hereof may serue that quip, which not long since a peasant gaue vnto an Archbishop of Cullen, who was well accompanied with armed men according to the custome of Almaine. This countrie fellow beginning to laugh, and being demanded by the prelate the cause thereof, I laugh (quoth he vnto him) as *Saint Peter*, prince of prelates, because he liued and died in pouertie to leaue his successors rich. The Archbishop being touched therewith, and desirous to cleare himselfe, replied that he went with such a companie, as he was a Duke. Whereat the peasant laughing more then before, said, I would gladly know (Sir) of you, where you thinke the Archbishop should be, if that Duke of whom you speake were in hell. Neither may we omit the answer which a poore Franciscan Frier made to Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who from the same order being come to that great dignitie, shewed him his great wealth and riches, saying, Frier, I cannot say as *Saint Peter* did, *I haue neither gold nor silver*. No truly (answered the Franciscan) no more can you say as he said to the impotent and sicke of the palsie, *Arise and walke*. Now concluding our present discourse, we learne that free reprehension and gentle admonition grounded vpon reason and truth, and applied fitlie, are of such vertue and efficacie with men, but especially with a friend, that nothing is more necessarie or healthfull in true and perfect friendship: and therefore ought to be ioyned inseparably therewith, according to that saying of the wise man, that *Open rebuke is better than secret loue*, and that *The wounds made by a lover are faithfull, but the kisses of him that hateth, dangerous*. In the meane time we must (as *Saint Paul* saith) restore those that fall with the spirit of meekenesse, considering our selues, and neuer betray the truth for feare of the mightier sort.

Traians letter
to Plutarke.

How Philox-
enus corre-
cted Dionys-
ius tragedie.

The free gird
of a peasant
giuen to an
Archbishop.

The like gi-
uen to Pope
Sixtus the 4.
by a Frier.

Prou. 27. 5.

Gal. 6. 1.

Of Curiositie and Noueltie. Chap. 15.

A R A M. **M**AN hauing by nature imprinted in his soule an affected and earnest inclination to his soueraign good, is drawne as it were by force to search it out in euery thing, which he esteemeth faire good in this world. And from hence proceede all those his affections which carrie him hither and thither, causing him to reioyce in and desire greatly all varietie and noueltie. But the ignorance of things, and imperfection of reason, which abound in him, because of his corruption, doe make him for the most part to labour and take delight in euill rather than in goodnesse, if he be not by other meanes called to the knowledge of the truth: which ought to be the principall and most worthy obiect of our mindes, esteeming all other knowledge vaine and vnprofitable, beeing compared to this which is so great and diuine. And in this respect curiositie tending to vnderstanding, (albeit in many things it be very hurtfull, especially beeing left vnto it selfe) is also very profitable and necessary, when it is directed and guided by the grace of God to best end. Wherefore I thinke my companions, that it will not bee vnprofitable, if in this matter wee discourse of these

these two things, *Curiositie* and *Noueltie*, which seeme to proceede from one and the same fountaine, and about which the vertue of prudence sheweth great and worthy effects.

A C H I T O B. *Curiositie* indeed desireth in part to know and learne much, which cannot be condemned. Neuerthelesse we must wisely beware that wee imploy it not vpon euill and vile things, but rather testifie alwaies, that we are of a graue and contented nature, which is enemy to all noueltie, and to superfluous things that are without profite.

A S E R. *Noueltie* causeth vs through error of iudgement to esteeme those things wherewith we are not acquainted, greater, and more to our liking, and so to buy them dearer, than better things that are common and familiar. It is the very guide of the curious, causing them to contemne their owne climate, and to hazard what good thing soeuer they haue, to possesse that which belongeth to others. But let vs heare **A M A N A** who will handle this matter more at large.

Mediocritie
must be vsed
in all actions.

The difference of good
and bad consisteth in
mediocrity.

Against curiositie
in knowledge.

A notable
saying of
Socrates.

The death of
Aristotle and
Plinie thorough too
much curiositie.

A M A N A. Amongst those learned precepts belonging to good life, which were written in the temple of *Apollo* in *Græcia*, this was in the second place: *Nothing too much*, *Solon* said, *Nothing more than enough*: *Pythagoras*, *Doe all things by a mediocrity*. These sayings are very short and of one matter, but yet comprehend all prudence necessary for the governing of mans life, as well for the preservation of the tranquillity of the soule, and of the spirituall gifts thereof, as of all humane goods, called by the Philosophers, *the Goods of the body and of fortune*. The Ancients being desirous to make vs vnderstand this the better, propounded vnto vs euery vertue betweene two vices, teaching vs thereby, that we cannot decline neuer so little either to the right hand or to the left, but we step aside from the right way of vertue, which is our onely and true good: and that all difference betweene good and bad consisteth in a certaine moderation and mediocrity, which *Cicero* calleth the best of all things. If men had from the beginning contained themselves within the limits of these diuine precepts, it is certaine they would not so lightly haue abandoned the simplicitie and first modestie of their nature, to feede their minds with a vaine curiositie and searching out of things supernaturall, and incomprehensible to the sence and vnderstanding of man. Which things the more they thought to know, the greater occasion of doubting they found in them, so that for all their labour and vnderstanding they could neuer carrie away any true knowledge, or certaine resolution. And euen as that man, who not contenting himselfe with the abundant light of the Sunne beames, but seeking with his eies to pearce through the brightnesse thereof euen vnto the midst of the circle of the body, must questionlesse become blinde: so falleth it out for the most part to those, who goe about too curiously to inquire after that which is not lawfull to be knowne. The ill successe of our age affoordeth vs too many miserable testimonies, wherein at this day we see nothing but contrarieties of opinions and vncertainties, through their subtilties and bold curiosities, who haue sought to plucke (as a man would say) out of heauen the secrets hid from the Angels: yea, which is worse, haue boasted that they haue attained vnto the knowledge of them, filling our times with trouble and confusion vnder that false pretence. There are others also no lesse hurtfull, who haue beene such curious Inquiritors of the causes of all naturall things, that through friuolous and vnprofitable questions they haue fallen into that impiety, as to seeke for another beginning of all things, than God. Whereupon this prouerbe, which is too true, arose, *Of three Physitions one Atheist*. This kinde of curiositie, is of all others most pernicious. But forasmuch as it is without the compasse of our Academy, we let it passe with this short mention thereof, and with this onely addition, that God commonly punisheth the pride of such men by those fruits, which we see them bring forth, and by taking from them their vnderstanding in principall and most necessarie matters, wherein notwithstanding they thinke themselves to bee wonderfull and iolly fellows aboue all others. As touching this point the example of *Socrates* is very memorable, and to bee imitated, who being demanded what the world was, answered, that since he had any iudgement he gaue himselfe to seeke out the true knowledge of himselfe, which yet he could neuer finde. But so soone as he had attained thereunto, then he would seeke for other things that would doe him no seruice or pleasure. *Aristotle* (as *Iustin Martyr* writeth) who for the excellencie of his skill in naturall Philosophie was called the god of the earth, burned with such a desire of curiosity in vnderstanding the causes of naturall things, that because hee could not know and conceiue the cause and nature of *Enripus*, which is in *Chalcis* a city of *Eubœa*, I meane of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, which turneth and compasseth about that place, nor giue a sufficient reason thereof, he died for very shame and griefe which he conceiued therupon, *Plinie* also who wrote the historie of naturall Philosophie, was

choked

choked with the flames and vapors of the mountaine Mongibel in Sicilia; whilest he sought to finde out the cause of them, and from whence that great fire came, which spoiled the countrie round about in the time of *Titus* the Emperour: insomuch that seuen or eight townes were burned, and many persons traouelling by land, and sayling on the sea were stifled with the ashes thereof, carried about by the vehemencie of the winds. But let vs leaue these curious spirits, and speake of two other generall kinds of curiositie, which respect chiefly our morall Philosophie, and from whence all corruption of good manners proceeded. The first kinde concerneth our selues onely, and the other our brethren and countrimen. To speake therefore of the first, it bringeth forth pernicious effects after diuers sorts and manners, but amongst vs Frenchmen they appeare principally in that burning desire, which inflameth vs to trauell into strange nations, and in our carking and caring for the nourishment, clothing, and decking of our bodies, and for the setting forth and trimming vp of our houses with curious and vnprofitable mooueables, wherein we exceede all the superfluitie of other countries. When the ancients speake of the felicitie that accompanied the golden age, amongst the good conditions, and commendable manners, which they noted in that holy and first simplicitie, they neuer forgot this, that the men of that good time tilled and manured their grounds, and cared not what strangers did in farre countries. Moreouer, since the time that men made light account of their owne climate, thorough a curious and vnassatiable desire of appropriating vnto themselves the inheritance and labour of others, besides the crueltie, violence, and murders, which prepared a way to their miserable platformes, all corruption of good manners at home, and all bastard-like attire haue followed thereupon. We might here note infinite testimonies of antiquitie, and especially of our ancient progenitors the Gaules, who were very warlike and liued within their bounds in all simplicity of manners, and frugallitie of life. But our owne example, to our vnspeakable shame and miserie, is so euident before our eies, that I neede no better prooffe, of my saying than that experience which wee feeble by our owne perill. For the ruine and destruction of this French monarchie proceedeth of no other second cause (our iniquitie being the first) than of the mixture, which wee haue made of strangers with our selues. Wherein wee are not contented to seeke them out vnder their roofes, vlesse wee also draw them vnto vs, and lodge them vnder our roofes, yea preferre them before our owne countrimen and citizens in the offices and honorable places of this kingdome, against the law and right of euery good and well established policie. Besides we adore and reuerence all their nouelties and subtil inventions, and that so ignorantly, or rather blockishly, that suffering them to sucke vs euen to the very bowels, in stead of all our riches and spoyle, which they for their part haue drawne from vs, they haue left vs nothing but new manners and fashions of liuing in all dissolutenesse and pleasure, except this one thing also, that we haue learned of them to dissemble, and withall to frame and build a treason very subtilly. Such is the prouision wherewith our French youth is commonly furnished by their Italian voyages. To this purpose *Guevara*, Chronicler to the Emperour *Charles* the first, writeth, that from forren countries men commonly bring newes to prattle of, and strange customes to practise: and that few come out of Italy, that are not absolute and dissolute. *Lycurgus* by his lawes commanded the Lacedæmonians not to goe out of their kingdome, nor to conuerse with strangers, saying, that although by their trafficke with them they might be enriched, yet on the other side, they would grow poore in regard of their owne vertues. *Titus Linius*, *Macrobius*, *Salustius* and *Tullie* cursed and bewailed the conquests and victories, which Rome had in Asia, saying, that if the Romanes brought the Persians, and Medes vnder subiection by force, yet the selfe same Asians ouercame the Romanes with their vices and delights. This doth *Cicerot* testifie writing to *Atticus*, where hee saith that the five vices, namely, to make glorious sepulchers, to weare rings of gold, to vse spice in meates, to alay wine with snow, and to carrie about with them perfumes and sweete smells, were sent to the Romans for a present from the Asians, as a reuenge for the cities which they had taken from them, and for the blood which they had drawne of them. And which was woorst of all, he saith, that these vices would alwaies remaine with them, but the countrie conquered, for a little time. Experience telleth vs, that no countrie is so poore, which is not sufficient and able, all superfluitie cut off, to nourish and maintaine those men that are bred in it with things necessary for them. Wherenpon a man may easily ghesse, that want of prudence, and ambitious desires, first inuented the art of Nauigation and sailing into farre countries. *Fabius* the Consull in the seuentie yeares which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to goe Messana, which was but two miles off by water. And when

The burning
of Aetna.

Two generall
kinds of curi-
ositie.

Against the
curiositie of
seeing strange
nations.

One euident
cause of the
ruine of
France.

L. curgus for-
bad trafficke
with stran-
gers.

Five vices
brought out
of Asia by the
Romanes.

Why Fabius
would neuer
goe on the
water.

one asked of him the cause why, The barke (quoth he) is foolish, for it alwaies stirreth vp and downe: the mariner is foolish, for he neuer abideth in one opinion: the water is foolish, for it neuer standeth still: the winde is foolish, for it runneth continually. Now if we vse to go from a foole when we meete him vpon the land, what reason were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the sea? But whatsoeuer my speech hath bene hitherto, my meaning is not to finde fault with the right vse of hospitality, which ought to be maintained, and kept inuiolable in euery well established common-wealth. In this respect France hath bene commended above all nations for intertaining and receiuing all sorts of people: provided alwaies that they be not preferred before our owne children, and that they be contented to obey and liue according to the common lawes of the countrey. Neither doe I reprehend that trafficke and trade with strangers, which serueth for a bond of humane society, and whereby the commodities of one to another are communicated together with common profit: provided alwaies that superfluous and vnnecessary things be left and forsaken. But ere wee enter too farre in with them, it were good for vs not to vndertake such voyages to gather wit and experience (as the most say) before we haue profited well in the knowledge of vertue, and are guarded with good and commendable manners, which are able to resist all newe and strange corruption: whereby otherwise the nature of man desirous of diuersity and nouelty, suffereth it selfe easily to be overcome, making merchandise amongst them of naughtines rather than of goodnes. As hitherto experience sheweth vs, that from this fountaine hath proceeded the curiosity of superfluous apparell, of golde, of silke, tapestry, pictures, vessels, perfumes, painting of faces, delicacie of meate, and all prouocations of voluptuousnesse, whoredome, gluttony, and of other filthy dissolutenesse, and infamous vices, too much knowne amongst vs, whereof we haue heretofore made mention, and will hereafter continue the particular discourse of them. Now after we are armed well at all points with good doctrine and vertue, we may according to the example of *Plato*, of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, and of many other notable men, seeke after those that are best learned in strange countries, that we may profit and be instructed by them. *Plato* after he was well instructed by *Socrates* sought out the Magges and wise men of Egypt, by whose meanes he saw the bookes of *Moses*. Then he went into Italy to heare *Architas Tarentinus*, the most renowned Philosopher of that countrey. *Apollonius*, who matched in learning all the Philosophers of his time, trauelled over three parts of the world to see and to conferre with all the skillfull men of his age: and being returned into his countrey, and enriched with wonderfull knowledge, he distributed all his goods, whereof he had great abundance, amongst his brethren, and to the poore: and withdrawing himselfe into the fields, he liued with bread and water onely, that hee might haue his minde free for the contemplation of heavenly things. Now let vs come to the other kinde of curiositie, which as we said, concerneth our brethren and countrimen. This is that which *Plutarke* calleth a desire to know the wants and imperfections of other men. It is commonly ioyned with enuie and euill speaking, and is by that excellent Philosopher compared to adulterie which may be called a curious inquirie after another bodies pleasure. Moreouer curious folks through an ouerweening in continencie, seek to violate and to discouer their neighbours great secrets, especially those which are blame-worthie, that by publishing and blabbing them out, they may nourish the intemperance of their tongues. For as venomous serpents seek after infected and stinking places: so curiositie delighteth in finding out euill things, but despiseth those that are good and commendable. If there bee any one imperfection in a stocke or kindred, if any infamy, fault, error, or euill gouernment in a house, any quarrelling, any thing to be misliked or loathed therein, it is the delight of curious folkes to learne that throughly, that they may sport themselues, and tell long stories of them, by that meanes vsing their memorie for a loathsome register of other mens vices, and yet neither see or know any fault of their owne. This causeth them all their life time to be the disciples of ignorance, and not of Philosophie, which teacheth vs, not other mens faults, but our owne, as also the meanes how we may be deliuered from them. *Diogenes* beholding one of his schollers in a publike place talking very earnestly with a young man that was thought to be subiect to his pleasure, demanded what talke they had. To whom the disciple answered, that the other rehearsed vnto him a notable trick of youth, which he had plaied the night before. Then *Diogenes* said to them both, My will and commandment is, that each of you haue forty stripes with a whip, within the Amphitheater, or playing place: Thou (quoth he to his scholler) for giuing eare vnto him, and he for the folly committed, because a Philosopher deserueth as much for hearkening to folly recited, as doth the vagabond that rehearseth it.

Plato and Apollonius were great trauellers.

Of curiositie in seeking to know other mens imperfections.

it. What punishment thinke you would this wise man haue iudged them worthy of, who hearken and inquire so curiously after other mens faults, and imperfections? And yet a man may truly say of the most of these men, that they will neuer looke vpon, or consider their owne liues, which is a very vnpleasant spectacle vnto them; nor yet returne and looke backe with reason, as with a light vpon themselves. But their soule beeing full of all sorts of euill, and fearing that which shee feeleth within her selfe, leapeth forth and wandereth heere and there in searching other mens doings, thereby feeding and fattening her owne ill nature, and vsing curiosity as an eye to looke vpon other men. Hereof it commeth, that a curious man is more profitable to his enemies than to himselfe, because he discovereth, manifesteth, and sheweth vnto them from what they are to beware, and what to correct: and yet in the meane while he seeth not the most part of that which is within himselfe, so greatly is he dazeled by beholding that which is without in other men. Hee openeth all euen to the very walles of strange houses, and pearceth like a winde into the midst of those things that are most secret. His minde is both vpon the pallaces of the rich, and cottages of the poore. He ferretteth out every thing, and inquireth many times after the affaires of the greatest, which is the cause of his ouerthrow, when he busieth himselfe too far in them. This was wisely noted by *Philippides*, when *Lysimachus* the king asked him what part of his goods he would haue imparted vnto him: What you please Sir, (quoth he,) so it be no part of your secrets. Now if we desire to diuert and to quench the heate of this vicious passion of curiosity, which is too familiar amongst vs, and vnseemly in a prudent and vertuous man, we must sometimes abstaine from inquiring after lawfull things, though otherwise not necessary. In the exercise and practise of iustice, it is expedient sometime to leaue vntaken that which a man may lawfully take, thereby to accustom himselfe to abstaine more easily from taking any thing vniustly. Likewise it is good for a man sometime to abstaine from his owne wife, that he may attaine to the vertue of temperancy, and so be neuer moued to desire another mans wife. In like manner, if in stead of shewing our selues to bee of the number of these diligent and curious inquirers after vnprofitable newes, wee signifie rather to him that commeth to tell vs of some newes, that hee should please vs better if hee had some good and profitable matter to speake, then should we thereby giue testimony of a staied and settled nature despising curiosity. This was noted in *Alexander the Great*, who seeing a messenger running apace towards him with a smiling countenance, said vnto him (not shewing himselfe to bee moued at all, or desirous to vnderstand what he would speake) what good newes canst thou bring me my friend, vnlesse thou didst come to tell me that *Homer* is risen againe? And truly hee had great reason to thinke that no more excellency could be added to his valiant acts and deeds, except it were to haue them consecrated to immortality, by the writings of some learned and notable wit. The example of *Phocion* deserueth well to be heere alleadged against curious folks, who are commonly light of beleefe. For as soone as the Athenians receiued newes of *Alexanders* death, they purposed presently to alter their estate, and to shake off the yoke of the Macedonian alliance. But *Phocion* being of a contrary opinion said vnto them, if this newes be true to day, it will be true also to morrow. And therefore (my Lords Athenians) make no haste, but deliberate leisurely, and looke safely to that which ye haue to doe. It is certaine, that if we vse in this sort to shew our selues staied in such things, and in all other things of small importance, wherein our naturall inclinations would prouoke vs to be curious, as namely, to breake off good communication begun, vpon the receipt of a letter; to forsake company to runne and meete a messenger, onely to know what newes he bringeth, and a thousand such like sudden motions proceeding of lightnes and curiositie, I say by auoiding such things we should prepare a way to the restraining of all curiosity in greater matters, which otherwise may procure blame. As for example, to open another bodys letter, to intrude our selues into the secret counsels of our neighbours, to seeke out their faults and imperfections, to inquire busily after that which may grieue our familiar friends, or to aske them of that, which they like not of, neither is grounded vpon any good cause or reason, least peraduenture the answer of some wise man should turne more to our shame, than be framed according to our desire. Thus dealt *Demaratus* with a curious and importunate fellow that had oftentimes asked of him, who was the honestest man in Sparta: He that resembleth thee least, quoth he vnto him. The answer also of an Egyptian was not vnfitly made to one that asked him what he carried there folded: It is wrapped vp (quoth he) because thou shouldest not know what it is. Now by that which hath hitherto bene discourted, it appeareth sufficiently, that all kind of curiosity is hurtfull, hatefull, and greatly to be blamed in every one, if it be not bounded and limited by

The curious are more profitable to their enemies than to themselves.

Curiosity in princes affaires is perilous. How we must cure curiosity.

Examples against curiosity.

Against lightnes of beleefe

Faults whereinto curious men commonly fall.

Witty answers made to curious questions

Rom. 12. 3.

by the reason of true prudence, which guideth and stirreth vs vp to seeke after good, honest, & profitable things, either in heauen, in earth, in the aire, or in the sea, according to the gift & capacity of our vnderstanding and iudgement, which may be necessary for vs to know, or may helpe vs to liue well and happily. For whatsoever is more, we ought to account it vnprofitable and superfluous. Let vs learne then not to know more then we ought, but vnto sobriety, containing our spirits within the limits of mediocrity, simplicitie, and modesty. Let vs forsake all sophisticall curiosity, and worldly wisdom, which is meere foolishnesse before God, that we may imbrace a simple, popular, and Accademicall kinde of knowledge, which will teach vs to know our selues and our dutie, whereby we shall be led to that happie end, which we seeke for and desire. Let vs not admire any more the merchandise and outward shewes wherewith strangers feede the eyes of curious folks, but let vs wonder at vertue onely: saying with the comickall poet, where he speaketh of those that couered their bed-steads with gold and silver, what great folly is it to make sleepe so deare, which God hath freely giuen vnto vs? So to seeke for that of strangers with such great expences, which wee may haue at our owne haue better and more commodiously, were all one, as if we should leaue the substance, and runne after the shadow, or that which is certaine for an vncertaintie. Wee may haue in France (if our blockishnes stay vs not) Vniuersities and Schooles of all honest exercises meete for our nobilitie, without strangers. And if we thinke that in some places amongst them, they haue better teachers than we haue, let vs first seeke amongst our selues for those instructions that are most necessary, namely, for the knowledge of good letters, and institution of vertue; and then if we thinke good, we may heare their teachers and masters, without infecting our behaviour with the corruption of their manners. Besides, by the same studie we shall learne to shun all curious inquirie into other mens imperfections, that we may diligently looke into our owne.

Of Nature and Education. Chap. 16.

AMANA. **S**eeing that in the entrance of our former treatise, we began with that naturall instinct which moueth and disposeth him to desire and to seeke after his good; we may in continuing the same matter finde more profitable instruction, by considering his nature more narrowly, as also what commeth vnto him by good education, which, that I may so say, standeth him in stead of a second nature. To you therefore (my Companions) I leaue this matter to be intreated of.

ARAM. The nature of man is like to a paire of ballance. For if it be not guided with knowledge and reason vnto the better part, of it selfe it is carried to the worse. And although a man be well borne, yet if he haue not his iudgement fined, and the discoursing part of his minde purged with the reasons of Philosophy, it will fall often into grosse faults, and such as besee me not a prudent man. For in those men that are not endued with vertue ruled by certaine knowledge, nature bringeth forth such fruits as naturally come from the ground without the manuring and helping-hand of man.

ACHITOBI. That which commonly causeth men to will euill rather than good, proceedeth chiefly of this, that they haue no knowledge or experience thereof. And therefore *Socrates* said, that as bringing vp maketh dogs fit for hunting, so good instruction causeth men to become profitable in the managing of a common-wealth. But it commeth to thy course, ASER, to discourse vpon this matter.

ASER. This hath beene alwaies a great question among the skilfull and diligent inquirers after the perfection of nature. Whether learning or nature teach vs to know our selues. Iustice (saith *Cicero*) is naturally planted in vs from our birth, as also religion, piety, grace, dutie, and truth. Whatsoever is according to nature (as the Philosophers say) is certainly ordained and appointed, because nature is nothing else but order, or rather the effect of order. But disorder, like to *Pindarus* sand, cannot be comprehended in any certaine number: neither can that which is against nature be defined, because it is infinite. When they speake generally of nature, they make two principall kindes: the one spirituall, intelligible, and vnto changeable beginning of motion and rest, or rather the vertue, efficient, and preserving cause of all things: the other, sensible, mutable, and subiect to generation and corruption, respecting all things that haue life, and shall haue end. *Aristotle* saith, that nature in one respect is said to be the first and chief matter and subiect of euery thing that hath being, namely, of those things which haue in them the beginning of their owne mouing and mutation: and in another

Naturall vertues according to the Philosophers, who had no knowledge of mans fall. The diuision of nature.

another respect, it is called the forme of any thing. But leauing the infinite disputations and curious inquirie made by the philosophers concerning this excellent matter, whereof we haue not here vnderaken to intreat, we say with *Iustin Martyr*, that Nature (in which the steps of the diuinity shine and are liuely represented) is that Spirit or diuine reason, which is the efficient cause of naturall workes, and the preserving cause of those things that haue beene, through the onely power of the heauenly Word, which is the workemaster of nature, and of the whole world, and hath infused into every thing a liuely vertue and strength, whereby it increaseth and preserveth it selfe by a naturall facultie. Or to speake more briefly, Nature is the order and continuance of the workes of God, obeying the Deitie, & his words and commandements, and borrowing her force and strength from thence, as from her fountaine and originall. In this nature thus defined, which respecteth all things created, we haue here to consider of and to handle particularly, according to our meaning at the first, the nature of man onely, which naturall Philosophers call the instinct and inclination of euery ones spirit. There is nothing more true, than that nature of her selfe leadeth men in some sort to that which is decent and honest: neither is learning able to shew any thing, which is not to be found in nature, whether we goe about to teach the end of man, which the Philosophers call the action of vertue, or whether we seeke out the causes and beginnings of other sciences. For there is no man so barbarous or wicked in all the world, who is not touched with honesty, and who retaineth not somewhat of the light of nature. Which may be clearly perceived by this, that a vertuous action pleaseth him, so that he is euen constrained to commend it. And if he might tastethereof neuer so little, not being fore possessed with other disordinate desires, no doubt but he would become such a one, as might purchase and deserve praise and commendation. But here we must acknowledge the first corruption of our nature, whereby it is inclined to pleasure, and to eschew labour, which are the wel-springs of vices, and of infinite euils. And if our nature should be suffered to runne with the bridle at liberty, whither soeuer it is driven by carnall desires, hauing none of them cut off by wise admonitions and liuely perswasions, there is no beast so vntamed or sauage, that would not be milder than man. Whereupon it followeth that nature must of necessity be tamed, and as it were mollified by the studie of good letters, and by the instruction of good Philosophicall reasons, which as they serue for nourishment and food to our mindes, so by them our manners and actions are framed and guided according to vertue and prudence, & we made able to learne how, by the compasse of reason, to attaine to mediocrity, wherein perfection consisteth, and to reiect excelsse, which is alwaies dangerous. A good plaier on a lute or viall toucheth no other strings than those that are touched by him that is most vnskilfull. Notwithstanding being taught in the beginning, hee knoweth afterward through vse what strings make that sound, which the eare iudgeth by the harmonie and agreeuent of sounds to be delectable, whereupon he is taken for his crafts-master. Euen so a perfect vertuous man vseth onely naturall gifts, but reason and practise bringeth them to their perfection. Euery good beginning commeth vnto vs by nature, the progresse and growth by the precepts of reason, and the accomplishment by vse and exercise. Nature without learning and good bringing vp is a blind thing. Learning without nature wanteth much, and vse without the two former is vnperfect. It is true (as *Plato* saith) that some may be found, that are of a strong and forceable nature, and thereby indued with reasonable good sense and iudgement (which is in man as the rudder in a ship) so that they make shew of great vertues. But those men are not without many great vices also, if they want education and learning: not vnlike to a good fat ground, which bringeth forth many good and bad hearbs together, if it be not well dressed. Now if this good nature be ill brought vp, without doubt it will spoile it selfe and become very pernicious. *Scipio* and *Catiline* were both high minded and couragious by nature, but forasmuch as the one was alwaies obedient to the lawes of his Common-wealth, and vsed his vertue as reason required, hee was accounted vertuous, and the other wicked and wretched for doing the contrary. You aske of me (saith *Socrates* in *Xenophon*) whether courage or greatnesse of heart proceede of nature or of learning. For my part I thinke, that as we see some borne with stronger bodies than others are, so by nature wee haue minds more fit to sustaine perils and aduersities than others haue. And that this is so, wee see many brought vp with the same manners, and instructed vnder like lawes, and yet some of them more hardy and bold then the rest. Notwithstanding there is no doubt but the goodnesse of nature is holpen by learning and instruction. It is certaine (saith *Plutarke*) that there is in all men some light of good and right iudgement, but yet the difference betweene Philosophers and the people.

What nature is.

The property and light of nature.

The corruption of nature.

Three things necessarie for the perfection of man.

The difference betweene Philosophers and the common

common sort of men is great: because Philosophers have their iudgement more stayed and assured in dangers, whereas the vulgar sort haue not their hearts fortified and defended with such anticipations and resolute impressions aforehand. Albeit therefore many notable men (as *Cicero* saith) haue atchieued many braue and vertuous exploits being guided by their naturall iudgement onely, and by daily experience in affaires, yet infinite faults may be noted in them, especially in their behauiour and manner of life, which might haue beene amended and corrected by the knowledge of letters. Moreover the iudgement of man wauereth too easily to settle and resolue it selfe vpon any thing: yea it is driuen by a thousand occasions from the ground of her former discourses, if it be not built and laid vpon certaine knowledge and reason, which the study of wisdom teacheth vs. And as for that prudence, which is gotten onely by vse, and by a mans owne experience, it is too long, dangerous, and difficult, because it is not able to make vs wise but after our owne perill: and oftentimes whilest we seeke it, death maketh hast to prevent it, or else followeth it so neere, that we had neede of a second life to bestow about it. Thus we see that if there be any want in any one of these three, Nature, Reason and Vse, vertue also must needs faile and be vnperfect in that point. True it is, that a good naturall inclination deserueth more praise being without learning, than learning doth without it: because euen knowledge serueth many times for an occasion to the wicked, who abuse it maliciously, to further their vnpure purposes. Neuertheles, we can accuse nothing but there peruersenesse, which by reason of their ignorance, would not haue staied it selfe from vttering such pernicious effect in them, and peradventure worse. For in what measure soeuer it beyet (as *Socrates* said) they that haue beene well brought vp and instructed, are in some sort forced to moderate themselves. Besides, they that are not altogether well borne, yet beeing holpen by good training vp and exercise of vertue, they after a sort repaire and recouer the defect of nature. Idlenesse (saith *Plutarke*) annihilateth and corrupteth the goodnesse of nature, but diligence in good education, correcteth the naughtines thereof. And as we see, that drops of water falling vpon a hard stone maketh it hollow, and that iron and copper consume and weare onely with handling, and ground that is more vneuen and stonie than it ought, yet being manured and dressed, beareth faire and goodly fruit, and contrariwise, good ground becommeth vnfruitful, and woorse and woorse, the more it is left vnlaboured: euen so good manners and conditions are qualities, which in long proceesse of time are imprinted in the soule, and morall vertues are attained vnto through care, diligence, labour, and long exercise. Therefore although nature hath this property in all men, that it is in perpetuall motion through a weake instinct, and that in some stronger, in others weaker, which causeth her to aspire vnto and to desire the excellency of her first perfection, whereof she knoweth her selfe void, yet if she bee not alwaies holpen and driuen towards the better part, she will sooner suffer her selfe to be carried to the woorse. They are but little sparks (saith *Cicero*) which through vice and corrupt manners are so easily quenched, that the light of the appeareth not. And as the heat buried in the veines of a flint, seemeth rather dead then alieue, if the sparkles be not drawne forth by the Steele: so this immortall portion of celestiall fire, being the fountaine and first motiue of all knowledge, remaineth without any profit or commendable action, if it be not sharpened and set on worke. We are noe sooner borne, and taken in hand to be brought vp, as *Plato* saith, but we follow after wickednesse as if wee had sucked iniquity together with our nurses milke. Afterwards being committed by our fathers to the hands of teachers, we so inwrap our mindes with errors, that those weake seedes of vertue, which are in vs by nature, must needs give place to vanity, and to opinion. But if good wits finde good bringing vp, then they grow alwaies vp from better to better. Whereupon in my opinion that old prouerbe was not spoken without reason, that Education goeth beyond nature. Which thing when *Lycurgus* was desirous to let the Lacædomonians vnderstand, hee nourished two dogs of one and the same liter, vsing the one to hunt, & bringing vp the other in the kitchen. And when the people were gathered together, he spake vnto them in this manner: It is a matter of great importance (O ye Lacædomonians) to engender vertue in mens hearts by education, custome, and discipline, as I will let you see, and sensibly perceiue out of hand. Then he caused both the dogs to be brought, and casting off a hare on the one side, and setting a platter of broth on the other, and he let loose his dogs, of which the one followed after the hare, and the other ran to the broth. Thus fareth it (quoth he) with men, who may be made more vertuous by good education, than by nature. Neither will it profit them at all to descend of *Hercules* race, if they practise not those workes whereby in his life time hee grew to be most famous in the world, and if they exercise not themselves all the daies of their life

Three things
obscure in per-
fect vertue.

The defect of
naturr is hol-
pen by good
education.

The weaknes
of our naturall
inclination to
goodnes.

A similitude

Lycurgus
example of
two dogs.

the world, and if they exercise not themselves all the daies of their life in honest and vertuous actions. Furthermore, if we desire examples of this, that learning, institution and education availe greatly to conforme and frame our hearts and wils to vertue, yea to alter and make them better. *Socrates* confesseth in *Plato*, that by nature he was inclined to vices, and yet Philosophie made him as perfect and excellent aman as any was in the world. *Themistocles* in his youth (as himselfe confessed) for want of discipline was carried away by his desires like to a young vnbridled colt, vntill that by *Miltiades* example, who was then famous amongst the *Gracians*, he caused the viuacie and quicknesse of his spirite, and the ambition which naturally was in him, to attend vpon vertue. Besides, education and custome haue power to change not onely the naturall inclination of some particular men, but also of whole countries; as the histories of most nations in the world declare vnto vs: and namely of the *Germanes*, who in the time of *Tacitus* had neither law, nor religion, nor knowledge, nor forme of common wealth, whereas now they giue place to no nation for good institution in all things. Let vs not then bee discouraged or faint by knowing our naturall imperfections, seeing that through labour and diligence wee may recouer that which is wanting: but happy is that man, and singularly beloued of God, to whom good birth and like bringing vp are granted together. It followeth now to discourse particularly of the manner of good education and instruction of youth: but this will come in more fitly, when we shall intreat of *Oeconomie*. And yet seeing we are in the discourse of mans nature, I thinke it will not be from the purpose, nor without profit, (if to make vs more seuerer censurers of our owne faults) we note, that although our behauiour be chiefly knowne by the effects, as a tree by the fruit, yet many times a mans naturall inclination is better perceived in a light matter, as in a word, in a pastime, or in some other free and priuate busines, wherein vertue or vice ingrauen in the soule may bee sooner espied, than in greater actions and workes done publicly: because in these matters shame or constraint commonly cause men to vse dissimulation. Howbeit this also is true, that the more power and authority a man hath, when he may alleadge his owne will for all reason, the inward affection of his heart is then best discovered. For such an vnbrideled licence mooueth all, euen to the very depth and bottome of his passions, and causeth all those secret vices, that are hidden in his soule to be fully and evidently seene. Whereupon it followeth that great and noble men ought aboue all others to learne vertue, and to study to liue well, especially seeing they haue all those requisite helpes and commodities, through want of which most men are hindered from attaining thereunto. Let vs therefore learne by our present discourse to know, that the nature of al men by reason of the corruption of sinne, is so depraued, corrupted, and vnperfect, that euen the best men, amongst many imperfections carry about them some enuy, iealousie, emulation and contention, against some or other, and rather against their very friends. This did *Demas* a noble man and greatly conuersant in matters of estate, declare vnto the councell in the city of *Chio*, after a ciuill dissention wherein hee had followed that part which ouercame. For he perswaded those of his side not to banish all their aduersaries out of the city, but to leaue some of them after they had taken from them all meanes of dooing more harme: least (quoth he vnto them) we begin to quarrell with our friends, hauing no more enemies to contend withall. For this cause we must fortifie our selues with vnderstanding and knowledge through labor and study of good letters, that we may restraine and repress so many motions mingled together in our soules. Let vs know moreouer, that seeing our nature is assaulted & prouoked by a vehement inclination to do any thing whatsoever, it is a very hard matter to withdraw and keepe it backe by any force, no not by the strength or feare of any lawes, if in due conuenient time we frame not within it a habit of vertue, hauing first wished to be wel borne. But howsoeuer it be, let vs indeauor to be well borne through custome and exercise in vertue (which will bee vnto vs as it were another nature) vsing the meanes of good education and instruction in wisdom, whereby our soules shall be made conquerors ouer all hurtfull passions, and our mindes moderate and staied, that in all our doings, sayings and thoughts wee passe not the bounds of the duty of a vertuous man.

Socrates and *Themistocles* were by nature vicious, but by education vertuous.

The *Germanes* much changed by institution.

A mans naturall inclination may be espied in a smal matter.

Great men ought especially to learne vertue.

The end of the fourth daies worke.

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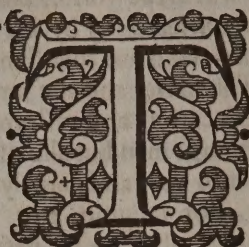
THE

Of Temperance.

The fifth daies worke.

of Temperance. Chap. 17.

A SER.



The Greeke word *κόσμος* vsed by Pythagoras, and translated by the Latines *Mundus*, and of vs *World*, signifieth a comely order.

No vertue can be without temperance.

The true markes and ornaments of a king.

What temperance is.

What *Decorum* or comeliness is.

THE diuine excellencie of the order, of the equall and wonderfull constancy of the parts of the world, as well in the goodly and temperate moderation of the seasons of the yeare, as in the mutuall coniunction of the elements, obeying altogether with a perfect harmony the gracious and soveraigne government of their Creator, was the cause that *Pythagoras* first called al the compasse of this vniuersall frame by this name of *World*, which without such an excellent disposition would bee but disorder and a world of confusion. For this word *World* signifieth as much as Ornament, or a well disposed order of things. Now as a constant and temperate order is the foundation thereof, so the ground-worke and preservation of mans happy life, for whom all things were made, is the vertue of Temperance, which containeth the desires and inclinations of the soule within the compasse of mediocrity, and moderateth all actions whatsoever. For this cause, having hitherto according to our iudgement sufficiently discoursed of the liuer of the fountaine of honesty, I thinke we ought to set downe here in the second place (although it be contrary to the opinion of many Philosophers, this vertue of Temperance, saying with *Socrates*, that she is the ground-worke & foundation of all vertues.

A M A N A. As a man cannot be temperate if first he be not prudent, because every vertuous action proceedeth of knowledge: so no man can bee strong and valiant, if he be not first temperate, because he that hath a notable and great courage without moderation, will attempt a thousand euils and mischiefes, and will soone grow to be rash and heady. Likewise iustice cannot be had without Temperance, seeing it is the chiefe point of a iust man, to haue his soule free from perturbations. Which cannot be done except he be temperate, whose proper subiect the soule is.

A R A M. Heroicall vertue (saith *Plato*) is made perfect by the mixture and ioyning together of Temperance and Fortitude, which being separated will at length become vices. For a temperate man that is not couragious, easily waxeth to be a coward and faint-hearted: and a noble heart not temperate, becommeth rash and presumptuous. Let vs then heare ACHITOBS discourse of this Temperance, so excellent and necessary a vertue.

ACHITOBS. *Agapetus* a man of great skill, writing to the Emperour *Iustinian*, amongst other things had this saying: We say that thou art truly and rightly both Emperour and king, so long as thou canst command and master thy desires and pleasures, and art beset and decked with the crowne of Temperance, and clothed with the purple robe of Iustice. For other principalities end by death, whereas this kingdome abideth for euer: yea others are many times the cause of perdition to the soule, but this procureth a certaine and an assured safety. When wee haue considered well of the worthy effects and fruits of this vertue of Temperance, no doubt but wee will subscribe to this wise mans opinion, and to as many as haue written of the praises and roialties of that vertue. Temperance (saith *Pythagoras*) is that light, which driueth away round about her the darkenesse and obscuritie of passions. Shee is (saith *Socrates*) the wholesomest vertue of all. For she preserveth both publicly and privately humane society, she lifteth vp the soule miserably throwne downe in vice, and restoreth her againe into her place. Temperance (saith *Plato*) is a mutuall consent of the parts of the soule from whence springeth Continencie) causing all disordered and vnbrideled desires to take reason for a rule and direction. Temperance (saith *Cicero*) is the mother of all dutie and honesty. It is the property of iustice not to violate the right of another man, and of Temperance, not so much as to offend him. In Temperance a man may behold modesty, with the priuation of every perturbation in the soule, as also a way how to frame all thiags according to that which is decent or seemely, which the Latines call *Decorum*, being a conuenience meete for the excellencie of man, and that wherein his nature differeth from other liuing creatures. For as bodily beauty mooueth and reioyceth the eyes, by reason of the goodly and seemely composition of all the members wherein all the parts with a certaine grace agree together: so this decency, which is honesty and seemeliness, shining in mans life by his good order, constancie and moderation both indeede and word, mooueth and draweth

Of Temperance.

75

The definition of temperance.

What passions are ruled by temperance.

Four parts of temperance.

The commendation of temperance.

Wonderfull examples of temperance
Scipio. Africanus.

draweth the hearts of those amongst whom we live. This vertue then of Temperance is a steadfast and moderate rule of reason over concupiscence, and over other vehement motions of the minde. But she commaundeth chiefly over those two perturbations of the soule, grounded vpon the opinion of good, I meane, *Unbridled desire*, and *unmeasurable ioy*, whereof heretofore we made mention. Thus we see, that no man can finde out any thing that is so excellent and woonderfull as temperance, the guide and governor of the soule, which because of hir exceeding great light cannot be hid in darknesse: which compelleth vs to follow reason, bringeth peace to our mindes, and mollifieth them as it were by concord and agreement. She serueth for a bridle to restrain all pleasures, and in the midst of them maketh man good and vertuous. She serueth for a knife to cut off all superfluous, vaine, and vnecessary desires as well of the soule as of the body: and is as it were a rule directing naturall and necessary desires by fit choice of times, and by temperate vse of mediocrity. Wherefore we may say, that this vertue of temperance comprehendeth in it all the other vertues: that through hir a harmony, concordance, and coniunction of them all is made: that she ministreth vnto them alloccasions of beginning, and being begun confirmeth them by a firme and steadfast safety. Briefly, Temperance (as *Plato* saith) is a generall surname of those vertues, whereby a man moderateth his owne affections, and frameth his gesture and behauiour in some sort, that no effeminate or loose manners, no clownish or vnciuill fashions are seene in him. O saith (*Euripides*) how is temperance to be esteemed, which is the cause of such great glory & honour amongst men. This vertue is diuided into foure principall parts, into *Continencie*, *Clemencie*, *Modesty*, and *Order*. Continency is that part, whereby concupiscence and desire are gouerned by counsell and reason. Clemency, is that, whereby the mindes of men, rashly carried away with the hatred of any one, and with desire to hurt him, are kept backe by gentlenesse. Modesty is that, whereby honest shame and bashfulnes purchaseth good and due deserued renowne. Order is a disposition of all things in their conuenient place. All these vertues are vndoubtedly ioyned with temperance, and consist as well in action, as in the discourting of the mind. For by ioining a certaine mediocrity and order vnto those things that belong vnto this life, we preferue honesty and duty. Every vertue (saith *Iamblicus*, a notable man) despiseth whatsoever is fraile, mortall, and momentany, but temperance more then the rest: because she contemneth, and through chastity beateth downe all those delights & pleasures, whereby the soule (as *Plato* saith) is fastened vnto the body as it were with a naile. Therefore if temperance rooteth out whatsoever shee findeth vnperfect and subiect to perturbations, how shall she not therewithall make vs perfect? This is the meaning of that which the Poets would giue vs to vnderstand vnder that fained fable of *Bellerophon*, who being aided by modesty put to death, that *Chimera*, and all other cruell and sauage monsters. But as long as the immoderate force of our affections reigneth in vs, it suffereth not men to be men, but draweth them to the ill fauored nature of beasts void of reason. Contrariwise, this holy moderation, whereby pleasures are contained within certaine bounds, preferueth families together, and citties: and which is more draweth vs in some sort neere to the diuine nature. Thus we see that she is the foundation and ornament of all good things. If we should endeavour to rehearse here all those excellent praises, which Philosophers giue to this vertue of temperance, because of hir woorthy effects and wholesome fruits, which she bringeth forth in the soule, we were not able to performe it, although we should bestow this whole daies worke about it. But because in these queles of our discourses, as well in the handling of vices as of vertues, we may consider furthermore how necessary temperance is, and what profit it bringeth to the whole life of man, we will content our selues to learne of *Plato*, that temperance is the pillar of fortitude, the helmet and shield against luxuriousnes, the keeper & guide of the eies, the preseruer of good will, the razor of euill thoughts, the corrector of vntamed desires, an enemy to the disordered will of the soule: that it shunneth naturall desires, hindreth dishonest actions, breedeth continency, mollifieth mens hearts, and giueth reason for a rule in all things. Now let vs note out amongst the ancients, some examples of the force and greatnesse of this vertue of Temperance, which hath made many excellent men woorthy of eternall renowne, *Scipio Africanus*, Generall of the Romanes, at the taking of the city of Carthage had a yong damsell to this prisoner, of rare and excellent beautie. And when he vnderstood of what great calling she came, and how hir parents not long before had betrothed hir to a great Lord of Spaine, he commanded that he should be sent for, and restored hir vnto him, without abusing hir in any respect, although he was in the flower of his age, and had free and soveraigne authority. Moreouer, he gaue for a dowrie with her the money that was brought

vnto him for her ranfome. An act no doubt of great continency in a victorious captaine towards his captiue, whereof *Anlus Gellius*, ioyning it with that which we reade of *Alexander the Great*, maketh this question, whether of the twaine behaued himfelfe more vertuously. For *Alexander* hauing vanquished in battell king *Darius*, and retaining as prisoner his wife, which excelled all the dames of Asia in beautie, and was withall but yong in yeares, the victorious monarch being but yong also, and hauing no superiour aboue him to whom hee was bound to giue an account of himfelfe, had notwithstanding such great knowledge how to command himfelfe, that albeit by his acquaintance and friends he was sufficiently certified of the excellent beautie of this Lady, yet he bare no ill thought towards her, but sent to comfort her, and caused her to be entertained and attended on with no lesse honour and reuerence, than if she had bene his owne sister. And to auoide all suspition and occasion of euill, he would not see her, nor suffer her to be brought before him. The temperance of *Cyrus* king of Persia is also very famous amongst the historiographers. For when one of his minions stirred him vp to goe and see faire *Panthea*, saying that her rare beauty was well worthy to be seene: That is the cause (answered this yong Prince vnto him) why I will altogether abstaine at this present from beholding her at thy perswasion, least she her selfe hereafter should induce me through the remembrance of her perfection to goe to her, and to cause me in the meane time to let slip many affaires of great importance. *Architas* was so temperate, that he would not so much as vtter one filthy word: and if he were driuen to declare it vpon some iust occasion, then he wrote it, shewing by this silence, how dishonest a thing it was to commit that, which being onely vttered ought to cause a man to blush. *Xenocrates*, was endued with such a great gift of continencie, that *Phryna* a very faire and notable curtisan laid a wager with certaine yong men, that if shee lay with him, she would cause him to breake his temperance. But *Xenocrates*, hauing granted her the halfe of his bed, for examples sake to those youths, was nothing more moued for any thing that shee could doe. Whereupon *Phryna* being very angry made answer in the morning to those that demanded the wager of her, That shee lay not with a man but with a blocke. *Isaas* the Philosopher beeing asked of one that looked vpon a very faire woman, whether shee seemed not vnto him to be faire, made this answer, My friend, I am not diseased any more in my eies, and so would not behold her at all. *Caius Gracchus* the Romaine, as long as he gouerned Sardinia, would neuer suffer a woman to set foote in his house, except it were to demand iustice. *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, hearing that his sonne was lodged in a house where there were three very faire daughters, made an edict, that no Courtier should lodge in any matrons house that had daughters, if she were vnder fiftie yeares of age. *Pompeius* would neuer speake to the wife of *Demetrius* his freeman, because shee was so faire, that he feared least he should bee in loue with her. In the number of these ancient, famous and vertuous men, that great captaine *Francis Sforce* duke of Millan deserueth to be placed, whose continencie, was wonderfull, euen when he was yet yong, and Generall of the Florentine armie, at the taking of Casanoua. For as certaine souldiers had taken a maide of an excellent beauty, and at her intreaty and earnest request had brought her before him, *Sforce* asked the maide why shee desired so earnestly to come before him. To this end (quoth she) that thou mightest deliuer me from the souldiers, and that I might please thee. *Sforce* seeing her to be very faire, accepted of her, and at night caused her to lie with him. But as hee would haue drawne neere vnto her, the maide cast her selfe on both her knees before him without the bed, and besought him to saue her virginity, and to restore her to him vnto whom shee was made sure. Whereunto *Sforce* willingly agreed, beholding the abundance of her teares, which were testimonies of the chastitie of her heart. Will we haue examples of this vertue of temperance in other circumstances of her effects? Ambition truly is the most vehement and strongest passion of all those wherewith mens mindes are troubled, and yet many notable and vertuous men haue so mastered it by the force of their temperance, that oftentimes they accepted of offices and estates of supreme authority, as it were by compulsion and with griefe: yea some altogether contemned and willingly forsooke them. *Pompey* receiuing letters of absolute authoritie from the Senate to conduct the warre against the two kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* cried out: O God, shall I neuer come to the end of so many trauels? Shall enuie alwaies hold me in such sort as her slave, that new and great charges daily laying holde vpon me, I cannot ridde my selfe of these soares, to the end I may liue sweetely with my wife and children at my house in the countrey? *Pittacus* one of the Sages of Græcia, beeing constrained to take vpon him the charge of an army, accepted it with great griefe, saying before them all: O how hard

*Alexander.**Cyrus.**Architas.**Xenocrates.**Isaas.**C. Gracchus.**Antigonus.**Pompeius.*
P. Sforce.

The temperance of Pompey against ambition.

Pittacus.

hard a matter it is to bee a good man ! *Pedareus* the Lacedemonian having escaped to bee *Pedareus*, elected one of those three hundreth Senators, which governed the estate of Sparta, returned from the assembly very ioyfull, saying, That it was an easie matter to finde in the citie three hundreth better and more honest men than himselfe. What did *Scipio*, of whom we haue al- *Scipio*, ready spoken, after he had performed a thousand glorious facts for the greatnesse of the Ro- mane Empire ? He forced the nature of ambition, which is alwaies carried with a desire of new glory, and changed the rest of his life into quietnesse : and abandoning the affaires of estate, he went and dwelt in the countrey. *Torquatus* and *Fabritius* absented themselves from *Torquatus & Fabritius*, Rome, the one because he would not haue the dictatorship, and the other the consulship. It is not long since *Aimans* duke of Sauoy willingly gaue over his duchy into his sons hands, and became an hermit : and after that being chosen Pope, he gaue vp the seate willingly to ano- *Aimans*, ther. *Amurathes*, the second of that name, Emperor of the Turkes, after he had obtained infi- *Amurathes*, nite victories, and vanquished the king of Hungarie, became a monke of the straightest sect amongst them. The great Emperor *Charles* the fift, did he not resigne his Empire into the hands of the princes electors, and withdrew himselfe into a monastery ? But what neede we maruell at the knowledge of these examples, which shew the effects of this vertue of tempe- *Charles the fift*, rance against strange passions arising in vs, proceeding of our nature corrupted with sinne, and ruling in vs through the ignorance of that which is good, when we may see, that temperance doth not only serue for a good guide and schoolemaster to our passions, and to our naturall and necessary desires and pleasures that are borne with man from the beginning, to rule them with mediocrity & reason, but also compelleth them oftentimes to submit themselves, therby triumphing over their necessity, although (as *Thales* said) it be inuisible ? And then how much more easie will it be to restraine, yea, wholly to overthrow the foolish desires of vanitie ? *Sois* a Captaine of great renowne, and king of Lacedemonia, being besieged in a *Sois*, narrow strait, and very craggie place voide of water, after he had endured the necessity of thirst to the vttermost, he offered to the Clitorians his enemies, to restore vnto them all their land, which he had wonne of them, so that he and all his company might drinke of a foun- taine neere vnto them. Which being thus agreed vpon betweene them, he led all his men thither, and said vnto them, that if any one would abstaine from drinking, he would resigne his royalty of Lacedemonia vnto him. But none would accept thereof, insomuch that all dranke except himselfe, who going last downe into the fountaine did nothing but refresh himselfe, and wet his mouth a little on the out side, in the presence of his enemies, not drink- ing one drop thereof. By meanes whereof he maintained, that he was not bound at all vnto his promise, because all dranke not : and so he continued the warre to the great honour and advantage of his countrey. *Lyfimachus*, one of *Alexanders* successors in the Empire, had not *Lyfimachus*, so great power over the like passions. For being compelled by thirst, hee deliuered himselfe and all his army to the Getes his enemies. After he had drunke, being prisoner, O God (quoth hee) how faint-hearted am I, that for so short a pleasure haue deprived my selfe of so great a kingdome ! *Cato* the yonger, traueilling ouer the deserts of Lybia, endured very sore thirst. *Cato*, And when a souldier offered him a litle water in his motion, he threw it vpon the ground in the presence of them all, to the end his army might know, that he would be in no better estate than they. Truly a worthy example for all Captaines : for by so doing, that which would hardly haue quenched the thirst of one, restrained it in a whole army. The Emperor *Rodolphus*, *Rodolphus*, who of base estate attained to this dignity by his vertue, vpon the like occasion made an an- swer worthy to be remembred. For when a full cup of beere was brought vnto him in the war which he had against *Ottocarins* king of Bohemia, at what time he was in a place where his whole army was greatly troubled with thirst, he would not receiue it, but said vnto the bearer thereof, That his thirst was for all his army, and not onely for himselfe, and therefore that cup of beere was not sufficient to quench it. We reade of *Socrates* that whensoever he felt himselfe *Socrates*, very thirstie, he would not drinke before he had spilt and cast away the first pitcher of water, which he drew for himselfe out of the well, to this end (as he said) that hee might acquaint his sensuall appetite to expect the conuenient time of reason. Seeing therefore by such exam- ples, and infinite others contained in histories, we haue certaine and assured prooue of the force of temperance ouer naturall and necessary passions, how credible is it, that he may haue far greater power over those, other passions that came from without vs, after we fell from our first creation ? Let vs therefore conclude by our present discourse, that the vertue of Tempe- rance is very necessary and profitable for a happy life, as that which hath this propertie belong- ing vnto it, to be skilfull in chusing a mediocritie in pleasures and griefes, in keeping that

which is honest and vertuous, and in shunning of vice, especially of carnall pleasures, although shee serue also to moderate all the actions of our life. And if a prudent man auoideth dishonest things in publike places, a temperate man goeth farther, eschewing them in solitary and obscure corners. If iustice suffereth no violence to be vsed, or wrong offered to any, Temperance further permitteth none to offend any: and therefore is very well called of the Philosophers, the mother of all dutie and honesty.

Of Intemperance, and of Stupiditie or Blockishnes. Chap. 18.

ACHITOB. Being instructed in the vertue of temperance, which, as well as her fellow vertues, consisteth in mediocritie, we are now to consider of her extremities and vices that are in excesse and in defect. Intemperance is cleane contrary vnto it, which, as *Cicero* saith, inflameth, prouoketh, and troubleth the tranquillitie of the spirit: but concerning the defect, I find no proper name giuen vnto it by the Philosophers. But I leaue the handling of this matter vnto my companions.

Predominant
passions in
Intempe-
rance.

A SER. Intemperance (saith *Plato*) was so called of the ancients, because that peruerse, cruell, great and terrible beast *Lust*, exerciseth therein more power than it ought, as also disordered ioy doth the like. Whereupon it commeth, that intemperate men enjoying the pleasure of their senses, imagine falsely that true felicity accompanieth them therein. But truly whosoever obeyeth bodily pleasures, serueth most cruell tyrants.

A MANA. Nature (saith *Archebas*) hath giuen no plague more pernicious and hurtfull than the pleasure of the body. For whereas God hath bestowed vpon man nothing more excellent than the soule and reason, there is none so great an enemy to this heavenly gift as voluptuousnesse: because where luxuriousnesse and concupiscence reigne, there temperance can haue no place: yea, all vertues are banished out of their kingdome. But let vs heare **A RAM** discourse of these vices here propounded vnto vs.

Some finnes
are punish-
ments of o-
ther finnes.

Rom. I.

A RAM. I reade in *Plato* not long since, that there were many finnes, which ought rather to be called punishments of other finnes going before, than finnes. According to the course and sequele of his speech, if my memory be good, I thinke his meaning is, that men suffering themselves to be ouertaken of vice in the beginning, as it were in sport, neuer take heede vnto themselves, vntill they be wholly abandoned and giuen over (as *Saint Paul* saith) to their vile affections, and pleasures of their hearts, in all vncleannesse and turbulent passions of Ignominie and reproch. Inso much that after they haue opened the gate to their concupiscences, and to the desires of the flesh; of whooremongers, couetous persons, reuengers, of their owne wrongs, belly-gods, gluttons, and from other lesse imperfections, being notwithstanding foule & beastly, they become Sodomites, Church-robbers, parricides, Epicures, Atheists, and full of all execrable villanies, which are comprehended vnder this word of intemperance. Intemperance is very well defined of the Philosophers to be an overflowing in voluptuousnesse, forcing and compelling all reason in such sort, that no consideration of losse or hinderance is able to stay or keepe backe him that is through long custome infected with vice, from betaking himselfe of set purpose, and as a man would say, willingly and desperately, to the execution of all his desires and lusts, as hee that placeth his sole and soueraigne good therein, seeking for no other contentation than in that thing, which bringeth to him and to his senses delight & pleasure. For this cause *Aristotle* distinguisheth betweene intemperance and incontinencie (albeit many take them indifferently one for another) saying, that an incontinent man chooseth not, neither consulteth when he offendeth, as one that knoweth full well that the euill he committeth is euill, and had resolved with himselfe not to follow it, but being overcome with perturbations, yeeldeth thereunto. Whereas the intemperate man committeth euill of election and settled purpose to follow it, accounting it a good thing, and to be desired; and this commeth through a long custome and habite of vice, which is the cause that he neuer repenteth him of the fact, but taketh pleasure therein: whereas on the contrary side the repentance of an incontinent man followeth hard at the heeles of his sinne and transgression. In this manner then proceedeth Intemperance, vntill men are wholly addicted and giuen over to vice. This is the cause why the sensuall and vnreasonable part of the soule contendeth no more with reason, which then is as it were starke dead, and suffereth it selfe to be carried to vgly and vnaturall vices, and to all fleshly desires: because the diuine part of the soule is weakened in such sort, that she hath no more strength, nor feeling of her essence, which is an enemy to vice. And thus accustoming her selfe to follow

What intem-
perance is.

The differ-
ence be-
tweene an in-
continent and
an intempe-
rate man.

follow nothing but the will of the body, she forsaketh God altogether, who seeing himselfe forsaken, leaueth her to her concupiscences, from whence is engendred this exceeding luxuriousnes euen against nature, this mortall, venomous and bloody enny, this furious & barbarous cruelty, this insatiable couetousnes, this blood-thirsty ambition, and other incurable diseases of the soule, too well knowne amongst vs, whereof the sequels of our discourses will afford a more ample knowledge vnto vs. Thus we see that intemperance (as *Cicero* saith) is the mother of all the perturbations in the soule, and causeth man (as *Socrates* said) to differ nothing from a beast: because he neuer thinketh vpon that which is best, but onely seeketh how to satisfie and content the vnbrideled desires of pleasure and lust, hauing no more vse of reason than beasts haue. Intemperance (saith *Eusebius*) corrupteth the soule, and destroyeth the body, because it constraineth a man, for loue of pleasure, and desire to satisfie it, to do that which he knoweth well is dishonest and vile. And as the windes torment and tosse that shippe which they haue seized vpon, now here now there, and will not suffer it to be guided by her maister: so Intemperance moouing and compelling the soule to disobey reason, suffereth her not to enioy tranquillity and rest, which is an assured haue of harbour from all windes. Intemperance (saith *Aristotle*) is a vice that proceedeth from the couering part of man, whereby we desire to enioy vnlawfull pleasures. It is her property to choose the fruition of hurtfull and vile pleasures, supposing none to liue happilie, but such as passe away their life in them. This vice is vnseperably accompanied with the troubling of all Order, with impudencie, vncemelines, luxuriousnes, sloth negligence, and dissolutenes. In a word, Intemperance remooueth and troubleth all tranquillity of the mind, and leadeth men to all kind of wickednesse, the end of one vice being the beginning of another: which *Socrates* called the punishment of sinne, that doth not cleanse but kill the malefactor. There is no kind of dissolutenes wherein the intemperate man plungeth not himselfe, no wickednes or cruelty, which he executeth not for the satisfying of his vncleane desires and vn-satiable lusts; no feare or imminent danger, which can draw him backe. And further, he labourerth oftentimes to procure, that glorie and honour should be giuen to his most cursed and execrable misdemeanors, imagining and fancying with himselfe dreames answerable and agreeable to that he most desireth. Wherein he resembleth mad men, who haue alwaies before their eies those Ideas and shapes, which worke the apprehension of their furie, and hold them in the vision and inward view of that which most troubleth their diseased braine. But to make this vice of Intemperance more odious vnto vs, and to mooue vs more earnestly to fly those causes that nourish it, labouring to cut off all those branches and hurtfull fruites, which it bringeth with it, as superfluitie, gluttony, ambition, pride, and other excesses in all kinde of delight, whereof we wil intreate more particularly hereafter, let vs call to minde examples of such pernicious effects, as it hath brought forth in them that voluntarily submitted themselves vnder her tyrannous gouernment. Although we should search throughout all ancient histories, yet hardly could we alledge a more euident testimonie, than the life of *Helio-gabalus*: because there is no kinde of cursed mischiefe, of detestable lust, of iniustice and of cruelty wherewith he was not defiled. Yea, he fell into such a furious frensie of vice, that seeking to become a woman, and to be married to one of his minions, thinking in that sexe better to satisfie his beastlinesse, he appareled himselfe after such a fashion, that he was neither man nor woman. And knowing it impossible for him by reason of his impietie and corrupt life to escape a miserable end and violent death (which ought rather to haue binne vnto him an occasion of amendment) he was so bewitched with intemperance, that he prepared poysons ready at hand to poyson himselfe withall, if he perceived himselfe pressed of his enemies. And to make his death luxurious according to his desire, he kept his poysons in vessels made of precious stones. He provided also silken halters to hang himselfe withall, if hee saw that more expedient for him, than to be poysoned: or if he should thinke it better to murder himselfe, he kept for that purpose kniues made of precious mettals. Likewise he caused a high tower all gilded to be built, and al to choose his death as fittest occasion should be offered. In the mean while he gaue not ouer that execrable kinde of life, which through Gods iust iudgement he ended, being deprived of all those meanes wherewith hee desired to serue his owne turne in his death. For he was strangled by the souldiers of his guard, who trailed him in that manner through all places of the cittie of Rome. *Nero*, one of his predecessors, was little better then he. For he slew a Romane Consul called *Atticus*, that he might haue the free vse of his wife: and pleased himselfe so much in his cruelty, that he was the murderer of his own mother, brother, sister, and of two wiues which he had, named *Othania* and *Poppa*. Like-

A fit similitude.

The companions of Intemperance.

Intemperate men resemble mad folkes.

Helio-gabalus.*Nero*.

wife he put to death his Schoolemaster *Seneca*, and many other good men. But his end resembled not his life. For being hated of all and sought for to be slaine, hee killed himselfe.

Commodus. *Commodus* an other Emperor, not finding wherewith to satisfie his intemperancy in three hundred concubines, and three hundred buggerers, which he kept in his palace committed incest with his owne sisters. *Caligula* also did the like, but the one of them was slaine by his wife, and the other by his concubine. *Proculus* a Romane Emperor, was so much giuen to lust, that he bragged how in fifteene daies he had gotten with child a hundred virgins of *Sarmatia*, which he had taken prisoners in the war. *Chilpericus* the first, king of France, to the end he might the better enioy a whore called *Fredegonda*, whom afterwards he married, compelled his first wife named *Andenora*, to become a religious woman, and put to death two children which he had by her, through the counsell of his said concubine. Then having in his second marriage taken to wife *Galsonda* daughter to the king of Spaine, he caused her to bee strangled, and married *Fredegonda*, who perceiuing afterwar that he pored in himselfe this loosenes of life, and offensiue kind of government, caused him to be slaine. A iust punishment suffered by God for his intemperance. *Xerxes* monarch of the Persians, was so intemperate and giuen to lust, that he propounded rewards for those that could inuent some new kind of pleasure. And therefore comming into *Græcia* with an infinite number of men to subdue it, he was ouercome and repulsed by a small number, as being an effeminate and faint-hearted man. *Epicurus* a learned Philosopher was so intemperate, that he placed the soueraine Good and Felicity in pleasure. *Sardanapalus* monarch of Babylon, the first of the foure Empires, was so addicted to lust and intemperance, that he stirred not all day long from the company of women, being apparelled as they were, and spinning purple. Wherby he became so odious, that two of his Lieutenants iudging him y^e worthy to command ouer Asia, and ouer so many good men as were vnder his Empire, raised his subiects against him, and ouercame him in battell. Whereupon despairing of his safety, he caused a great Tabernacle of wood to be set vp in a sure place within the cloister of his pallace, and compassed it round about with great store of dryewood. Then he caused his wife and his concubines whom he loved best, to enter into it, and all the wealth he had to be brought thither. This done shutting himselfe within it, his Eunuches and seruants according to the oath which he had taken of them, put fire to the said frame, and so this miserable king of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, with all that was with him, was suddenly consumed with fire, and ended his monarchy, which his victorious lieutenants deuided betwixt them, the one taking himselfe for king of Babylon, the other of Media. *Antonius* one of *Cæsars* successors in the Empire, procured his owne ruine through intemperance and loosenesse, and stirred vp against himselfe, the enuie and murmuring of the Romanes for his retchlesnesse in feats of armes in that warre ouer which he was Generall against the Parthians. For to the end hee might quickly returne to his concubine *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, hee hazarded all in such sort, that without doing any thing worthy his first reputation, he lost more than twenty thousand of his owne men. Afterward *Octauius* his companion in the Empire, being armed against him, that hee might reuenge the iniury which he had done him in forsaking his sister whom he had wedded, to liue in his vnclennes, gaue him battell: wherein *Antonius* seeing his friend *Cleopatra* flye, who had borne him company in that warre, followed her with three-score of his owne gallies, albeit the fight was yet equall, and the victory doubtfull. Thus he betrayed those that fought for him, to follow her, who already had begun his destruction, to the end she might accomplish the same, as indeed it fell out after. For being besieged within Alexandria by the said *Octauius*, and without hope of safety, he thrust himselfe through the body with his sword, whereof he died: and *Cleopatra* also procured her owne death by the biting of the serpent *Aspis*. *Boleslaus* the second, king of Polonia, being giuen to all vncleanenes and filthinesse, made no doubt to take women by violence from their husbands. Whereupon the Bishop of Cracovia often admonished him thereof, and when, by reason of his obstinate perseuerance, he proceeded against him even with excommunication, he was carried headlong with such fury, that he killed this holy man. After that his subiects comming against him, he was constrained to flie into Hungary, where falling mad, he slew himselfe. The Emperor *Adrian* tooke such glory and pride in all execrable vices, that he commanded a temple with a sumptuous tombe to be made for a naughty man named *Antinous*, whom he had miserably abused in his life. In our time *Iohannes a Casa* Archbishop of Beneuento, and Legate in Venice, wrote a booke in praise of the abominable vice of Sodomitry. *Sigismundus Malatesta*, Lord of a part of Romainolaa prouince of Italy, strived to haue carnall knowledge of his sonne *Robert*, who

who thrusting his poinado into his fathers bosome, reuenged that great wickednes. By these examples and infinite others, whereof histories are full, it appeareth sufficiently, that man burning with Intemperance, careth not at what price, with what shame, hurt, or hinderance, he may come to the execution and practise of all such pleasure and delight, as he propoundeth to himselfe. As if he purpose to haue his fame continue for euer, he will not sticke to do it, although it be by some notable wickednes. And thus we reade of him that burnt the Temple of *Diana*, which was accounted the fifth wonder of the world, and was two hundred and eight and twenty yeares in building by the Amazons within the city of Ephesus in Asia. The planks thereof were all of Cedar wood, and the doores and garnishing of the walles of Cyprus. This wretched caitife confessed, that he put fire to that sumptuous building for no other cause, than to leaue his fame and renowne behind him in the world: but commandement was given that none should set downe his name in writing. Neuertheles he is named *Erostratus*, by *Solinus* and *Strabo*: from whence came that prouerbe, This is the renowne of *Erostratus*, vsed when any man seeketh to be famous by a wicked act, which we may also apply to all intemperate men. As touching the defect of Temperance, whereof mention was made in the beginning of our present discourse, and which hath no proper name, but vnproperly is called by some Stupidity or senselesnes, it is rarely found amongst men, who by nature are giuen to pleasure, and carried away with all kinds of desires and lusts. For where shall we find any so dull and blockish, that hath no feeling of pleasure, and that is not moued with glory and honour? Such a man may be truly taken and accounted as one void of sense and feeling, and like to a blocke. Neither doth it belong to Temperance to be deprived of all desires, but to master them. For that man (as *Cicero* saith) that neuer had experience of pleasures and delights, neither hath any feeling of them, ought not to be called temperate, as he that hath done nothing which may testifie his continency and modesty. Thus ye see we haue no matter offered whereabout to bestow time in reproouing this vice of defect, from which men are too carefull to keepe themselves. But to come to the conclusion of our discourse, we say with *Aristotle*, that concupiscences and desires change the body, and make the soule outrageous: that so many as are infected with such a pernicious and damnable vice as Intemperance is, are no men, but monsters in nature, leading a life altogether like to that of brute beasts, which being destitute of all reason, know nothing better or more honest than pleasure: and hauing no knowledge of the iustice of God, neither reuerencing the beauty of vertue, bestow all the courage, craft and force that nature hath giuen them, to satisfie & to accomplish their desires. So that if death brought with it an end of all sense and feeling, and an vtter abolishing of the soule, as well to men as to beasts, intemperate folkes should seeme to gaine much by enioying their desires and lusts during their life time, and to haue good cause to waxe old, and euen to melt in their foule and filthy pleasures. But seeing we know (for truly he that doubteth hereof, is very ignorant and most miserable) that sense and feeling remaine after death, and that the soule dieth not with the body, but that punishment, yea euermorelasting paine is prepared for the wicked, let vs be carefull to doe the will of our Father which is in heauen, whilst we haue time, that in the triumphing day of his eternall Sonne, we may not heare to our confusion, that sentence of his mouth, *Depart from me ye workers of iniquity*. At which time, the iust shall shine as the Sun in the kingdome of God, and the wicked shall be cast headlong into euermorelasting fire, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

The Temple of Diana was burnt by *Erostratus*.

Of Stupidity.

Luke 13.27.

Of Sobriety and Frugality. Chap. 19.

ARAM. *S*ocrates vsed to dispute earnestly and grauely of the manner of living, as of a thing of great importance. For he said that continency in meate and drinke, was as it were the foundation and beginning of skill. And truly the minde is much more prompt to comprehend all good reason, when the operations of the braine are not hindered by vapours, which the superfluity of meates send vp thither. I am of opinion therefore, that we handle this vertue of sobriety, which dependeth of temperance, and is contained vnder the first part thereof, namely vnder continency.

ACHITO B. To liue well and frugally (saith *Plato*) is to liue temperately: and (as *Epictetus* saith) there is great difference betweene liuing well, and liuing sumptuously. For the one commeth of Temperance, Frugality, discipline, honesty, moderation of the soule, contented with her owne riches: and the other of intemperance, lust, and contempt of all order & mediocrity. In the end, the one is followed with shame, and the other with true & lasting praise.

A SER.

ASER. We cannot well vse our spirit (saith *Cicero*) when we are stuffed with meate. Neither must we gratifie the belly and intrals onely, but also the honest ioy of the mind. For that which is contained in the other parts, perisheth: but the soule separated from the body, abideth for euer. Let vs then harken to **AMANA**, of whom we may vnderstand how necessary sobriety is for a happy life.

The cause of
the long life
of our Elders,
and of the
shortnes of
ours.

Dionysius a
monster, and
why.

The sobriety
of old time,
and corruption
of ours
compared to-
gether.

Sobriety pre-
serueth health

There is
more pleasure
of the crea-
ture in sobri-
ety, than in
superfluitie.

AMANA. If we set before our eyes the long and happy life of the Ancients, so long as they obserued sobriety and frugality: out of doubt we will attribute one principall cause of our so short life, and so full of infirmities, to the riot, superfluity, and curiosity of diet, which at this day are seene amongst vs. The life of our first fathers, was it not maintained a long time with fruits, milke, hony, and water? Who euer came neere their long and happy daies, since those times? What preparation of exquisite victuals did those sixe hundred thousand Israelites thinke to finde, that came out of Egypt to goe into a neweland, walking forty yeares through the wildernes, drinking nothing but water, and many times wanting that? After those first ages, the Græcians and Romanes loued sobriety, more than all other nations. And as the Hebrewes vsed to eate but once a day, which was at dinner, so the Græcians onely sopped. For this cause we reade that *Plato*, being demanded whether he had seene any new or strange thing in Sicilia, answered, that he had found a monster of nature, which did eate twice a day. This he spake of *Dionysius* the tyrant, who first brought vp that custome in his countrey. In the time of *Julius Cesar* the Germanes, a strong and warlike people, liued onely of milke, cheefe and flesh, not knowing what Wheate or Wine were, nor yet what it was to labour the ground, or to sowe. Yea how many millions of men are there at this day in the West regions and Ilands, who know not what all this superfluity and daintinesse of fare meaneth, and yet liue long and healthy in all frugality, the greatest part of them vpon hearbes and rootes, whereof they make cakes in stead of wheate, and others of raw flesh? Whereby it is easie to iudge, that Sobriety is the preservation and maintenance of health, and of naturall strength and vigour, and so consequently of the life of man. But when we looke higher, and with the eyes of our mind marke the excellent glory and immortall praise, deserued by so many *Camilli*, *Scipiones*, *Fabrij*, *Metelli*, *Catores*, and by a thousand other famous families, which executed so many worthy acts by their owne vertue, and yet in the meane while kept such a simple and sober diet, that the most of them were contented with bread, hearbes, and water, endured and tollerated cheerefully all iniuries of weather, went but homely arraied, and altogether contemned gold and siluer: out of question we will iudge those men very blinde, and far from the white of such glory and honour, who imbrace nothing but dissolutenes, superfluity, lust, drunkennes, pride, and all such like imperfections that beare sway amongst vs, who behold Vice mounted so high, that men must in a manner blush as much to speake of Vertue, or to be vertuous in a thousand companies, as in that happy time of the Ancients, they were ashamed of Vice, or to be vicious. And truly I thinke that these men being past shame, care but little for the glory that hath beene in many ages, seeing they liue for the body only, after a brutish impiety, without all regard of the soule, or of the second life. What say I for the body? Nay rather they are the destroyers thereof, seeing it cannot be denied but that sobriety is a great benefite and helpe to preserve health and bodily strength, and to expell diseases, and it is to be vsed as a good foundation to attaine to a happy old age. The experience hereof is well knowne to every one, although there were no other prooffe but this, that we see the simple sort of people that labour and trauell, to liue with bread and water, grow olde in health; whereas our Princes and great Lords being delicately brought vp in idlenesse, dye yong men, tormented with infinite diseases, especially when they grow a little in yeares. Further, let such dissolute men as make pleasure the end of their desire, know, that Sobriety leadeth those that follow her, to far greater and more perfect pleasures, than incontinencie and superfluity doe. For these excessive fellowes neuer expect hunger, or thirst, or any other pleasure of the body, but through intemperance prevent them, and so enioy scarce halfe the pleasure. But sober and temperate men, forbearing the fruition of their desire a long time, haue a far more perfect taste of them, because (as *Cicero* saith) the pleasure of life consisteth rather in the desire, than in the satiety thereof. And if mediocrity bee not obserued, those things that are most acceptable and pleasant, become most vnpleasant. Doe we not also see that when the body is not overcharged with meate and wine, it is better disposed, and more temperate for euery good action? And as for the spirit for which we ought chiefly to liue, it is more ready and nimble to comprehend and conceiue what right, reason, and true honesty are. For (as *Aristotle* saith) sobriety causeth men to iudge better and according to the truth,

of

of althings, & in that respect is very necessary for the attaining of Philosophy. Likewise sobriety retaineth that in a wise mans thought, which a foole without discretion bath in his mouth. And therefore (saith *Cæsar*) we must strue by all meanes to restraine our belly, because that onely is alwaies vnthankfull for the pleasures done vnto it, craving continually, and oftener, than it needeth: so that whosoever is not able to commaund ouer it, will daily heape vp mischief vpon mischief to himselfe. But frugolity and sobriety are the mistresses of good counsell, and the badges of chastity. For this cause *Titus Livius* commendeth more the barrenness and sterility of a countrey. Than fertility and fruitfulness, saying that men borne in a fatte and fertile soile, are commonly do litle, and cowards: but contrariwise, the barrennes of a countrey, maketh men sober of necessity, and consequently carefull, vigilant, and giuen too to labour. As the Athenians were, being situated in a very vnfruitfull place. We make great account (saith *Paulinus*) of frugality, not because wee esteeme the creatures themselues vile, and of small value, but that by meanes thereof we may encrease the greatnes of our courage. And if the greatest and chiefeest benefite that could come to man, were (saith *Solon*) to haue no neede of nourishment, it is very manifest, that the next to that is to haue need but of a litle. But amongst so many good reasons of such excellent men, the counsell of *Epictetus* is well woorth the marking, where he saith: then when we would eate, we must consider that we haue two guests to entertaine, the body and the soule, and that whatsoeuer shall be put into the body, departeth away quickly, but what good thing soeuer entred into the soule, abideth for euer. To this effect *Timotheus* a Grecian captaine, hauing supped with *Plato* in the Academy at a sober and simple repast (for the greatest festiuall dainties were oliues, cheefe, apples, coleworts, bread and wine) saide that they which sup with *Plato*, feeble the benefit thereof the next day, yea a long time after. For these wise men met together at banquets void of excess, not to fill their bellies, but to prepare & dresse their mindes, and to learne one of another by their goodly discourses of Philosophy, whereof a vertuous soule hath better taste, than the body of a well relished and delicate meale. Such were the feasts of *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Xenocrates*, and of other Sages of Græcia, where the discussing of good & learned matters there handled, brought through the remembrance of them great pleasure, and no lesse liked commoditie, and that of long continuance to such as were present at them. And as for the pleasures of drinking and eating, they iudged the very remembrance thereof to be vnwoorthy and vnseeming men of honour, because it was to passe away as the smell of a perfume. Neither would they suffer that men should bring into their assemblies the vanity of foolish delights, as of the sonnd of instruments, of enterludes, or of any other pastime, which a wise man ought rather to esteeme as a hinderance of delight, than any pleasure at all. For hauing within themselues sufficient matter of recreation and reioicing, through their learned discourses, itt were meere folly to beg strange and friuolous delights from without them. And *Plutarke* saith, that the brutish part of the soule, depending of the feeding beast, and vncapable of reason, is that which is pleased, brought to order, and satisfied by songs and sounds, which are sung and tuned vnto it: euen as with the whistling of lips or hands, or with the sound of a pipe shepheards cause their sheepe to arise, or ly downe, because they vnderstand not an articulate or distinct speech, that hath some pith in it. Therefore I commend *Euripides*, for reprehending such as vse the harpe, so long as a feast lasteth (for quoth he) musicke ought rather to besent for, when men are angry, or mourne, than when they are feasting or making merry, thereby to make them giue more libertie to all pleasure, than before. I suppose the Egyptians did better, who vsed in the middest of their banquets to bring in the Anatomy of a dead body dried, that the horror thereof might containe them in all modestie. For this cause the memory of the Emperour Henry the third, greatly commendeth it selfe, who banished all pompe and vanitie from his wedding, and draue away the plaiers, and iesters, causing a great number of poore folke to come in their place. The custome which the Lacedomonians obserued, when they liued vnder *Lycurgus* lawes, is also woorthie to be remembered: which was, that no torches or lights should be brought vnto them, when they departed from feasts at night, that it might be an occasion vnto them to feare drunkenness, and so to auoide this shame, that they onely could not finde out their houses. Now in those happy times vines were planted and dressed, that wine might be drunke rather in time of sicknesse, than of health: in so much that it was not sold in Tauerne, but onely Apothecaries shops. Those ancient Sages commonly measured their drinking by that saying of *Anacharsis*, that the first draught which men drunke ought to bee for thirst, the second for nourishment: and as for the

The belly is an vnthankfull beast.

The counsell of Epictetus concerning eating.

How wise men in old time feasted one another,

Against vain-delights in feasts.

The belly a feeding beast.

When musick is most conuenient.

The custome of the Egyptians at banquets.

The custome of the Lacedemonians.

The manner of drinking in old time.

third

third, that it was of pleasure, and the fourth of madnesse. *Pitbageras* being much more religious in this matter, and liuing onely of hearbes, fruite, and water, said: that the wine brought forth three grapes, whereof the first quenbeth thirst, the second troubleth, and the third altogether dulleth. He neuer dranke wine, no more did that great Orato *Demosthenes*, nor any other famous men, of whom histories make mention. The kings of Egypt were forbidden wine, which they neuer dranke, except on certaine daies, and then by measure. And truly it bringeth with it pernicious effects, aswel to the soule, as to the body. For from it proceedeth the chiefe and most common cause of bodily diseases, and of the infirmities of the soule. But to continue the examples of loue which the Ancients bare to the vertue of sobriety, this was

The sobrietie
of Alexander.

Against
excessiue
drinking.

Cyrus.

Porus.
Phaotes.
Alphonfus.

Agessilaus.

it that caused *Alexander* the Great to refuse those cookes and Paisterers which *Ada* Queene of Caria sent vnto him, and to send her word backe againe, that he had better than they were: namely, for his dinner, early rising, and walking a good while before day: and for his supper, a little dinner. Notwithstanding, in the end the Persian delicacies and riches (which alwaies is the propertie of such goods) caused this vertuous Monarch to change his commendable custome of liuing, and to approoue and like of excesse in drinking: to which vice, that hee might giue greater authority, he propounded sixe hundred crownes for a reward to him that dranke most, and called a great cup after his owne name. Which cup, when he offered to *Calisthenes* one of his fauourits, he refused, saying: that he would not for drinking in *Alexander*, stand in need of *Esculapius*. With which the king perceiuing himselfe touched, was so incensed against him, that he caused him to be put in a cage with dogs, where he poisoned himselfe, being impatient of his captiuitie. Wherein we may note how ridiculous their blockishnesse is, who for feare, not of such an entertainment as this wise man received, but of being taken and reputed as voide of good fellowship and vnciuill, cast themselues into the danger of a sore sicknesse, rather than they will refuse to drinke a carouse, when they are invited therunto. Hereby also those men shew their want of iudgement, and of conuenient matter to talke of, who cannot entertaine their friends without drunkennes and gluttony. And the other if they knew how to make deniall fitly, and in good sort, besides the profit which they should receiue thereby, their company would be more desired, than it will be for their drunkennesse. *Cyrus*, Monarch of the Persians, from his childhood gaue great testimony, that he would one day become a very sober man. For being demanded by *Astyages* his grandfather, why he would drinke no wine, he answered, for feare least they giue me poison, For (quoth he) I noted yesterday when you celebrated the day of your natiuitie, that it could not be, but that some body had mingled poyson amongst all that wine, which yee then dranke: because in the winding vp of the table, not one of those that were present at the feast, was in his right minde. Afterward, this vertuous Prince alwaies liued very frugally: for prooffe whereof may serue his answer made one day to *Artabazus*, as he marched in war, who asked him what he would haue brought vnto him for his supper: Bread, (quoth he,) for I hope wee shall finde some fountaine to furnish vs with drinke. *Porus* a noble king of India, liued with water and bread onely. *Phaotes* also king of the same countrey, did the like: and the greatest feastes which he made, or suffered his courtiers to make, was onely with a kind of venison. *Alphonfus* king of Arragon, and Sicilia, a very sober man, was demanded of certaine of his Princes, why he dranke no wine: because (quoth he) wisdome is hindred through wine, and prudence darkned: which two things onely are able to make a king worthy of that name he beareth. *Agessilaus* king of Lacedæmonia hauing alwaies beene brought vp in the discipline of *Lycorgus*, who had banished all ryot and superfluitie from that citie, by the vtter defacing and abolishing of gold and siluer, became very wonderfull, by reason of his simplicity and plainnesse, in feeding and clothing his body, and in behauing himselfe as the meanest of his subiects. He vsed to say (which he likewise put in vre) that hee which commanded and ruled many, ought to surpasse them, not in dainties and delicacie, but in sustaining labour, and in nobility of heart. The benefit which (as he said) he reaped thereby, was liberty, whereof he assured himselfe, that he could neuer be deprived by any alteration and change of fortune. And as he passed with his army by the countrey of the Thasians, they sent him certaine refreshing of floure, and of dainty cates, as comfites, and other dainty deuices made of paaft: but he would take nothing saue onely the floure. And being vrged of others to receiue all, he said: Well, if ye thinke it good, diuide the rest amongst the Ilots, (who were their slaues) for it agreeth not with them that make profession of manly fortitude and prowes, to take such iuncates. For that which allureth and inticeth men of slauish nature, ought not to bee acceptable to them that are of a franke and free courage. But is there any thing now adaies I pray you,

thing now adaies I pray you, that so much allureth and keepeth base mindes in the service of great men, as the dainties of their table? And surely the Ancients did not vnfitly apply the name of tyrant to a rich man, keeping a sumptuous table, as to one that compelleth men to follow and to obey him. Neuerthelesse, a couragious heart suffereth not it selfe to bee taken with such baites: but let vs continue the examples of Sobriety. *Pompey* the Great, hauing all his life time loued modesty and frugality, gave yet a more certaine testimony thereof, when, by reason of a lingering disease hee had lost his appetite to meate. His Physition appointing him to eate of a Blackbird, he was giuen to vnderstand by his seruants, that because they were out of season, it would be a hard matter to get any, except it were of *Lucullus*, who kept some all the yeare long, and would willingly giue him some. What (quoth he then) if *Lucullus* were not a dainty and nice glutton, could not *Pompey* liue? No, no, let mee haue something made ready that may easily be gotten. *Marcus Cato*, after he had overcome Spaine, and triumphed of notable victories, albeit he was now old and very rich, yet he would adde nothing to his ancient manner of liuing, which was very austere, but dranke almost nothing but water, and for the most part did eate nothing but bread and beefe, labouring in the field in time of peace as much as the meanest of his seruants. *Epiniondas* the greatest Captaine and Philosopher of his time, liued so thriftily and temperately, that beeing inuited by a friend of his to supper, and seeing great superfluity & sumptuousnes, he returned very angry, saying, that he thought he had beene requested to sacrifice, and to liue honestly together, and not to receiue iniurie and reproch by being entertained like a glutton. *Caius Fabritius* a noble Romane Captaine, was found by the Samnite Embassadors that came vnto him, eating of raddish roasted in the ashes, which was all the dishes he had to his supper, and that in a very poore house. *Scipio Aemilius* kept a very honourable table for his friends (for in his time riot had already begun to enter into Rome) but going aside himselfe, hee would eate nothing but bread. *Masinissa* king of the Numidians, was of so great sobriety, that euen at ninety yeares of age hee would eate but once a day, and then vpon homely meates without sauce. *Mithridates* king of Pontus being very old, neuer sate downe at the table to eate, and liued very frugally. *Hannibal* fed vpon no other meate, than did the meanest of his souldiers. The reason why I stay longer in the examples of this vertue of sobriety, is to shew the beattlines of men in our age, to whom it seemeth an impossible, vaine and contemptible thing, to liue in such sparing and austerity of life: saying, that there were none but certaine foolish Philosophers, (for that is the Epithite, which the ignorant sort giue to vertuous men) and some simple Hermites, who liued after that manner. Therefore that they may vnseale their eies, let them behold here, how in all sorts and conditions of men, euen in the greatest, the vertue of temperance, frugality and sobriety, did appeare and shine. The Emperour *Vespasianus* one day in every moneth vsed to eate nothing. The Priests of Egypt, the Sages of India and Persia, and *Iupiter's* priests, seruing false gods, did neuer eate any flesh, nor drinke wine. Notable examples for those that haue the first places in the Church, who ought to be as a lampe in the midst thereof, neither may they take examples by Ethnickes and Pagans onely, but also by many holy men, who had in them the true love and feare of God. *Daniel* and his companions neglecting the kings table, liued with pulse and water onely. *S. Iohn Baptist* passed ouer the great part of his age in the desert, eating nothing but locusts and wild hony. *S. Hierome* maketh mention of one *Paul* an Hermit, who liued from sixteene yeares vnto sixty, of dates onely: and from sixty yeares vnto the age of sixe score and five yeares (when he died) he was fed with a little bread brought daily vnto him by a crow. *Maxentius* bishop of Poytiers, liued alwaies with barely bread and water. But to the end we may reape profit by all that hath bene here spoken, let vs learne of *Socrates*, that the soule which hath gotten the habite of frugality, and is contented with her estate, passeth away her daies in this world, as he that in the Spring time taketh small and easie iournies in a pleasant and fruitfull region, with great contentation of minde and little labour. And let that notable and diuine precept of *Empedocles* sound often in our eares,

Behaue thy selfe full soberly, and free from all offence.

Let vs adorne and deeke our life with this good and rare vertue of sobriety, which will teach vs to renounce worldly vanity, and to content our selues (next vnto God) in vertue onely, and in heauenly riches. And although delicacy of fare bee so common amongst vs Frenchmen, and maintained with such impudency, that wee permit amongst vs, and study kitchen Commentaries, as much as any good science, so that it may seeme a very difficulte matter to take it away, and banish it from amongst vs, yet it is not altogether impossible as many thinke. But let vs follow that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*; *To choose the best kinde of life,*

H

and

Good cheere
keepeth base
minds in sub-
iection.

Pompeius.

M. Cato.

Epiniondas.

C. Fabritius.

Scipio.

Masinissa.

Mithridates.

Hannibal.

Vespasianus.

Daniel.

Iohn Baptist.

Maxentius.

Socrates feast

and no doubt but custome will by little and little make it easie and pleasant vnto vs. And if we be despised and rebuked of others, we may answer as *Socrates* did, who being reprooued because he had made no greater preparation of meate in a feast whereunto he invited many of his friends, said, If they be vertuous, there is ynough, and if they be not, there is too much. So let vs not seeke to please and to imitate the most part of men, but the best and smallest number: neither let vs looke vnto custome, but to that which is decent and honest. But if we perseuere in our dissolutnesse and superfluitie, as if we were Christians in name and sect onely, but Epicures in life, we are to feare that in the end need and necessity will force vs to forsake it. And as it fell out to king *Darius*, who after he had liued a long time in all abundance of delights, and neuer knew what hunger or thirst meant, as hee fled from the battell gotten by *Alexander* was very thirstie: and after hee had drunke puddle water proceeding from a riuer tainted with dead bodies, he burst forth into this speech, That in all his life hee neuer dranke better drinke: so likewise after we haue beene tamed with miseries and calamities, we must confesse, but too late, and peradventure (O dangerous downfall) without hope of recoverie, that our estate is yet better (albeit most miserable) than our offences haue deserved, even then when God for our dissolutenesse shall withdraw his blessing wholly from our grounds and possessions. This he hath already begun to performe in some measure, by causing the ground to bring forth vnto vs thistles and thornes, in stead of good graine and fruit, & by continuing amongst vs warres and hurly burlies, which are accompanied with pestiferous diseases, that he may overcharge those with the scourges of his iust vengeance, who will not humble themselves vnder the sweetnesse of his word.

Darius in his thirst, iudged puddle water to be good drinke.

Tokens of the wrath of God.

Of Superfluitie, Samptuousnesse, Gluttonie, and wallowing in delights. Chap. 20.

The chiefeft cause of destruction to Common-wealths is excessse in delights.

A M A. Seeing we haue summarily vnderstood the excellencie and profite of the vertue of sobrietie, that it may yet better appeare by the contrary, and that we may bee so much the more induced to desire it amongst vs, I thinke we shall doe well to intreate of superfluitie, sumptuousnesse, and gluttony, whose fruits are weltring in delights, which is the principall cause of destruction (as *Plato* saith) to kingdomes, monarchies, and common-wealths. Therefore I propound these vices to you my copanions to discourse vpon.

A R A M. Whatsoeuer is desired more than that which is necessary for the life of man, is superfluitie, which causeth so many foolish and excessiue expences amongst vs, that, besides the ruine and decay of many good houses, the destruction of the body, and, which is more to be feared, of the soule also, doth for the most part insue thereupon. Therefore *Erasmus* said verie well, that nothing is more abiect and hurtfull, than to liue as a slaue to the pleasure of the mouth and belly.

A C H I T O B. Those men (saith *Plato*) that are addicted to the seruice of their bellies, and care nothing for the food of their minds, are like beasts, who neuer enioy true pleasures. Which thing also may be said of them that like fools depend more of opinion than of reason. But it belongeth to thee A S E R, to handle this matter here expounded, more at large.

A S E R. Good things (saith *Lycurgus*) are contrary and enemies to him that abuseth the gifts of nature: as if a valiant man should loue rather to bee a theefe, than a souldier: or a beautifull person an adulterer, rather than a married man. So is it with the goods of fortune, as we tearme them, the possession of which giueth occasion to those that are vnworthie of them, to commit many follies. Amongst which we may note superfluitie for a very pernicious vice, hauing this propertie in it to draw the wils of men secretly, and to induce them to couet delights. Whereunto after they haue once addicted themselves, they busie their minds with nothing, but to make prouision offriuous, exquisite, and sumptuous things, taking small care, yea forgetting easily those things that are profitable and necessarie, whereof afterwards they perceiue themselves to stand in great neede. Now the end of all superfluities, wherein men plunge themselves after diuers manners, is pleasure, which chiefly and for the most part they seeke in such a riotous and delicate life, as causeth the body without labour to enioy all his desires, lusts, and delights: or else in the fruition of worldly glorie, wherein through vnprofitable and superfluous expences, they strue to excell, or at least wise to match those that are greater than themselves. Concerning the marke whereat they aime, there is nothing more hurtfull to man, than pleasure and delight, which (as *Plato* saith) serueth for a baite & allurement to draw him to commit wickednes, as hereafter we may discourse in more

Pleasure the end of superfluitie.

more ample manner thereof, as also of that luxurious life, whose desire and contentation is in whoredome. And that I may begin to handle the two other generall points, wherein they that are given to superfluitie and costlinesse, seeke delight, namely, the delicate life and curiositie of expences: let vs consider of the fruits that issue and proceede from them. First, when men suffer themselves to be overtaken with the Epicures doctrine, and appeare so carefull to serue their belly, nourishing it in excesse, daintinesse, gluttony, and drunkenness, is it not from this head-spring from whence diseases and euill dispositions of the body proceede? We are sicke (saith *Plutarke*) of those things wherewith we liue, neither is there any proper and peculiar seede of diseases, but the corruption of those things within vs, which we eate, and the faults and errors which wee commit against them. *Homer* going about to prooue, that the gods die not, groundeth his argument vpon this, because they eate not: as if he would teach vs, that drinking and eating doe not onely maintaine life, but are also the cause of death. For thereof diseases gather together within our bodies, which proceede no lesse of being too full, than of being too emptie. And oftentimes a man hath more to doe to consume and digest meate put into his body, than he had to get it. Physicians (saith *Seneca*) crye out, that life is short, and arte long, and complaint is made of nature, because she hath granted to beasts to liue five or sixe ages, and appointed so short a time of life for men, who are borne for many great things. We haue no small time, but we lose much time, and life is long enough, if it be well imployed. But when it passeth away through excesse and negligence, and no good is done therein, in the end through constraint of extreme necessity, although we perceiue it not going, yet wee feele it is gone. Moreouer a man may reckon greater store of griefes than pleasures, that come to him from his nourishment: or to speake better, the pleasure of eating is but small, but the toile and trouble that men haue in providing it, is great. It were hard to repeate the shamefull paines and toilsome labours wherewith it filleth vs. Many a mans soule (saith *Solon*) is overwhelmed, and as it were clothed with feare, least it should stand in neede within the body, as it were in a mill, and turning alwaies about like a millstone, it seeketh after nourishment. Hereupon it remaineth void and destitute of feeling, and desire of all honest things, and attendeth onely to the insatiable lusts of the flesh, which is neuer contented, because neede and necessity are alwaies ioyned with desire of superfluity. The ancient Egyptians vsed this custome, to cleave in sunder the body of a dead man, to shew it to the Sunne, and to cast the guts and intrails into the riuer, and being thus cleansed to embaulme the rest. And in very deede those inward parts are the pollution and defiling of our flesh, and are properly the very Hell of our bodies. But, which is worse, is it not the stuffing and filling of the belly that maketh the mind for the most part dull and vncapable of any science or reason, whereby the diuine part of man is oppressed and overwhelmed through the weight and force of that part, which is mortall? A wise soule is a cleare brightnesse, said *Heraclitus*. O how hard a matter is it (saith *Cato*) to preach to the belly, which hath no eares, and which will take no deniall, how soeuer the case standeth! And as when we behold the Sun through thicke clouds and vndigested vapors, we see it not cleare, but with a pale and wannish light, and as it were plunged in the bottome of a cloud: so through a troubled and defiled body, heauily laden with foode and strange meats, the brightnesse and clearenesse of the soule must needs become pale, troubled, and dimmed, not having such forceable light, as to be able thereby to pearce through vnto the contemplation of those things that are great, heavenly, subtile, exquisite, and hard to discerne. I thought in my heart (saith the wise man) to withdraw my flesh from wine, that I might bend my mind to wisdom, and eschew folly, vntill I knew what was profitable for the children of men. It is not for kings, it is not for kings to drinke wine, nor for princes strong drinke: least hee drinke and forget the decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. To whom is woe? To whom is sorrow? To whom is strife? To whom is murmuring? To whom are wounds without cause? And to whom is rednesse of the eyes? Euen to them that tarry long at the wine: to them that goe and seeke mixt wine, which in the beginning is pleasant, but in the ende pricketh like a Serpent, and poisoneth like a Cockatrice. And in another place, the wise man speaking of gluttony, saith, that it drieth the bones, and that more dye by it than by the sword. Wee see that beastes fatted vp languish through sloth and idlenesse: neither doe beastes faint through labour onely, but also by reason of the masse and heauy weight of their owne bodies. Furthermore, the vice of gluttony and drunkennesse is neuer alone, but draweth with it a thousand other excessive and dissolute fashions. For (as *Plato* saith) it stirreth vp lust, griefe, anger, and loue in extremity, and

Of the delicate life.

The seede of diseases.

Of the shortnes of mans life.

The soule of gluttons compared to a millstone.

The custome of the Egyptians.

Prou. 31. 4, 5.

Prou. 23. 29, 30

Against
maskes and
mummeries.

The Israelites
Lot.
Alexander.

Dionysius.

Lucullus.

The sumptu-
ousnesse of a
Franciscan
Frier.
Philoxenus.

extinguisheth memory, opinion, and vnderstanding. Briefely, it maketh a man twise a childe. And in another place, the same Philosopher saith, that gluttonie fatteth the body, maketh the minde dull and vnapt, and which is woorse, vndermineth reason. Wine hath as much force as fire. For as soone as it hath overtaken any, it dispatcheth him. And as the North or South winde tormenteth the Lybian sea, so, and much more doth wine vex a man. For it discloseth the secrets of the soule, and troubleth the whole minde. A drunken gouernour and ruler of any thing whatsoever, bringeth all to ruine and ouerthrow, whether it be a shippe or a wagon, or an army, or any other thing committed to his keeping. We see by the goodly sentences of these Authors, how many discommodities and mischiefs come as well to the body as to the soule, by this excessiue superfluitie and curiosity of nourishment, whether it be in drinking or eating. We see also that from this selfe same spring-head proceede those vnumerable and loose behaviours in all kinde of delights, in carding and dicing, in dancing, masking and mumming, in loue of maidens, and adultery with wiues, the filthynesse whereof is so shamefull, and discouereth it selfe so much, that I shall not greatly neede to loose time in reproouing thereof. For it is most certaine, that all such innentions are meere heathenish, or rather diuellish, when men commit such reprobate actions with public libertie and licence. Especially we haue to note this well that concerneth maskes and mummeries, so common amongst vs, and the cause of infinite offences, that forasmuch as the face was appointed and ordained of God to be seene openly, and the mouth to speake, we destroy the ordinance of God, as much as lieth in vs, and become contrary vnto him, when wee take vnto vs a false face, and deprive our selues of speech. It may bee said, that many thinke no harme when they doe these things. But that which of it selfe is euill, cannot bee excused, and no fashion of liuing taken vp and practised through the onely motion of our sensuality (such are these delights and pleasures) can bee maintained, neither hath it any good and lawfull defence. Now let vs consider some examples of those pernicious effects which proceede from this Epicurian vice of intemperance. *Esaú* sold his birthright through a gluttonous desire. The selfe same cause moued the Israelites to murmore many times against God. The drunkennesse of *Lot* caused him to commit incest with his daughters. *Alexander* the Great darkened the glory of his valiant acts with this vice. For being overtaken with wine, he slew *Clitus* one of the valiantest captaines hee had, to whom he was beholding for his owne life. Afterward, when hee was come to himselfe, hee would oftentimes haue murdered himselfe, and wept three dayes together without meate and drink. *Dionysius* the yonger, was sometime more than nine daies together drunken: and in the ende hee lost his estate. *Cyrillus* sonne in his drunkennes wickedly slue that holy man his father, and his mother also great with child. He hurt his two sisters, and deflowered one of them. Ought not this to cause the haire of our head to stand vpright, as often as occasion is offered vnto vs, whereby we might fall into such inconueniences? Amongst the Romanes *Lucullus*, a man of great dignity, and commended of Historiographers for many braue exploits of war which hee did in Armenia, and for his bounty, iustice, and clemency, is yet greatly blamed, because towards the end of his daies, omitting all intermedling with the government of public affaires, he gaue himselfe to all kinde of excessiue sumptuousnes, and superfluous waiting of that great substance which he had. Whereof this onely testimonie recited by *Plutarke*, shall serue for sufficient prooffe. *Cicero* and *Pompey* meeting him one day in the city, tolde him that they would sup with him on this condition, that he should prepare nothing for them but his owne ordinary diet. At the least wise (quoth hee to them) giue mee leaue to bidde my Steward make ready supper in my hall of *Apollo*: and by that hee beguiled them. For his seruants vnderstood thereby what cost hee would haue bestowed thereupon: inso much that a supper of fifty thousand drachmes of siluer, which doe amount to fise thousand crownes, was prepared for them. This was so much the more wonderfull, because so great and sumptuous a feast was made ready in so short a time. But this was his ordinary dyet which hee caused many times to bee prepared for himselfe alone. And as his men asked him on a day who should dine with him, seeing he commanded them to make ready such a great feast: *Lucullus* (quoth hee) shall dine with *Lucullus*. This superfluous pompe and magnificence will not be thought very strange, if we compare it with that which not long since a simple Franciscan Frier called *Peter de Ruere* made, after he had attained to the dignity of a Cardinall through fauour of the Pope his kinsman. For within the space of two yeares which he liued in Rome, he consumed in feastes and bankets the summe of two hundred thousand crownes, besides his debts, which came to no lesse sum. *Philoxenus* the Poet wished

wished he had a necke like a Crane, to the end he might enioy greater pleasure in swallowing downe wine and meate: saying that then he should longer fee the taste thereof. We reade of the Emperor *Vitellius Spinter*, that he was so much given to superfluitie and excesse, that at one supper he was serued with two thousand seuerall kindes of fishes, and with seven thousand flying fowles. But within a very little while after he changed his estate, being executed publicly at Rome at the pursuit of *Vespasianus*, who was chosen Emperor in his place. In our time *Muleasses* king of Thunes, was so drowned in pleasure and delight, that after hee had banished from his kingdome because of his whoredome, in his returne out of Almaine, being without hope that the Emperor *Charles* the fift would helpe him at all, he spent one hundred crownes vpon a peacocke dressed for him, as *Paulus Iovius* rehearseth: and that hee might take the greater delight in musicke, he couered his eyes. But the iudgement of God was such vpon him, that his owne children made him blinde with a bar of hot iron. Concerning examples of the misery that followeth and accompanieth riot and delight in playing, dancing, and mumming, we see daily that a thousand quarrels, blasphemies, losse of goods and whoredomes proceede from thence. And oftentimes God suffereth the punishment thereof to be notorious, even by vnlooked for and strange meanes: as not long since it happened to *Lewes* Archbishop of Magdeburg, who dancing with gentlewomen vtill midnight, fell downe so fiercely vpon the ground, that he brake his necke with one of the women which he led. *Charles* the sixt being clothed like a wild man with certaine of his familiar friends, and dancing by torch light, was also in great perill of burning, if a gentlewoman had not cast her cloake vpon his shoulders. And I thinke it will not be from the matter, if wee say that it is a shamefull thing to suffer amongst vs, or to lose time that ought to be so pretious vnto vs, in beholding and hearing players, actors of Interludes and Comedies, who are as pernicious a plague in a Common-wealth as can be imagined. For nothing marreth more the behauiour, simplicity and naturall goodnes of any people than this, because they soone receiue into their soules a liuely impressiō of that dissolutenesse and villany which they see and heare, when it is ioyned with words, accents, gestures, motions, and actions, wherewith players and iuglers know how to enrich by all kind of artificiall sleights, the filthiest and most dishonest matters, which commonly they make choise of. And to speake freely in few words, we may truly say, that the Theater of plaiers is a schoole of all vnchastnes, vncleannes, whordome, craft, subtilty and wickednes. Now let vs speake of those that propound (as wee said) vnto themselves the vaine glory of outward shew amongst the best, and men of great calling, through triuolous, vnprofitable and superfluous expences, as in sumptuous and cosily apparell, pretious and rich mooueables, goodly furniture and trapping of horses, great traine of seruing men, dogs, birds, and other vanities, gifts and presents sent to such as are vnworthy, therby to obtaine the good will of them that are most wicked in authority, to the end to prepare a way vnto high callings, and to preferments vnto offices. Besides the wasting of their goods hereupon to their shame and confusion, which they should imploy vpon charitable workes, they spend many times other mens goods, even the substance of the poore, which they craftily get by vnlawful meanes. This is that which at length (as *Crates* the Philosopher said very well) stirreth vp ciuill warres, seditions, and tyrannies within cities, to the end that such voluptuous men, and ambitious of vaine glory, fishing in a troubled water, may haue wherewith to maintaine their foolish expences, and so come to the end of their platformes. Hereof we haue many examples in the ciuill warres amongst the Romanes, as namely vnder *Cinna*, *Carbo*, *Marius*, and *Sylla*. Likewise in the conspiracy of *Catiline* and his complices, who beeing of the chiefe families in Rome, and perceiuing themselves to be brought to the estate of bankrupts, as we commonly say, sought by all meanes to prosecute their first deliberation, which was alwaies to seeme great and mighty. Thus dealt *Cesar* in procuring to his country that ciuill warre, which hee made against *Pompey*, after hee had indebted himselfe in seven hundred and fifty thousand crownes, to get the fauour and good liking of the people. This is that which *Heraclytus* meant to teach his countrimen, when, after a sedition appeased and quieted, being asked what way were best to be taken, that the like should not fall out againe: he went vp into that place from whence orations were made to the people, and there in stead of speaking, began to eate a morsell of browne bread, and to drinke a glasse of water. Which beeing done, hee came downe againe, and spake neuer a word. Hereby hee would signifie, that vtill daintinesse of fare were banished the cittie, and immoderate expences cut off, and sobriety and modesty brought in their place, they should neuer be without sedition. If this countell were ever requisite in a Monarchy, it is certainly most necessary at this present for ours wherein

Vitellius.

Muleasses.

Lewes Archbishop.

Charles the sixt.

Against plaiers.

Against the curiosity of superfluous expences.

The beginning of ciuill warres.

How Heraclytus dissuaded superfluitie.

all kind of superfluitie, riot, and weltring in pleasures, curiositie in apparell, tapestrie, and pictures, vessels, perfumes, and painting of faces, aboundeth in greater measure than heretofore it did amongst the Persians, which was the cause of their finall subuersion, and of *Alexanders* greatnesse, who subdued them. That which for the space of five hundred yeares and more, maintained the Lacedemonian estate, being the chiefest in Græcia for glory and goodnesse of government, was the cuttingt off and abolishing of all superfluitie in diet, apparell, moouable, and of all strange wares, which *Lycurgus* banished. Whereby also forren merchants (the cause of corruption) banished themselves as they that seeke not after others but for gaine, by selling their nouelties very deere vnto them. Neither did the Roman Common wealth flourish more at any time, than when those men that carried about them perfumes and sweete smells, and those women that were found swilling like drunkards, were corrected with the same punishment. This caused *Cato*, being the Censurer of the election of two captaines, that one of them might be sent as Generall of the Panonian warre, to say with a loud voice, that he would dismisle *Publius* his Ally, because he neuer saw him returne wounded from the war, but had seene him walke vp & downe the city of Rome perfumed. What would he haue said of our Courtiers, so finely curled, rust, and perfumed? The Kings and Magistrates of those so happie times, were the principall obseruers of their owne lawes and edicts, reforming themselves before all others, and liuing so austerely, that their example constrained their subiects more to follow them, than all the punishments which they could haue deuised to propound vnto them. We haue a notable testimony hereof in *Agis* king of Sparta, who in his returne from the warre wherein hee had overcome the Athenians, being desirous to sup priuately with his wife, sent into the kitchen that was appointed for his band and company (for they liued all in common, being seuered into quarters) to haue his portion. But this was denied him, and the next morning for this fact he was fined by the Ephories, who were ioyned in soueraigne authority with the kings, for the maintenance of lawes, and of iustice: in which sentence and iudgement of theirs, he willingly rested. But to returne to our matter, how ought we to blush for our riot and excesse in apparell, which we maintaine with such glory? What folly is it to imploy the industrie of the soule ordained for heauenly things, in trimming, decking, and guilding hir enemy, hir prison, and if I may so speake, hir poison, the body? Excesse of apparell (saith *Erasmus*) is an argument of the incontinency of the soule, and rather whetteth the eyes of the beholders thereof to wicked desires, than to any honest opinion and conceit. Decke not thy house (saith *Epicetus*) with tables and pictures, but paint it with temperance. For the one is to feed the eyes vainely, but the other is an eternall ornament, and such a one as can neuer be defaced. If we make account of things of small importance, we despise those that are of great weights: but in not caring at all for little things, we make our selues worthy of great admiration. That great monarke *Augustus* *Cesar* wore no other garments than such as his wife and daughters made, and those very modest. *Agessilaus* king of Lacedemonia, neuer had but one kinde of garment for winter and summer. *Epaminondas* Generall captaine of the Thebans, was contented with one onely gowne all the yeare long. Further, if we looke vnto their simplicity and modestie in their traine and followers, truly it was worthy of reuerence, being without pride, pompe, or superfluous magnificence. *Scipio*, *Africanus* that great captaine, going as delegate into Asia, to compound and end certaine contentions that were betwene the kings of that countrey, was accompanied but with two of his friends, and with seuen slaues. *Cato* the elder, visiting the provinces of his government, tooke but three seruants with him. Now adaiies wee see that the least accounted gentleman amongst vs, thinketh it a cracking of his credite to ride so ill furnished. And yet the most part euen of the greatest, neuer make anie great inquiry how their traine defray their charges. But howsoeuer they may say, that they know not of the excesse and riot committed vnder their authority, & in their seruice, yet they are not thereby excused. For we ought carefullly to beware, that no man abuse our name. Now, if Princes and gouernors of Common wealths, in steade of abridging superfluous charges, take delight therein themselves, from thence proceedeth the necessity of charging and overcharging their people with imposts and subsidies to maintaine their excesse, and in the ende commeth the overthrow and subuersion both of the one and the other. But they ought rather both to abstaine from such vanities themselves, and also to seeke by all meanes to banish them from their subiects, and where there owne example and bodily punishments are not sufficient for this purpose, there ought they to lay great imposts vpon all such things as serue but to spill and corrupt their subiects. Such things are all exquisite dainties & prouocations

Lycurgus banished all strange wares from Lacedemonia.

Why *Cato* would not chuse *Publius* Generall of the war.

Agis.

Against excesse in apparell.

Augustus.

Agessilaus.

Epaminondas.

Examples of moderate traine of Seruing men.

A good lesson for Princes and Magistrates to learne.

Commendable imposts for Princes to lay vpon their subiects.

tions of Appetite, all sorts of toies and trifles, perfumes, cloth of gold and silver, silkes, fipers, net-workes, lace, wouen workes, and all workes of gold, silver, and inammell: all kinde of superfluous apparell, with colours of scarlet, crimson, and such like, the forbidding whereof hitherto hath profited little. For the nature of men is such, that they finde nothing more sweete and acceptable, than that which is straightly forbidden them, so that the more superfluities are prohibited, the more they are desired, especially of foolish men, and of such as are vainely brought vppe. Therefore it were good to raise the price of these things so high by meanes of imposts, that none but rich men and daintie folkes may vse them. And such subsidies would as much set forward the glory of God, the profite of the common-wealth, the desire of good men, and reliefe of the poore, as many others now adaies vsed are quite contrary hereunto. Then these speeches would no more be so common against vs, as now we heare them daily vttered by our Courtiers: We will (say they) keepe company and bee seene amongst the greatest, and bee esteemed thereafter. If we spend not freely, men will make no account of vs. It is our honour and greatnesse, and the way to procure glory and renowne to our houses and families. But I would gladly tell a great number of them, that they would be very much troubled to make answer to a law made by *Amasis* king of Egypt, and after established in Athens by *Solon*, whereby it was enacted, that every one should yearely make it appeare vnto his Prouost or Bailly how he liued, and if hee approoued not his manner and trade of life to be iust and reasonable, he was condemned to die. If in like case these great spenders were to giue an account from whence they receiue wherewith to satisfie their pride and vanities, a man should finde that their purchase (as we say) is farre better vnto them than their rents, and that they commit a thousand wrongs and detestable vices to make supply to their lauish expences. As for them that haue goods lawfully gotten, yet in spending them wastfully, they giue sufficient testimony, that they care and seeke for nothing but a vaine and vanishing glorie, which oftentimes, contrarie to their expectation, is waited vpon with great infamie, and with the certaintie of perpetuall punishment. And in the meane while they neglect that glory which is eternall and alwaies profitable, which they should enioy by wellving, and not by mispending their goods, whereof they are but gardeans and stewards, and must one day yeeld vp an account of them. O witlesse man (said one of the ancient Sages, what will the remembrance of vaine glory profite thee, if thou art tormented and vexed where thou art, and praised where thou art not? This deserueth a longer continuance of speech, but we may hereafter discourse thereof more at large. In the meane time let vs note another mischief, which commonly followeth superfluitie of expences, namely pouertie, whereinto many rich men fall before they be aware, and are then very much grieved therewith, and notable to beare it. But the shame and reproch thereof is yet greater, because they fell into it by their owne folly and misgouernment. Therefore to the end we walke not in such a slipperie way, which in the beginning is large and pleasant, but yet leadeth the traveller vnto a down-fall from which he can neuer escape, let vs leaue and forsake the discipline and life of Epicures, and beware that our pallate and tongue be no more sensible than our heart. Let vs leade a life worthy an honest Academie, and be seeming the doctrine of the ancient Sages, that is, a simple, sober and modest life, adorned with temperance and continency, knowing that diet and decking of the body ought (as *Cicero* saith) to be referred to health and strength, not to pleasure and delight, and that all outward excess is a witnesse of the incontinencie of the soule. And for the perfection of all that lasting and ineuitable misery which belongeth to them that are given to voluptuousnesse and superfluitie, let vs heare that sentence of Scripture, and feare least we be comprehended vnder the iudgement thereof, *Continuall misery and mourning be vpon you that haue liued in pleasure on the earth, and in wantonnesse, and haue nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter.*

A good law to cut of the occasions of idle expences.

Pouerty followeth superfluous expences.

Our pallate must not be more sensible than our hart.

James 3.1.5.

The end of the fifth daies worke.

The sixth daies worke.

Of Ambition. Chap. 2.1.

A SER.



73. Emperors
of Rome
within 100.
yeares.

S often as I remember the strange tragedie of the Romane Emperours since the time that the Empire was mounted vp to the very top and height of her greatnesse vntill her declination, according to the vncertaintie of all humane things, and how within the space of one hundred yeares, wherein there were threescore and thirteene Emperours, onely three of them died of sicknesse in their beds, and all the rest by violent death; I cannot sufficiently admire (considering the inconstancy and short continuance of so great a government, which cannot but bee well knowne to every one) the folly of men, which commonly affecteth them with an vmeasurable desire to rule, whereby they are all their life time slaues to ambition, which is one point of the vice of intemperance, whereof we spake yesterday. And thus in my opinion we are to begin our daies worke with the description of this pernicious passion.

A M A N A. It is naturall in man, the greater his stomacke is, the more to labour to excell others, which is accompanied with an exceeding desire to rule: whereupon he is easily driven forward to doe vniustly, if by wisdom he be not moderated.

A R A M. Ambition and contention for honour (saith *Cicero*) are miserable. And many forget iustice, after they are fallen into a desire of glory, Empires and honours. Goe to then A C H I T O B, let vs vnderstand of thee more at large, what are the effects of this vice.

A C H I T O B. *Eudoxus* a Greeke Philosopher desired of the gods that he might behold the Sunne very neere, to comprehend the forme, greatnesse, and beautie thereof, and afterwards be burnt of it, as the Poets report, that *Phaeton* was: such a hardie and bold passion to vndertake most difficult and dangerous things, is the desire of enioying any pleasure whatsoeuer. This may chiefly be spoken of ambition, which is the most vehement, strongest, and most disordered passion of all those desires which so sore trouble mens minds, and fill them with an insatiable greedinesse of glorie, and with an vnbrideled desire to rule. But to handle it more profitably, we will make two kinds of ambition, the one respecting private men only that liue vnder the power and government of heads, of estates and pollicies: the other shall be of the heads themselves, of monarchs and gouernours of peoples and kingdoms. In the meane time we may thus generally define ambition, calling it an vnreasonable desire to enioy honours, estates, and great places. Further it is a vice of excesse and contrary to modesty, which is a part of temperance. For that man (as *Aristotle* saith) is modest, who desireth honour as hee ought, and so farre forth as it becommeth him: but he that desireth it more than he ought, and by vnlawfull meanes, is ambitious and carried away with a perturbation of intemperance. Ambition neuer suffereth those that haue once receiued her as a guest, to enioy their present estate quietly, but maketh them alwaies emptie of good, and full of hope. It causeth them to contemne that which they haue gotten by great paines and trauell, and which not long before they desired very earnestly, by reason of their new imaginations and conceits of greater matters, which they continually barke foorth, but neuer haue their mindes satisfied and contented. And the more they grow and increase in power and authoritie, the rather are they induced and carried headlong by their affections to commit all kinde of iniustice, and flatter themselves in furious and frantike actions, that they may come to the end of their infinite platformes, and of that proude and tyrannicall glorie, which, contrary to all dutie, they seeke after. These imperfections happen vnto them, because from the beginning they studied to hoord, and heape vp externall, mortall and hurtfull riches, before they had laide a good foundation of reason through knowledge and learning, thereby to direct aright their purposes and doings, according to comlineisse and honellie. And therefore oftentimes they are deceived and misle of their intent, and eueploose that which they might haue had, because they sought ouer boldly to lay hands on that which they could not so much astouch. So that wee may well saie with *Timon*: that the elements and matters of mischiefs, are ambition and auarice, which are found

The force of
desire to en-
ioy any plea-
sure.

Two kinds of
ambition.

What ambi-
tion is.

The effects
of ambition.

The cause of
ambitious de-
sires.

found both together for the most part in the same persons. But to enter into a more particular consideration of the nature of euery ambitious man, he hath commonly this property, to enuie the glory of others: whereby he becommeth odious, and stirreth vp against himselfe the enuy and ill will of euery one. Moreouer, this his ielousie ouer another mans glory, is so much the more hurtfull vnto him in that he might, being set in high estate and authority, vse the helpe and company of such as are vertuous and noble minded in the execution of great matters, if in stead of taking them for his aduersaries, in the pursuite of vertue he fauoured them, and drew them nere vnto himselfe. Whereby we may iudge, that there is none so pernicious a plague for the ouerthrowe of vertue, as ambition, because it is neuer without contention for glory and honour, even against the greatest friends, from whence in the end proceede the greatest enmities. *Cicero* also saith very well, that whatsoeuer hath this quality, that many things of the same kinde cannot be excellent, thereof ariseth for the most part such strife, that it is a very hard matter to obserue holy Societie. For equitie is not easily kept inuolable, when one desireth to bee greater then all the rest. It commeth through the fault of ambition (saith *Aristotle*) that many seditions arise in cities. For the mightier, not the vulgar sort, contend for honours and promotions. But if, as *Pluto* writeth, there were a Common wealth of good men, you should see as great strife for the auoiding of offices, as now men contend to commaund and rule. Also the honour of a good man (saith *Plutarke* to *Traian*) consisteth not in that estate or office which he presently enioyeth, but in his former deserts; so that it is to the office whereunto men giue new honor, as for the person hee hath but a painefull charge. Out of the sayings of these great Philosophers we will draw this conclusion, that we must labor more to deserue estates and honours, than dare to procure them, and account that thing vnworthy and vnseeming vs, which is obtained by vnlawfull meanes. Now as the ambitious man is intollerable in all his actions, so especially he bringeth himselfe in derision and reproch, through his burning desire of glory and praise, which he looketh that others should yield vnto him, and wherein he taketh vnmeasurable delight. Now, if hee perceiueth that he cannot be commended for his doings that are vnworthy of honor, the thirst of glory wherewith he pineth away, compelleth him to borrow of himselfe by his owne commendation against all seemlines: which is neither more nor lesse, than if the body of a man in time offamine, not receiuing nourishment else where, should take of it own substance against nature. Further, if we should go about here to make recitall of those notable euils and mischiefes, which the ambition of some particular men hath brought vpon Monarchies, cities, and common wealths, and generally vpon all those persons which were vnder their bloody reigne, the whole life of one man would not suffice to describe them. But to touch this point briefly: we may note in all ancient histories, that the greatest plagues of flourishing estates, and oftentimes their vtter subuersion, came from ciuill warres and dissensions stirred vp by ambitious men, desirous to command, and to be preferred before others. What did at any time procure the ruine of *Græcia*, flourishing in armes and sciences, so much as the ambition of those men who sought to bring the publike offices into their owne hands, as *Leosthenes*, *Demosthenes*, and many others did who were not affraid to kindle the fire of domesticall diuision, not caring what would be the issue of their damnable enterprises, so they might make way for their deuised platforms? How many mischiefes did *Alcibiades* procure to his country, being an enemy to peace, and giuen to al kinde of nouelties & seditions? Who vsed to say, that a noble heart ought to labour but for one thing in this world, namely, to bee great among his owne countremen, and to purchase fame and renoune among strangers. Which had beene well spoken, if he had added, by *Iustice*, and *Vertue*. Was it not from the same fountaine of ambition, that so hurtfull warres to both those common wealths of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, the one being masters of the sea, & the other of the land, tooke their beginning, and thereby were both brought to ruine in the end? Was it not the same cause of ambition in certain particular men, which procured the speedy returne of that good king *Agessilaus*, to redresse the ciuill dissensions of *Græcia*, when he was in *Asia* continuing those goodly victories, which he had against the Barbarians, for the comfort and libertie of many *Græcian* cities? O ye *Græcians* (saith that wise Prince, being very sorrowfull) how many more mischiefes do ye procure to your selues, than were procured vnto you by the Barbarians banded together for your ouerthrow, seeing yee are so vnhappy as to stay with your owne hands that good speede, which conducted you to the top of felicitie, & to turne backe into your owne intrayles, those weapons which were so well guided against your enemies, by calling backe the war into your owne country, from whence it was so happily banished? The

Enuy a note
of an ambi-
tious man.

Sedition a
fruit of ambi-
tion.

Ambitious
men full of
seife-praise.

Ciuil warres
a fruite of
ambition.

Alcibiades.

A very fit ad-
monition for
France.

great

Caesar and Pompey.

The Triumvirate.

The ambition of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy.

Ambitious men can be no good counsellors to Princes.

Effects of ambition in great men.

The names of Peace and War abused much by Princes.

Dionides answered to Alexander.

great and large scope of the Romane Empire ouer three parts of the world, could not satisfie the ambition of *Caesar* and *Pompey*, whilst the one could abide no equall, and the other no superior: inso much, that they omitted and forgot no meanes to encrease their greatnesse, although it were with the charges of the Common wealth. As we may reade among other things of *Caesar*, who, to ground and vnderprop his power well for continuance, gaue at one time to *Paulus* the Consull, nine hundred thousand crownes, for feare least he should oppose himselfe against his enterprises: and to *Curio* the Tribune he gaue fiftene hundred thousand crownes, that he should take his part. After the death of these two Princes, that great dominion could no better content the Triumvirate, namely, *Octavius*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, who by force of armes ceased not to put their country to sword & fire, vntill the soueraigne authoritie became resident in one alone. But why should we seeke among the ancients, or amongst our neighbors for examples of the pernicious effects of this vice, seeing we haue so many at our owne gates? Who kindled that fire in France, which had taken hold of alj the parts thereof, and almost consumed it vtterly vnder the reigne of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, who strove together for the gouernment of the kingdome. Were there not vpon the same occasion more than foure thousand men slaine in one day within Paris, the most of them being men of name, at the instigation and procurement of the Duke of Burgundie who had taken possession thereof? But alas, the continuall and present remembrance of our late and vnspeakeable miseries, procured chiefly from the same fountaine of ambition, & known to women and children, staie me from seeking farther for testimonies of this our present matter. Yea, I feare greatly, that we shall shortly see (I would to God I might be deceived) the finall and entire ruine of our Monarchie, which hath flourished as long as ever any did, and continued longer vnuanquished of strangers. For we see her owne children bathing their hands in her blood, and seeking to plucke out her heart and intrails, and to cast them as a prey before her enemies. O how would Princes chafe far from them all ambitious persons, if they were well instructed in vertue, and in the knowledge of those evils which such men procure! Seeing it is impossible that any good counsell should proceede from them, but only such as tendeth to the aduancement of their priuate greatnesse. Now if ambition be the mother of ciuill wars, is it not the same also of all other wars, which are daily breed betwene Kings and Princes, through the desire of increasing their bounds, of seizing vpon other mens territories, to the treading downe, oppression, and ruine of their poore subiects, and oftentimes of their owne estates? Is it not ambition which blindeth men so, that they are not content to be chiefe among a million of others ouer whom they command, vlesse they be equal or superior to one or two of those whom they know to be greater than themselves? The desire of hauing more (saith *Plutarke*) is a vice common to Princes and great Lords, which by reason of ambition and desire to rule, bringeth forth in them oftentimes an vnsociable, cruell, and beastly nature. And as *Ennius* saith, there is no faith or assured society in kingdomes. For they, whose greedines neither sea, nor mountaines, nor vnhabitable deserts can staie, and whose vnsatiabie desire of hauing, cannot be limited with those bounds, which separate Asia from Europe, how will they content themselves with their owne, and not seeke to vsurpe that which belongeth to another, especially when their confines and borders touch one another, and are ioyned so neere together, that nothing is betwene them? It is impossible. And in truth, howsoeuer they dissemble, they purposely war one with another, watching continually for meanes to surprize and overreach each other. But in outward shew they vse these two words of *Peace*, and *War*, as a peece of mony, according as it shall make best for their purpose, not for duties sake, or vpon reason and iustice, but for their owne profit and aduantage, wickedly disguising in that maner the intemission and surceasing from the execution of their ill will and purpose, with the holy name of iustice & amity. Princes therefore must not think it strange, if sometime private men (howbeit that doth not excuse them) find the like dealing profitable vnto them, according as it falleth out for their purpose. For in so doing, they do but imitate and follow them that are their maisters in all disloyalty, treason, and infidelity, thinking that he bestirreth himselfe, who least of all obserueth that which equity and iustice require. This did *Dionides* the Pirat fitly giue *Alexander* the Great to vnderstand, when he asked of him why he troubled the whole sea, and robbed euery one. Know (quoth he to him) that thou and I are both of one disposition and calling, except in this, that I am called a pirat for scouring the seas with a few men, and thou a Prince, because thou inuadest and spoilest euery where with great and mighty armes. But if thou wert *Dionides*, and I *Alexander*, it may be I should be a better Prince than thou a good pirat. With which free speech *Alexander*

der was so delighted, that in stead of a guilty man brought before him to be punished, as was *Dionides*, he made him one of his great captaines. But to continue our matter, if Right (say ambitious men) may be violated, it is to be violated for a kingdome. O speech full of impiety, yea such as will cause them to bury the violating of so holy a thing very dearly, seeing they spare not him who calleth himselfe equity and iustice it selfe. Further, if (as histories teach vs) some haue beene so wretched and miserable, as to give themselves to the art of Necromancy, and to contract with the diuell, that they might come to soueraigne power and authority, what other thing, how strange soeuer it be, will not they vndertake that suffer themselves to be wholly carried away with this vice of ambition? It is ambition that setteth the son against the father, & imboldeneth him to seeke his destruction of whom he holdeth his life. *Henry* the fift by force deprived his father from the Empire, and caused him to die miserably in prison. *Fredericke* the third, after he had reigned thirty yeares, was miserably strangled by *Manfroy* his bastard son, whom he had made Prince of Tarentum. And after he had committed this paricide, he poisoned his brother *Conradus* lawfull inheritor to *Fredericke*, that he might make himselfe king of Naples. *Antoninus* and *Geta*, brothers & successors in the Empire to *Seuerus* their father, could not suffer one another to enioy so large a Monarchie: for *Antoninus* slue his brother *Geta* with a dagger, that himselfe might rule alone, *Solyman* king of the Turkes, grandfather to him that now reigneth, when he heard the lowd acclamations and shouts for ioy which all his army made to *Sultan Mustapha* his sonne returning out of Persia, after he had caused them to be strangled in his outward chamber, and presently to be cast out dead before his whole armie, he made this speech to be published with a lowd voice, that there was but one God in heaven, & one *Sultan* vpon earth. Within two daies he put to death *Sultan Soba*, because he wept for his brother, and *Sultan Mabe-met* his third son, because he fled for feare, leauing one only alive to auoid the inconueniency of many Lords. These are but of the smaller fruits of this wild plant of ambition, in respect of those that cause men to put innocents to death, that themselves may take surer footing to growe vp and increase. And no doubt but for thee most part, iust punishment for example to men, followeth such an ambitious passion, whereof there are infinite examples both in the Greeke and Latin histories. *Marcus Crassus* a Romane Consul, & the richest man in his time, not contenting himselfe with many goodly victories gotten by him, but burning with an excessive ambition and desire of new triumphs, and being iealous of *Cesars* glory obtained by his great feats of arms, presumed at the age of 60. yeares to vndertake the war against *Ar-saces* king of the Parthians, contrary to the will of the Senate, feeding himselfe with vain hope, which led him to a shamefull death ioyned with publike losse and calamity. For being overcome and his army discomfited, he was miserably slaine with twenty thousand of his men, & ten thousand taken prisoners, *Marinus* hauing passed through all the degrees of honor, & bin sixe times Consul, which neuer any Roman before was, not content with al this, would notwithstanding take vnto himselfe the charge of the war against *Mithridates*, which fell to *Sylla* by lot, euen then when he was weakened with old age, thinking with himselfe to get the Consulship the seventh time, and to continue that soueraigne authority in his owne person. But this was the cause of his vtter ouerthrow, and of that slaughter, whereby all Italy and Spaine were imbrued with blood by *Sylla*, and the popular estate brought in the end to extreame tyranny. *Spurius Melius* a Senator of Rome, was murdered for his ambition, and his house razed by *Cincinnatus* the Dictator, because he sought by meanes of a certaine distribution of wheat, to make himselfe king of Rome. *Marcus Manlius* was also vpon the like occasion throwne downe headlong from the top of a rocke. Therefore it appeareth sufficiently vnto vs how pernicious this vice of ambition is in the soules of great men, and worthy of perpetual blame. And although the matter be not of so great weight, when they that follow this vicious passion are but meane men and of small account, yet we are to know, that all they depart farre from duty and honesty, who, for the obtaining of glory and renowne, shew themselves inflamed and desirous to excell others in all those things which they ought to haue common together for the mutual aide & comfort of euery one. Onely we must seeke, without pride and enuy, after excellency and preferment in that which is vertuous, and profitable for humane society, contenting our selues notwithstanding with that, which we are able to performe, and so we shall neuer be blamed: but iustly may we be condemned, if we vndertake that which is aboue our strength. Especially let our desires and passions give place to the benefit of the Common-wealth, as heretofore *Cretes* and *Hermias*, two great men of Magnesia, dealt one towards another. Their citie beeing besieged by *Mithridates*, and themselves

Examples of
the fruits of
ambition.

Fredericus 3.

*Antoninus and
Geta.
Solyman.*

*Marcus Cras-
sus iustly pu-
nished for his
ambition.*

Marinus.

S. Melius.

M. Manlius.

How and
wherein we
may seeke for
honour.

*Cretes and
ermias.*

hauing H

hauing before beene at great strife for honour and preheminance, *Cretes* offered *Hermias* to let him haue the charge of capitaine Generall, in the meane time he would depart the citie: or if he had rather depart, that he should leaue that office to him. This offer hee made, least if both of them should be together, their iealousie might breed some mischiefe to their country. *Hermias* seeing the honest offer of his companion, and knowing him to be more expert in feats of warre, willingly surrendered the authoritie of commanding vnto him. Now to end our present discourse, let vs learne to know their outrageous folly, who for imaginary honours, and those of so small continuance, that the wise man compareth them to smoke disperfed of the winde, desire nothing more than to run out of the race of their daies in continuall miseries and calamities, trauels and cares, depriving themselves of all libertie, and which is worse, pawning their soules to an eternall and most miserable thraldome. Thus let vs detest ambition, which is an infinite euill and companion of pride, so much hated of God and men. Let vs consider a little that point of Philosophie which we finde written by *Traian* to *Plutarke*, *Ienuie* (said this good prince) *Cincinnatus*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Marcus Porcius*, more for their contempt of offices than for the victories which they haue gotten, because a conqueror is for the most part in fortune's power, but the contempt and refusall of offices, and honours consisteth onely in prudence. Let vs marke well the example of the Emperour *Plinius Vespasianus*, who being admonished by his friends to beware of one *Metius Pomposianus*, (because it was a common rumour that he should one day be Emperour) was so farre from procuring him any harme or displeasure, or from hating or enuying him, (as it is the property of ambitious men, to feare aboue all things least their estate be touched, because they would reigne alone) that contrariwise he made him Consull the next yeare. Whereat his familiar friends wondering and disswading him from it, *My meaning is* (quoth hee to them) *that he should one day remember this good turne*. Let vs also propound to kings and princes that sentence of *Titus* the Emperour, who making a feast one day with a cheerefull countenance to the contentation of euery one, in the end of the banquet strake himselfe on the brest at the table, and fetched a great sigh withall: whereupon his fauorites demanding the cause why, *I cannot* (quoth he) *keepe my selfe from sighing and complaining, when I call to minde that this great honour which I haue, dependeth vpon the will of Fortune: that my estates and dignities are as it were in sequestration, and my life as it were laid in pawne and pledged vnto me*. Let the saying of that good prince *Philip* king of *Macedonia* be well noted of great men, who on a day falling all along in that place where wrestling was exercised, and beholding the fashion of his body printed in the dust, *Good Lord* (quoth he) *how little ground must we haue by nature, and yet we desire all the habitable world*. According to his example let vs all humble our selues to the acknowledgement of our imbecillitie and poore humane estate, and let vs moderate our vnruely affections through the contempt of those things which worldly men desire and seeke after, iudging them an vnworthy reward for vertue. Let every one of vs content himselfe with his estate and calling, so that it tendeth to the right end, namely to his glory, that gaue it vnto vs, and to the benefite and profite of his creatures, and let all be done according to that measure of graces, which hee shall bestow vpon vs.

Traians letter to Plutarke.

Vespasianus.

A notable saying of Titus. Another of Philip king of Macedonia.

Of Voluptuousnesse and Lecherie. Chap. 22.

ACHITOB

AMong those faults which men commit, beeing led with desire and pleasure that is naturally in them, we noted a little before, luxuriousnesse and whooredome. But because we then reserued it to a more ample handling of Voluptuousnesse, and of a lustfull life, which is the chiefe worke thereof, and whose desire and contentation is in lechery, to the end we may the better discover that sugred poyson, which lurketh vnder these detestable vices, I am of opinion that we must begin to enter into this large field, so fruitfull for thornes and thistles, which to sicke eies many times seeme faire blossomes of some goodly fruits: propounding to the sight of euery one, the nature and effect of the tyrannicall power of pleasure, a mortall enemy to the reigne of Vertue.

Pleasure the hooke of all euill.

A SER. Pleasure (saith *Plato*) is the hooke of all euils, because men are taken thereby as a fish by a hooke. For it quencheth the light of the soule, hindereth all good counsell, and through inticements turneth men aside from the way of vertue, throwing them down headlong into the gulf of confusion, which is luxuriousnesse and whooredome, a most wicked and abominable vice aboue all others, whereby all vertue is hurt and offended.

A MANA. Hee that is given to pleasure (saith *Cicero*) iudgeth all things, not according to

to reason, but according to sense, esteeming that best, which most delighteth him: so that he easily suffereth himselfe to be kindled with the burning fire of luxuriosnesse, which is hurtfull to every age, and extinguisheth olde age. But let vs heare ARAM vpon this matter.

ARAM. It is no new opinion, that many iudging according to their sensuality and being altogether ignorant of the true nature and immortality of the soule, haue placed their soueraigne Good in pleasure, & in the inioying of those things which most of all tickle the senses. *Aristippus* and all the *Cyrinaiks*, *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus*, *Chrysippus*, and many others, who falsly tooke vnto themselves the name of Philosophers, labored to prooue it by many arguments, cloaking their wickednesse with graue and lofty words, saying: that none could perfectly attaine to pleasure, except he were vertuous and wise. But that which *Cicero* alleadgeth against them, is sufficient to discover the maske of their impudencie, and to conuince them of lying: namely, that we must not simply looke to mens sayings, but consider whether they agree in their opinions. For how is it possible, that he which placeth his chiefe Good in the pleasure of the body, and in neuer feeling griefe, should make account of to imbrace vertue, which is an enemy to delights and pleasures, & commandeth vs rather to suffer a cruel & dolorous death, than to start aside against duty. It is certaine, that he which placeth his chiefe Good in pleasure hath noregard to do any thing but for his private profite. Whereby he declareth sufficiently, that he careth not at al for vertue, especially iustice, which comandeth nothing so much, as to leaue our own particular pleasure & profit, and to imbrace, though with our peril and losse, the publike welfare. Moreouer, how could he be couragious, if he thought that griefe were the extreamest and greatest euill, or temperate supposing pleasure to be perfect felicitie? Besides what can be more vnseeming man, appointed for all great excellent things, then to take that for his chiefe Good, whereof brute beasts haue better part than we, and to leaue the care of that which is diuine and immortall in vs, to attend to that which is mortall and subiect to corruption? But these erronious & false opinions, being contrary to themselves, are so absurd and full of blockish ignorance, that we neede not heere lose much time in confuting them, & conuincing them of lies. Notwithstanding, it being so common a thing with men, to imbrace pleasure as the principall end of their actions, because naturally they desire pleasure, and shun griefe: will it bee eise for vs to shew, that ignorance onely guideth them, when being deprived of the knowledge of that Good which is to be wished for, and is pleasant and acceptable, they seeke after, through an euill choise, the greatest mischief of all. I meane pleasure vnseparably followed of griefe, which men labour most of all to eschue. Let vs then see what pleasure is, and what fruites shee bringeth with her. Voluptuousnesse or pleasure (saith *Cicero*) is properly called that delight, which moueth and tickleth our senses, which slideth and slippeth away, and for the most part leaueth behinde it occasions rather of repentance, than of calling, it againe to remembrance. For many through wicked and vnecessary pleasure haue fallen into great diseases, receiued great losses, and suffered many reproaches. It alwaies (saith *Plato*) bringeth dammage and losse to man, ingendring in his minde sorrow, sottishnesse, forgetfullnesse of prudence, and insolency. The fruits of Wherefoeuer sweete is (saith *Anchippo*) there presently followeth sowre. For voluptuousnesse neuer goeth alone, but is alwaies accompanied with sorrow and griefe. Pleasure (saith *Plutarke*) resolueeth mens bodies, mollifying them daily through delights, the continuall vse of which mortifieth their vigor, and dissolueth their strength, from whence abundance of diseases proceedeth, so that a man may see in youth the beginning of the weakenesse of old age. Voluptuousnesse is a cruel beast, making men her slaues, and chaining them (as *Sophocles* saith) with diamond chaines. She is so much the more odious, by howe much the more she hideth hir venome, putting vpon hir the garment of good liking, betraying vertue, and killeth a man euen when she flattereth him. When pleasure come (saith *Erasmus*) they flatter vs with a disguised visage & whē they depart, they leaue vs full of sorrow and sadnes. Which *Xenophon* very wittily deuiled vnder the name of *Hercules*, saying, that as he went one day into the fields, in a certaine threefold high way he met Vertue and Vice, both of them being in the shape and apparell of women. Vice being cloathed in a stately, delicate gorgious and lasciuious gown, with a smiling, painted, & coloured countenance, which did wonderfully allure by reason of the sweetnes & flourishing beauty that seemed to be in it, offered hir selfe suddenly vnto the said *Hercules* saying: that if he would follow hir, she would cause him to leade his whole life in delight & pleasure. But Vertue with a sorrowfull, leane, & distmaide face, & clad with a long and plaine robe, without any decking of her speech, vsed these words: If thou wilt come to me *Hercules*, thou shalt be indued not with bodily ornaments

Who they were that placed their chiefe Good in pleasure.

What pleasure is.

The fruits of pleasure.

The sundrie proffers which Vice and Vertue made to Hercules.

nor with fading and vanishing beauty, but with certaine other riches which are more worth and endure for euer. For whosoever beleueth me, forsaking that which seemeth faire, and cleauing to those things which outwardly appeare austere and hard, he receiveth in the end an eternall felicity. Let vs vncliothe voluptuous men (saith *Plutarke*) and consider their doings. They are drunkards, whooremongers, sluggish in all weighty matters, neglecting the benefit of the Common-wealth, of their parents and of their friends. But of all kind of voluptuousnesse, lechery is most defiled, filthy, vile, and pernicious, whereof especially we are now to discourse, beeing properly called of the Philosophers a furious passion, which corrupteth the sence of man, and a burning fire that consumeth him. All vnmeasurable pleasure, which men take by their five senses, is vile and dishonest: but the Græcians after a speciall manner called those men incontinent and immoderate, who exceeded in tastig and touching. And *Hippocrates* said, that he supposed copulation to bee a part of that foule disease, which wee call the Epilepsie or falling sicknesse. And truly there is nothing more certaine, than that immoderate vse of the venerous act spoileth beauty, defileth the body, drieth it vp, and causeth it to stinke, maketh the face pale, wan or yellow, weakeneth the members and ioints, ingendreth Sciaticke goutes, collicke passions, griefes of the stomacke, giddines of the head, or dimnesse of sight, the leprosie and pocks. It shorteneth life, taketh away the vnderstanding, darkeneth the memory and as the Prophet *Osey* saith, taketh away the heart. Moreouer, how odious all whooredome ought to bee vnto vs, so that it bee not so much as once named amongst vs, the onely curse that is laid vpon it of God, ought sufficiently to perswade vs, seeing thereby hee condemneth it both with temporall and with eternall death. But wee haue besides, many goodly sentences and notable examples of Ethniks and Pagans, and namely of the iust punishment, which for the most part followed this detestable vice hard at the heeles, and which ought to stir vs vp to hate it, and to flye from it with all our might, especially when adultery is ioyned therewith, which is when the sacred knot of marriage is violated and broken. Concupiscence (saith *Aristotle*) changeth mens bodies, and breedeth madnesse in their soules. The ende thereof is luxuriousnesse, from whence proceede a thousand wrongs, violences, incests, murders, poysonings, and innumerable other impieties. Is it not then a signe of great loosenesse and basenesse of minde, for a man to subiect himselfe to carnall concupiscences, which are disordered desires contrary to reason, and whose office and practise is to chooseth euill for good? Let vs here giue eare to *Socrates* disputation with *Euthydemus*, being very fit for our present matter. Tell me O *Euthydemus*, doest thou thinke that liberty is a good, great, and profitable possession, whether it belongeth either to a man, or to a city? Very great. Therefore whosoever serueth the pleasures and vnbrideled desires of the body, so that for loue of them he cannot execute that which he knoweth to be very good, doest thou thinke that hee is free? No. It may bee thou iudgeth it a thing worthy a free man to bee able to put in practise whatsoever hee taketh to bee good, and contrariwise, to bee hindred from so doing, to be seruile and slauish. So it is. Thou beleuest then that no incontinent men are free. Yea truly, and that iustly. Thinkest thou that incontinent men are hindred from doing that which is honest, or compelled to commit vicious things? I thinke they are as much compelled to doe the one, as hindred from practising the other. But what masters doest thou thinke them to bee, who forbid well doing, and constrain men to imbrace euill? In good truth, very wicked. And doest thou not thinke that bondage of all others is most troublesome, when one serueth most wicked and naughty masters? Yea. Then incontinent men are of all others most miserable, of what estate or condition soeuer they be. Besides, bee that neuer thinketh vpon goodnesse, but seeketh by all meanes to fulfill his vntamed desires of pleasure and lust, hath no more vse of reason, than beasts haue. This wise Philosopher teacheth vs sufficiently how hurtfull and pernicious a thing it is, to suffer the desires of the flesh to reigne in vs, considering that they draw vs vehemently to the practise of them, to our owne destruction: especially whoredome, which bringeth with it all kind of mischief, dissolueth and weakeneth the body, and offendeth all the vertues and goods of the soule. Through her it commeth that men abase themselves so low, as to submit both their bodies and soules to the inconstant will and vnruely desire of a foolish woman. For we see some men so bewitched with a harlot, that if neede bee, and shee command it, they will hazard their honour and credit, and oftentimes make themselves an example to a whole countrey vpon an open scaffold. And then they labour to couer their folly with this goodly name of *Loue*, which is better tearmed *Euripides* by the name of *Fury* and madnesse in men. For true and good loue, which is the fountaine of friendship, is alwaies grounded vpon vertue, and tendeth

What whooredome is.

The effects of immoderate copulation.

Osey 4.11.

The effects and end of concupiscence

Socrates disputation against incontinency.

The fruits of whoredome.

tendeth to that end: but this slipperie and loose loue, is a desire founded vpon a the opinion of a *Good*, which indeede is a most pernicious euill. And if adulterie follow vpon it (which according to *Aristotle* is a curious inquirie after another mans loue) the vice is twofold more detestable and wicked, because that hee which committeth it, seeketh against all dutie of nature to take away another mans honour and reputation, spoileth him of that which hee accounteth most precious, namely, of the loue and friendship of his wife, breaketh the peace of a house, causeth the wife to lose her soule, who otherwise peradventure would not haue yeelded, if he had not corrupted her. In a word, it is the cause of infinite miseries and offences which we daily see come to passe. Among the ancients this vice was so odious, that it was narrowly sought out, and chastised with very grievous punishments. In somuch that *Julius Caesar* caused one of his Captaines to be beheaded, because he had dishonoured the mistresse of the house where he lodged, not slaying vntill one accused him, and without any complaint made vnto him by her husband. There was a law among the *Locrians*, established by *Zaleucus*, which condemned all those that were conuicted of this vice of adulterie, to haue their eies pulled out. This law was afterward so well kept, that his sonne being taken with the fact, and all the people intreating for him, *Zaleucus* would neuer suffer the punishment to be any thing lessened. And yet to satisfie their importunitie in some sort, he caused one of his owne, and another of his sonnes eies to be plucked out, choosng rather to beare halfe the punishment allotted for the offence, than that it should remaine vnpunished, and the law violated. *Augustus Caesar* made the law *Julia*, intituled of *Adulteries*, wherein is declared, how proesse ought to proceede against those that are attainted of it, and how such as are conuicted thereof are to be punished, euen to permit the father to kill his daughter beeing taken in the fact with the adulterer. After that *Fabius Fabritius* was slaine by his wife through trecherie, to the end that she might haue greater liberty to commit adulterie, one of his yonger sonnes when he came to age slew his mother with the adulterer, & was absolved therof by the Senate. We read also that the least punishment vsed by the Egyptians against adulterers, was to cut off the womans nose, and the priuie parts of the man. Briefely, we shall finde, that in all nations where honour and ciuilitie is neuer so little regarded, this vice of adulterie hath beene grievously punished, and greatly hated of all noble mindes. Herein the example of *Alexander* is worthy to be remembred, who, when a woman was brought vnto him one euening, demanded of her why she came so late: to whom she answered, that she staid vntill her husband was gone to bed. Which he no sooner heard, but he sent her away, being very angrie with his men, because they had almost caused him to commit adulterie. He would not so much as touch his friends Concubine, although he loued her: and he tooke on wonderfully with *Cassander*, because he would by force kille a minstrels maide. So farre off was he from beeing willing to suffer his courtiers to force any wives or daughters of his subiects, or to induce them to suborne any for him. But contrariwise we see nowadaies, that they are most esteemed of great men whose skill is greater in corrupting of women. *Antonius Venerus* Duke of Venice may be vnto them an example worthie to be followed, who caused his owne sonne to die in prison, because he had rauished a maid. But let vs note a litle the eie witness of Gods wrath, who neuer, or very seldome suffereth whoordome to goe without present payment meet for such peruerse wickednesse. The reading of holy Scriptures doth furnish vs with notable examples, in the death of foure and twentie thousand Israelites for whoordome: in the punishment of the same sin committed by *David*, with the death of more than threescore thousand men in Israel: in the punishment of the same sinne in *Salomon* vpon his sonne, who was deprived of ten parts of his kingdome: in the overthrow of the cities of *Sodomah* and *Gomorrah*, and in many other places. When *Satan* seeketh for a readie way to cause men to fall, he commonly vseth whoordome. When *Balaam* taught *Balaac* that subtil practise to cause the Israelites to commit adolatrie, it was by meanes of the faire women of his countrie, thereby to cause them to fall into the wrath and indignation of God. Concerning histories written by men, the number of examples of Gods wrath vpon whoormongers is infinite, of which we will here alledge some, making mention of violent punishments, and of the deprivation and subuersion of flourishing estates, which haue proceeded from the same cause of whoordome. And truly it is more dangerous for a prince in regard of his estate, than any other vice, yea than cruelty it selfe. For cruelty maketh men fearefull, and striketh a terror in the subiects, but whoordome draweth with it hatred and contempt of the prince: because euery one iudgeth an effeminate man vnworthie to command a whole people. *Tarquinius* king of Rome, for his loftinesse surnamed the Proud, was deprived of his kingdome, because

The miserable effects of adulterie.

Zaleucus law against adulterie.

The law of *Julia* against adulterers.

The punishment of adulterers vsed among the Egyptians. *Alexander* hated adulterers.

Antony Duke of Venice.

Testimonies of Gods wrath against whoredome.

Numb. 25. 9.

This sinne of *Dauid* was in numbring the people, as appeared.

2. Sam. 24. 1.

1. King. 12.

Gen. 19.

The danger that dependeth vpon the loosenesse of a Prince.

Tarquinius.

because of the violence which one of his sonnes offered to *Lucretia*, a Romane Lady. And although he gathered together great forces, thinking thereby to re-enter into his estate, yet he could neuer attaine thereunto. Since which time the name of a king hath beene so odious among the Romanes, that they would neuer suffer any to beare that title amongst them, but from that time forward, changed the gouernment of a Monarchie into a Democracie or popular estate, abolishing all lawes appertaining to a king. In place of which they sent to the Athenians for *Solons* lawes, which afterwards were obserued by the Romanes, and called the lawes of the twelue tables. *Appius Claudius*, one of those ten that had all authoritie in the gouernment of the Romane estate, because he would haue rauished *Virginia*, daughter to *Virginus* a Citizen of Rome, who lue her to saue her honour, was banished with all his companions in that office, and their manner of gouernment changed into the authoritie of Consuls.

Cesar. What was like to haue befallen that mighty *Cesar*, after he had conquered France Almaine, England, Spaine, Italy, and *Pompey* himselfe, but a shamefull death, by reason of a foolish loue, which caused him to goe into Alexandria in disguised apparell to enioy *Cleopatra*, where an Eunuch and a childe had almost slaine him, if he had not cast himselfe from a high tower into the sea, and so saued himselfe by swimming to his campe vnder the gallies of his enemies?

Teuandezillus. *Teuandezillus* king of Spaine was, for committing violent adulterie with a Lady of a noble house, deprived both of life and kingdome. *Marcus Antonius* *Caracalla* Emperour, being carried away with intemperate lust, married his mother in law: and within a while after he lost both his Empire and life. *Childericus* the first of that name, king of France, after he had reigned a long time, was driuen out of his kingdome for his whoordome. *Iohn*, Countie of Arminack, married one of his owne sisters, and being therefore excommunicated of the Church, was deprived of his estate and life by the Emperour *Charlemaigne*. *Rodoaldus* king of Lumbardy being taken in adulterie, was slaine by the womans husband, whom hee abused. *Roderigo* king of Spaine, was deprived of his kingdome and life by the Saracins, who were called in by an Earle named *Iulian*, that hee might bee auenged of his king, who had forced his daughter. *Geleatus Maria* Duke of Millan being at Masse, was slaine by a citizen, who strooke him into the stomacke with a dagger, faining that hee would haue spoken with him. The chiefe cause hereof was for a suspicion which he had conceiued, that this Prince entertained his wife. In the time of *Philip* the faire, king of France, two knights that were brothers, named *d'Aunoy*, were slaine alieue for their whoordomes committed with a Queene of *Nauarre*, and with the Countesse of *March*, daughter to the Countie of *Burgundy*, which twaine also were condemned to perpetuall prison. Not long since, *Peter Lewes* Duke of *Placentia*, was murdered for his incest, and incredible whoordoms. Among other things, it is written of him, that he forced *Cosmes Cheri* Bishop of *Valentia*, whom he caused to bee held by his men, and after poisoned him, least he should haue accused him to the Emperour. Also not long ago, the cities of *Almendine* and *Delmedine*, were cut off from the kingdome of *Fez*, and brought vnder obedience to the *Portingales*, because a yong woman was taken away by force from her husband, by the Gouernour of them, who was afterwards slaine. *Abusabid* also king of *Fez*, was muredred with sixe of his children by his Secretarie, whose wife hee had abused. This is set downe by *Leon* in the description of *Africke*. In our time, and even amongst vs, too many such examples of the pernicious fruits of whoordome haue fallen out. Neuerthelesse, it beareth such sway in this desolate France, that they are accounted the gallantest men, who are the greatest pillars of whoordome. Yea, the greater sort, that ought to be patterns of chastitie to others, are bolde in the practise therof, thinking to couer their shame, to cloke & disguise their whoordome with the maske of vertue, accounting it a point of glory and honour to be the chiefe and most expert in that schoole. But let vs know that this vizard is but to make them altogether without excuse before him, from whom nothing can be hidden, and who abhorreth all maliciousnes and shameles impudency, wherewith whoormongers set forth their face. And seeing that he, whose mercie is endlesse, supplieth the want and infirmitie of his creatures, this vice of whoordome is without all colour of excuse before him, because he hath giuen vs a holy and honourable remedie against it, which is marriage, permitted to euery one, but yet despised of all whoormongers, to their ruine and eternall confusion. And if they were not wholly blinded through continuance in vice, the scourges of ciuill warre, of heresie, of famine, and of rebellion which France at this day suffereth, would be more than ynough to vnseale their eyes, that they might acknowledge the wrath of the Almighty, ready to destroy them both body and soule. Therefore let vs that are better instructed by our Academie, learne of *Socrates*, that a wise man ought to passe by pleasures

pleasures as by the Syrens, if he long to attaine to vertue, his most happy countrey and dwelling place. And for a good helpe hereunto, let vs take the counsell of *Epictetus*, saying: *When thy spirit is drawne with some desire of pleasure, beware thou tumble not into some downefall: and meditate a litle, considering diligently, that after thou hast beene overcome of pleasure there remaineth nothing but repentance, and thy hatred against thyselfe. Whereas if thou abstainest, a steadfast and assured ioy possesseth thy heart, which wholly driueth away sorrow.* Thus let vs endeauour to decke our selues with puritie, chastitie, and vprightnesse, hating in such sort voluptuousnesse and lechery (the deere and costly pleasure whereof passeth away as the winde, and leaueth behind it a shamefull remembrance) that following the will of our law-maker, we shun all dissolutenesse tending that way, whether it be immodest garments, vnchast gestures and countenances, or vile and filthy words, which may induce others to euill. Let vs remember in good time what *Archelaus*, a great Philosopher said to a yong man clothed with superfluous apparell, *that it was all one in what part soener of his body he declared his vnchastnesse, and that it was enermore to be condemned.* But aboue all things let that diuine sentence found without ceasing in our eares, *that no booremonger hath any inheritance in the kingdome of Iesus Christ.* And if, being naturally giuen to loue pleasure, and to feare griefe, we would delight our soule with a ioy that is both profitable and pleasant: let vs lift it vp in the meditation of those vnspeakeable and endlesse riches, which are promised vnto it in that happie immortalitie: and so wee shall weaken and make fruitlesse that desire of worldly pleasure, which is borne together with vs.

Good counsell against whoordome.

1. Cor. 9. 9.
Ephel. 3. 3.

Of Glory, praise, honour, and of pride. Chap. 23.

A R A M. **M**EN hauing their eies covered with ignorance, vse commonly to say, that he hath a great lookie and noble minde, who aspieth to honours, estates, riches, and other worldly vanities. Albeit truly, if we narrowly looke vnto the end wherefore they direct their intents and actions that way, we shall see nothing else in them but a desire of vaine glory and praise, thereby to feede their pride and natural passions, which are so pernicious in the soule, that if they be not ruled by temperance and mediocritie, and grounded vpon vertue, which is the fountaine of honour, they will bring forth very dangerous effects, cleane contrary to mens desires.

The iudgement of ignorant men touching noblenes of minde.

A C H I T O B. They (saith *Seneca*) that would make choise of a happy life, most not follow the fashion and manner of life vsed by the multitude and greatest part of men, but such a one as is altogether contrary thereunto. And this we shall doe, if we despise the glorie, honour, praise and pride of the world, and iudge nothing worthy to be cared for of vs, but onely vertue, which is able to bring vs to the fulnesse of true glory, and of everlasting felicitie.

How wee should make choise of a happy life.

A S E R. The glory (saith *Pindarus*) that a man taketh to see himselfe in honour and credite, maketh paines to seeme pleasant, and trauell tollerable. It is the property of a stone (saith *Cicero*) not to haue any feeling of the difference that is betwene praise and dispraise: but it belongeth to a wise man not to be so moued with all these things, as that they should caule him to draw backe from duty. Let vs then heare **A M A N A** discourse more at large of the matter which is here propounded vnto vs.

A M A N A. Most certaine it is, that commonly nothing affecteth a man more than the coueting of glory, of praise, and of honour, whereof he is by nature desirous. But as all the passions and diseases of the soule are for the most part followed with those inconueniences, which men pretend most of all to eschue, so oftentimes they that glance at honour, as if that were vertue it selfe, leauing behind them the path of that vertue from whence honour ought to proceede, and which is able of it selfe to adorne and decke men, fall into the same reckoning that *Ixion* did, who (as the Poets say) had to doe with a cloude, supposing it to haue bin the goddesse *Iuno*, whereupon the Centaures were engendred. Euen so worldly men embracing vaine-glory onely, which is but a false shadow of true vertue, all their doings deserue so small commendation, that if they were well weighed, they should rather be found worthy of blame and dishonour, than of that honour, which they so greatly seeke and aske after. For this cause the ancient Romanes built two Temples ioyned together, the one being dedicated to Vertue, and the other to Honour: but yet in such sort, that no man could enter into that of Honour, except first he passed through the other of Vertue. But seeing the way of Vertue is so little frequented at this day, no maruel (as *Hesiodus* saith) if so great a heape of wickednesse be dispersed through the world, that all shame & honour haue forsaken & abandoned the

The common downefall of the passions of the soule.

The Romans built two Temples, the one to Vertue, and the other to Honour.

the life of man. Now if an honest man prefer the losse of his honour before his owne life, to the end hee bee none of those that content themselves with a deceitfull Idea and platforme, in stead of the thing it selfe, let him learne aboue all things to know wherein true glory and honor consist, and from whence he may deserue praise: which first is in Goodnes and Iustice: secondly, in guiding all humane actions prudently according to duty, comelinesse and honestie. These are the onely meanes to get durable and eternall honor, glorie, and praise, which alwaies follow vertue as the shadow doth the body, hauing this property to make men wise, iust, prudent, and to bring them to the best, excellentest, and most diuine habite that can bee in men, which is the vprightnes of reason and iudgement, and to the perfection (next after God) of the reasonable nature, which is such a disposition of the soule as consenteth and agreeth with it selfe. Therefore that goodnesse and excellencie which proceedeth of wisdom and good instruction, is the first stepp to come to honour, because from that as from a liuely fountaine floweth euery vertuous and praise-worthie action, practised by a prudent man. For (as *Cicero* saith) no man can be prudent, but he must needs be good. Now this is cleane contrarie to the common opinion of those that run so swiftly now adaies after honor and reputation, who being ignorant of euery good cause and reason, and hauing corrupt and wicked conditions, imagine in their mindes, that so long as they doe some act well liked of great men, and for which they may be noted out by them to bee men of valure, making good peny-worths of their skin, and of their conscience also, whether it bee in fight, or in the execution of some other commaundement of theirs, they shall haue cause to thinke themselves worthie of great honour, and to bee preferred before other men. For they suppose that honour ought to bee measured by that good will and liking which men conceiue of them, although they themselves be most wicked, and not by the triall of the work whether it be good or euill in it selfe. But I wonder at their follie. For seeing they haue no goodnes in them, how can they iudge what ought to be done or left vndone, according to equity and iustice? And what honour will they deserue in all their actions, being guided onely with a desire of worldlie glorie, which (as *Quintilian* saith) is the chiefe and principall euill? Do not they also propound to themselves as a recompence of their paine and trauell, aduancement to high estates and dignities, that they may the better enioie worldlie pleasures? Whereby they become slaues to mortall goods and riches all their life time, and deprive themselves of that precious liberty of the soule, for which a noble heart ought to fight and to suffer death. But a good man adorned with goodnesse and iustice, propoundeth vnto himselfe a far other end. For admiring nothing but vertue, hee seeketh not to bee honoured but in obeying her, in following her steps, and in referring all his doings to the infallible rule thereof. He knoweth (as *Seneca* saith) that glory is to bee followed, not to bee desired: that it is gotten by such a noble courage as measureth all things by conscience, not doing any thing for ostentation and vanitie. The price and reward which he expecteth in this life for euery laudable action, is to haue done it: and yet he deprieth not himselfe of glorie, which remaineth immortall vnto him among good men for his iust and vertuous deedes, neither careth hee at all what the wicked or ignorant fort thinke or speak of him. Hauing laid this ground and foundation of all his intents and purposes, he looketh not to the most beaten way, nor to the present state of things, that he might applie himselfe to the time, as though he feared that hee should be left behinde, but desireth rather to abide vnknowne in his simplicitie, than with the hurt and detriment of his soule, to intrude himselfe among the greatest. And if he vndertake, or execute any thing, he hath iustice and prudence alwaies for his guides: and then neither feare nor danger is able to driue him from his determinate purpose, which howsoeuer it falleth out, is alwaies no lesse worthy of honour and praise, than their actions, who doe nothing but for worldly glorie, deserue blame and dispraise, which they feare most of all, and labour to auoide. True it is, that these men, who ambitionly seeke after vaine-glory and greatnes, may say vnto mee, that things goe far otherwise than I speake of, and that their doings, who apply themselves to the pleasure and liking of the greater sort, without sparing their liues, are as much extolled as the others that respect the vprightnes of causes, are set light by and contemned. But I answer them againe, that it is the duty of a prudent man, rather to feare the iudgement and opinion of a few wise men, than of an ignorant multitude. Neither ought hee to leaue his conceiued purposes grounded vpon reason, for the praise of men. For they that doe otherwise, declare euidently, that they liue not but for the world, hauing no care of the principall and chiefe ende of their beeing. *Bion* compared such men very fitly to vessels with two handles, which are easily carried by the cares whither soeuer a man will. So these men

The first step
to Honor.

Wherein
worldlings
place honor.

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red alwaies.

men being praised and much made of, undertake all things boldly: yea the burning heate of glory oftentimes carrieth them so farre, that they praise and commend their owne doings to no purpose. Which is so vnseemely a thing (as *Aristotle* saith) that it is more blame worthy than lying, which commonly goeth with it, and is also a great argument of an inconstant minde. But as *Plutarke* saith, the more reason a man hath gotten by Philosophie, the more he looseth of his pride and arrogancy, and they that haue nothing before their eyes, whereunto they aspire, but vertue and duty onely, vse the occasion, time, and sequele of their affaires, without caring for any other praise than that which proceeded from the nature, iudgment and consent of all good men. It is true, that sometime it is tollerable in good men, yea necessarie for the benefite of others, to commend themselves in some sort, by speaking of themselves to their aduantage. As if labouring to be beleaued, wee rendred a reason of our vertue and goodnesse by our former effects, that so hauing meanes to continue our vertuous actions to the benefite of many, we may, as it were against their wils, worke their safetie, and compell those men to receiue a good turne, who shun all occasions thereby. This caused *Themistocles* to vse those speeches in the Councell of the Athenians, whom he perceined to be wearie of him: *O poore men* (quoth he to them) *why doe ye oftentimes receiue benefits of the same parties?* And another time he vsed these words: *In rainie and stormie weather ye haue recourse to me, as to the shelter of a tree, but when faire weather returneth, ye snatch euery one a branch, as ye passe by.* *Homer* bringeth in *Nestor* rehearsing his prowes and valiant acts, to incourage *Patroclus* and the other nine knights to undertake the combate against *Hector* man to man. Moreover, exhortation hauing the testimonie of workes ready at hand, and examples ioyned with the pricke of emulation, are liuely, and wonderfully whetteth men on: yea they bring together with courage and affection, hope of ability to attaine to the end of that thing, which is perceiued not to be impossible. But in this case, as in euery other action, let vs aboue all eschue pride, hated of God and men, and the cause of the corruption and transgression of mans nature. Yea, it causeth that worke to become wicked, which of it selfe is good: so that humble submission is better than the proud boasting of our good deeds, which causeth a proud man oftentimes to fall into more detestable vices than he was in before. Now in requiring first and chiefly those praises that proceede of bountie and iustice, my meaning is not that we should contemne, but rather search diligently after those that procure vnto vs immortall glorie by noble and couragious acts, provided alwaies that they passe not the bounds of equitie and iustice. For otherwise they cannot but falsly be called workes of fortitude and generosity, as hereafter in our discourses vpon these vertues we may vnderstand more at large. Therefore it is the ielousie of glorie gotten by vertue, after the examples of our predecesors that liued well, which ought to pricke forward euery noble heart, to build for himselfe an eternall monument through heroicall deeds, when dutie and reason inuite vs thereunto. Thus did that good and valiant capitaine *Mattathias* behaue himselfe, who, denying obedience to the tyrannicall edicts of *Antiochus* after hee had subiected and subuerted Ierusalem, and taking armes with his five sonnes, went into the fields, out of a poore village where he dwelt, and called vnto him such as would follow him to recouer againe their liberty. And after many victories obtained by him, when hee perceiued that he drew neere to death, hee exhorted his sonnes to follow his iust and holy deliberation without feare of any danger. True it is (quoth he to them) that our bodies are mortall, and subiect to the same decree that others are, but the memory of excellent deeds procureth to it selfe an immortalitie, whereunto I would haue you aspire in such sort, that ye thinke not much to die in behauing your selues valiantly. Thus it is lawfull for vs to be touched, and stirred vp with the ielousie of a good glory, so that it be without enuying the prosperitie and preferment of others, but onely so far forth as it may serue for a spur vnto vs to undertake and to effect all vertuous and commendable things. As for example: *Themistocles* hearing of the great victorie that *Miltiades* had obtained in the plaine of Marathron, said: that that newes would let him take no rest: meaning therby, that he should neuer be quiet, vntill by some other act of vertue he had deserued as much praise, as did this excellent Capitaine *Miltiades*. *Titus Flaminius* a Romane Consul, who deliuered Græcia from bondage, and twise in battell ranged, ouerthrew *Philip* king of Macedonia, shewed himselfe likewise greatly touched with a desire of glory and honour, not to be blamed, but to be praised of all excellent and noble natures, by putting to his helping hand whensoever hee could, with the first, yea, sometimes alone, to euery matter and exploit of importance. Hee kept company oftner and more gladly with those that stood in neede of his helpe, than with such as were able to aide him in well dooing, accounting

A good man may sometime praise himselfe.

Themistocles did so.

And *Nestor*

The effects of pride.

The worke of fortitude must bee grounded vpon equitie and iustice.

Mattathias exhortation to his sonnes.

How ielousie of glory is tollerable. *Themistocles*.

T. Flaminius.

Cæsar wept at
the sight of A
lexanders
image.

Cyrus.

A notable
story of an In
dian.

Examples of
the contempt
and desire of
vaine glory.
Pompeius.

Tamberlans
seuerity to-
wards Baiazet
the great
Turke.

Saphors to-
wards Vale-
rianus.

Pope Alexan-
ders towards
Fredericke.
Psal. 91. 13

Agathocles.

The honor
of great men
dependeth of
their vertue,
not of their
dignitie.

these men to be his competitors in the purchasing of honor and glory, and the othersto be matter whereupon he might exercise his vertue. It was an argument of yoong yeares which seemed to promise much, and to be borne to all great enterprises, when *Iulius Cæsar* being yet very yoong, and beholding the image of *Alexander* the Great at foure and twenty yeares of age, fell to weeping, and said: Am not I miserable that haue done nothing worthy of memory, and yet this prince at these yeares had executed so many notable things? Moreouer, we may obserue among the Ancients infinite worthy examples quite contrary one to another, in that many great and famous men haue altogether despised the honor of vaine-glory, which is neuer without presumption & pride: and contrariwise, others being led with pride and arrogancy, haue fowlie abused their authority and greatnes, purchasing to themselves more blame and dishonor, than praise and honour. That great *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians, was of so meeke and gentle a nature, and so little desirous of vaine glory, that he would neuer prouoke his equals in age to any exercise wherein he perceived himselfe the stronger, but those rather, who were better practised than himselfe, to the end he might not displease them by bearing away the price from them; as also that he might reape this benefite, to learne that which he could not do so well as others. O right noble heart, giving euident proofe of the contempt of base and vile things, to treasure vp those that are great and excellent! But now a daies whereabout do we strue most? namely, who can most cunningly strike with the sword, runne at the ring, or ride and manage horses. And I would to God we did no worse. But as for excelling others in vertue, these times require no such matter. We reade of an Indian, who being commanded by *Alexander* the Great to shoote before him, because he had heard that he was very excellent in that art, would doe nothing. Whereupon the Monarch being incensed, condemned him to death, if he would not obey him. The Indian going to execution, told one of those that led him, that he had bene indeed heretofore a very good Archer, but because he had of long time intermitted that exercise, he feared that he had forgotten it: and therefore had rather die then lose the reputation, which he had once obtained. To this fellow we may compare those of whom we haue already spoken, who glory in nothing but in this, that they are taken of the greater sort for valiant men, and, as they vse to say, for such as make profession, that they carry about them a sharpe sword for their seruice. These men had rather die in a naughty quarrell, with the danger of loosing their soule, than to fall from this their reputation, which they desire to carry with them. But let vs follow our examples of the contempt of vaine glory, and of certaine others led away with an overweening pride. *Pompey* the Great, shewed a notable argument that he was not touched with vaine glory or pride, when, after he had vtterly vanquished *Tygranes* king of Pontus, and made him his prisoner, he chose rather to set him againe in his kingdome, and to make him an allie and confederate of the Romanes, than to reserue and lead him in maner of a triumph into Rome, according as they vsed then to deale with enemies, and with their spoiles: saying like a vertuous Monarch, that he much more esteemed the glory of a whole age, than of one day. The Great *Tamberlane* being puffed vp exceedingly, because of a Peasants sonne he attained to so great a Monarchie, vsed farre greater and more barbarous seuerity towards *Baiazet* Emperor of the Turkes, whom, after he had overcome him, and made him his prisoner, he caused to be led about with him in a cage, wherefoeuer he went, feeding him onely with the crummes that fell vnder his table: and whenfoeuer he tooke horse, he vsed his body for an aduantage. After the same manner *Valerianus* the Emperor was handled by *Saphor* king of Persia, by whom he was discomfited in battle, which this Barbarian had woon of him. He that trod vpon the Emperor *Fredericke Barbarossa* his necke, and pusht him twice with his foot when he had him at his deuotion, shewed himselfe more proud, cruel, and arrogant, in that he vsed for a pretence and cloke of his pride and wickednes, that text of Scripture. *Thou shalt walk vpon the Lion and Aspe, the young Lion and the Dragan shalt thou treade vnder foote*, as if it had bin spoken to him. That heathen man *Agathocles* king of Sicilia, left behind him a far more excellent example of the contempt of glory, that wee should not be lift vp too much, nor forget our selues by reason of the greatnes of our estate. For being come to that estate by his vertue, because he was borne of a poore Porter, he caused himselfe to be serued ordinarily at his table with earthen vessels, intermingled with his cups of gold, saying thus to those that came to see him, thereby to inflame them with a desire of well doing: *Behold what it is to perseuere in trauell and in taking of paines to become vertuous and couragious. Heretofore we made these pots of earth, and now we make these of gold.* Further we must know, that when fortune (if it be lawfull for vs vnder this word to vnderstand the ordinance of God) lifteth vp men of low degree vnto great and

and honourable places through their valure and desert, and exalteth also many men that are vnworthy, letting vs see how proudly and wickedly these men behaue themselves in abusing their authority, and contrariwise how the other sort vse it well, she doth thereby so much the more honor, and recommend vertue vnto vs, as the onely thing whereof all the greatnes, glory, and honor of them dependeth, and not of the dignity wherein they are placed. Now how greatly haughtines of mind is hated both of God and men, among infinite testimonies which we haue, that of *Herod Agrippa* king of the Iewes, ought well to be marked. For being gone vp into the pulpit appointed for Orations, and reioicing because the people cried out to his praise, That it was the voice of God & not of man, he was suddenly strooken from heaven, so that when he perceived himselfe to consume away with Vermine, he cried out to the people, saying: *Behold how he dieth now with intollerable griefes, whom not long since ye called God.* *Dio-cleianus* the Emperor was so puffed vp with pride, that he called himselfe brother to the Sunne and Moone. and made an edict, whereby he would haue all men to kisse his feete, whereas his predecessors gaue their hands to the Nobility, and their knees to the simpler sort: but God suffered him to die a mad man. Moreouer we see daily, that proud men become odious to every one, and are in the end contemned, yea, that oftentimes it costeth them their life. The punishment that *Philip* king of Macedonia laide vpon *Menacratius* the Physicion was more gentle, yet pleasant, and woorth the noting. This fellow because he was excellent in his art, caused himselfe to be called *Impiter* the Savior. The good prince minding to correct him for his arrogancy, inuited him to a feast, and made a table to be prouided for him by himselfe, whereof at first he seemed to be very glad. But when he saw that in stead of meate they gaue him nothing but incense, he was greatly ashamed, and departed from the feast in great anger. Now for the conclusion of our discourse, we say with *Solon*, that to name a presumptuous and glorious man in right termes, is to call him a foole, as contrariwise, curtesie and meekenes is the foundation of wisdom and of a quiet life. Wherevnto that we may attaine, let vs learne, that whosoeuer beholdeth with the eyes of his minde the estate of mans nature, and considereth the basenes of his condition, together with the shortnes of this present life, subiect to an infallible decree, and marketh also the foule pollutions that are ioyned with the flesh, he shall neuer fall in that head-long downefall of arrogancie and pride. And thus detesting all presumption and loue of vanitie, let vs seeke for honour by the meanes of vertue onely, which as *Euripides* saith, is alwaies either followed or preuented with glory and praise. And let vs not greatlie care for the praises of men, but onely do those things that are worthy of commendation. Let vs rather reioyce and glory that we excell and go beyond others in all good duties towards them, than in any other aduantage, either of worldly glory, or of our priuate profite. Lastly, let vs rather loue to abide alwaies as it were vnknewne to the world, than by seruing vanities to turne aside from one onely iot of the duty of goodnes and iustice, which by the grace of God may procure vs a perpetuall praise among good men, and make vs acceptable before him, who euermore lifteth vp the humble, and beateth downe the proud.

am ad weli
dum ad vici
ni ad dion
nam e

Herodes.

Dio-cleianus

Menacratius
finely punish-
ed for his prid
by Philip.

Euery vaine-
glorious man
is a foole.

Of Shame, Shamefastnes, and of Dishonour. Chap. 24.

A M A N A. **H**itherto we haue briefly intreated of those principall points, which respect the vertue of Temperance, and the vice of Intemperance, contrary vnto it. Neuertheles for the finishing of our daies worke, I think we are to consider what shame and shamefastnes are, which, as the Philosophers say, are ioyned with this vertue of Temperance. For the more we loue glory & honor, the more we feare and labour to eschue shame and dishonour. Now seeing we haue bin taught where to seeke for true glory and honor, we shall receiue no lesse profit, if we learne wherein we ought to feare shame and dishonour.

Shame is the
keeper of all
vertues.

A R A M. There is (saith *Cicero*) a certaine shame and bashfulnes in Temperance, which is the guardian of all the vertues, and deserueth great commendation, being also a most goodly ornament to the whole life, as that which fashioneth it according to the patterne of decencie and honesty.

A C H I T O B. Two things (saith *Plato*) are very wel able to direct his life that will liue vertuously, namely, shame of dishonest things, & desire of those things that are good & vertuous. Let vs therefore heare **A S E R** discourse more amply of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

A S E R.

A SER. As we see that a good ground, although it be far and fertill, bringeth forth notwithstanding naughtie and wild plants: so a good nature, although it be indued with many great perfections, is yet neuer without some shame.

How shame
may be made
profitable in
a man.

And this of it selfe seemeth to be a hurtfull passion in the soule, albeit it may easily by the meanes of vertue be dressed and made profitable, if we cure it of all feare of reproch, by doing that which is good, decent and honest; and contrariwise suffer it to augment, and to strengthen it selfe more and more, when occasion, either of doing ill, or of speaking, approving, and counselling any thing that is against the duty of a good man, shall be offered. Honest shame and shamefastnes (saith *Quintillian*) is the mother of all good counsell, the right guardian of duty, the mistress of innocency, well liked of her nearest friends in all places, and at all times, courteously entertained of strangers, as that which hath a fauorable countenance. Honest shame, being (as *Cicero* saith) the moderator of concupiscences, procureth vnto vs a steadfast and commendable authority amongst all men. *Hesiodus* calleth it the hostesse of iustice. Of this *Socrates* spake, when he said, that vertuous shame beseeemed youth. I looke for small goodnes of a yong man (saith *Seneca*) except of such a one as blusheth after he hath offended. For he that blusheth (saith *Menander*) is not voide of all good nature. Therefore shamefastnes is to be nourished and much made of. For so long as it remaineth in any mans spirit, there is good hope to be conceiued of him. Many haue shrunk through feare of shame, with whom no reason or torment could in any sort preuaile. A wicked man (saith *Euripides*) hath no shame in him. Shamefastnes (saith one of the ancients) is sister to continency, & companion of chastity, yea by meanes of her society and fellowship, chastity is in greater safety. A fault is lessened through shame, as it is made greater by contention: & shame mollifieth the heart of a iudge, but impudency prouoketh him to anger. He that is touched to the quicke through a sharpe reprehension for the reformation of his maners, & yet is nothing restrained thereby, nor full of sweat and blushing for shame, which cannot beate to ascend into the face of euery one well borne, but remaineth inflexible & vnmoouable, smiling & ielling thereat, such a one I say giueth a great argument of a very blockish and senceles nature, which is ashamed of nothing, by reason of his long custome and conformation in doing of euill. To sinne

Sin is natural
in man.

How we must
auoid and re-
presse sinne.

(saith *Diodorus* the Athenian) is a thing naturally ingrafted in men: neither was there euer any law so rigorous, that could stay the course thereof, although new paines and punishments were daily added to offences, to see if men be drawne from vice through feare of them. But some gather boldnesse through pouerty; others because of their riches become insolent, ambitious, and couetous, and others haue other passion and occasions which mooue and induce them to do ill. Now to turne these aside, and to make them fruitles, there is no better way than deeply to imprint in our soules the feare of a perpetuall shame and infamy, which are the inseparable companions of all wickednes and corrupt dealings. And as often as we commit any fault through frailtie, we must together with repentance imprint in our memory a long remembrance thereof: yea we must lay it often before our eyes, as also the shame and dishonor that might haue ensued thereof vnto vs; to this end, that afterward wee may be the better kept backe, and more aduised in the like matters. Herein let vs follow the example of way-faring men, that haue stumbled against a stone, and of Pilots that haue brused their shippes against a rock, who being mindfull of their mishap, are all their life time greatly afraid, not only of those stones & rockes, which were the causes of their euils, but also of all such as resemble them. There was apphobitiō (as *Aulus Gellius* writeth) that no yong Roman should dare to enter into a strumpets house, but with his face couered: and if it so fell out, that any man was so shameles as to come out of that place vncovered, he was as severely punished, as if hee had committed some forced adulterie. And truly when one is ashamed that he hath offended, we are to hope well of his amendment. Now, as shame of euill, seruing for a bridle to vice, is commendable; so that shame wherein want of prudence and of wisdom beareth sway, is euill and very hurtfull, not only to those that are touched therewith, but oftentimes procureth great euils to Communalities and Common-wealthes. Whereof those men haue too

A notable cu-
stome among
the Romans.

What kinde of
shame is very
hurtfull.

great experience that liue vnder such Gouvernours, Magistrates, and Iudges, as of a foolish basenes and cowardlines of minde, either for feare to displease the greatest, or to be blamed and reprooued of an ignorant multitude, bowe and bend to another mans becke against right and equitie, as though they were ashamed to doe well. Whereupon thinking to elchue a light and small reproach, they fall into a perpetuall note of infamy and dishonour, not being able to declare more plainly the smalnesse of their courage (which fitly resembleth a weake temperature of the body, vnable to resist heate and cold) than in consenting to

to euill, because they dare not gaine say least they should be misliked. But *Seneca* saith, that he is no meete schooller of Philosophie, who cannot contemne a foolish shame. And this causeth farre greater mischiefes, when the Soueraigne Princes of any estate are intangled therewith. Which may be verified of them, if through ouer great bounty and simplicitie voide of prudence, they wholly giue ouer themselves to their pleasure that haue them as it were in possession, and dare not gaine say or deny them in any matter. For hereof it commeth, that flatterers, brokers, and such as are most wicked, carry away offices, charges, benefices, gifts, and wastfully consume the publike treasure: so that a man may behold an impunitie and liberty of vices, and of execrable offences, because a simple and bashfull king dare not denie a request. And thus vnder such a Prince publike welfare is turned into priuate wealth, and all the charges fall vpon the poore people. But not to stray farre from our purpose, hauing so neerely touched a matter worthy of a large discourse, I thinke we shall reape no small profit, if we call to mind here certaine notable instructions, which *Plutarke* giueth vs, to teach vs to repell far from vs all foolish and dangerous shame: namely, that so soone as yeares of discretion worke in vs any knowledge of goodnesse, we should exercise our selues in those things, which of themselves are easie ynough to practise, beeing without feare that any thing can (as the prouerbe saith) hang or take hold of our gowne. If at a feast (saith that great Philosopher) thou art inuited to drinke more than reason, or thy thirst requireth, be not ashamed to refuse to do it. If any babler or ignorant fellow seeke to stay and keepe thee by discoursing of vaine and tedious matters, be not afraid to rid thy selfe of him, and to tell him freely that another time thou mayest come and visite him, not hauing at that time any leisure to keepe him company any longer. If thy friend or any other man, communicate with thee any act or purpose of his, wherein thou knowest somewhat, though neuer so little, that is to be reprehended, tell him thereof hardly. If any man be importunate with thee by requests and intreaties, neuer promise more than thou art able to performe, and blush not because thou canst not doe all things, but rather blush to take vpon thee things that are aboue thy ability. If any man aske thee a question of any matter whatsoever, confesse freely that which thou knowest not, to the ende thou maiest receiue instruction. Now, if we exercise our selues in this sort, honestly to refuse, to depart, to breake off, to speake freely, and to submit our selues after a comely manner, so that no man can lightly complaine of vs, or blame vs, but vpon very slender occasion; we shall be in a ready way to accustome our selues not to be ashamed in matters of greater weight, and such as are necessarie for the preservation of dutie. For otherwise, if we are afraid to put back a glaasse of wine, which some one of our acquaintance in drinking doth offer vnto vs, how will we resist the request of a prince, which is as much as a commandement, or the importunate suite of a whole people, in an vnjust and vnreasonable matter? If we are ashamed to be rid of a babler, if as flatterers vse to doe, we commend one contrary to our opinion, whom we heare praised of many: or if we feare to tell our friend of some small fault of his, how will wee set our selues couragiously against those slanderers of the truth, and maintainers of lies, that are placed in authority? Or how shall we dare to reprove notorious faults boldly, being committed in the administration of a magistrate, and in ciuill and voliticall gouernment? This is that which *Zeno* very well taught vs, when meeting with a familiar friend of his that walked heauily by himselfe, hee asked him the cause thereof: I thun (said the other) a friend of mine, who requesteth me to beare false witnes for him. What (quoth *Zeno*) art thou (so foolish, that seeing him voide of shame and feare to request vnjust and wicked things of thee, thou hast not the heart to deny him, and to put him backe vpon iust and reasonable consideration? *Agessilaus* may be vnto vs a good Scholemaster in this matter. For beeing requested by his father to giue sentence against right, he was not ashamed to deny him graciously with this answer: *You haue taught mee (O Father) from my youth to obey the lawes, and therefore I will now also obey you therein, by iudging nothing against the lawes.* *Pericles* beeing likewise requested by a friend of his to sweare falsely for him, said, I am a friend to my friends vnto the altars: as if he wold haue said, so far as I offered not God. The same reaso was the cause that *Xenophanes* being called a coward at a feast because he would not play at dice, answered without feare of being accounted voide of ciuility, and good fellowship, I am indeede a cowarde and fearefull in dishonest things. Now besides all those pernicious effects of foolish and naughty shame that are already touched by vs, oftentimes it maketh the senses of a man so brutish through a long custome, that he neglecteth the care of that which concerneth his safety and private benefit, yea, sometimes of his owne life. I will not here stand to speake of those which, say they are ashamed to aske their due, or by way of iustice to pursue such as deuoure the substance of their poore

How we must
learne to re-
sist all naugh-
ty shame.

Zeno.

Agessilaus.

Pericles.

Xenophanes.

Other pernicious effects
of foolish
shame.

Perseus. poore families, whereby they make it knowne, that they haue neither vertue, heart, nor courage. To this agreeth fitly that which we reade of one named *Perseus*, who being to lende money to a very friend of his, went with him to the common place of bargaining, calling to minde that precept of *Hesiodus*, who saith :

Euen when thou dost disport with thine owne brother,

Let present be some witnesse one or other.

Dion. His friend thinking this somewhat strange, said: What, so orderly by law? Yea quoth *Perseus*, that I may haue it againe of thee friendly, and not be compelled to demand it againe by order of law. But what shall we say of so many great personages as are mentioned in histories, who vnder pretence of a foolish shame badly grounded vpon this conceit, that they would not distrust them whom they tooke for their friends, offered themselves euen to the slaughter? *Dion* indued with great perfections, and one that delivered from tyranny and freed from thraldome the citie of *Syracusa*, although he was aduertised that *Caplippus* whom hee tooke for his Host and friend, watched opportunity to slay him, yet hee went to that place whither he had inuited him, saying: *that he had rather lose his life, than be compelled to distrust his friends, and to keepe himselfe as much from them as from his enemies.* And indeed it fell out so, that he was slaine there. The like befell *Antipater*, being bidden to supper by *Demetrius*. It seemeth also that *Iulius Caesar* as well as they, was in some sort the cause of his owne mishap, because hauing had many aduertisements, suspitions, and forewarnings of the miserable death that was intended against him, yet he neglected them all, as appeareth by that speech, which hee vsed the euening before he was murdered, being at supper with *Marcus Lepidus*. For a controuersie arising amongst the ghefts about this proposition, *What kinde of death was best, euen that said this Monarch, which is least looked for.* True it is which may be said, that destinie may possibly be better foreseene than auoided. But this were an euill conclusion thereupon, that we must let goe all care of keeping those goods, which God giueth vs as a blessing proceeding from his grace. For it is the dutie of a good and sound iudgement to confer that which is past, with the present time, to the end to foresee in some sort, and to determine of that which is to come, which is alwaies doubtfull and vncertaine vnto vs. Moreouer to resume our former matter of honest shame and shamefastnesse, which is the guide of our life to decency and vertue, we may see amongst the Ancients infinite examples, how it hath bene recommended and precisely obserued, and what strength it hath had in right noble mindes. The Persians brought vp their youth in such sort, that they neither did nor spake any thing that was dishonest, putting him to death that stripped himselfe stark naked in the presence of another. Yea they iudged euery vnciuill action how little soeuer, committed before others, to be great wickednesse. The Parthians would neuer suffer their wifes to come among their feasts, least wine should cause them to doe or to speake any dishonest thing in their presence. *Hippocrates* as he was walking, met with a yong man in a wicked mans companie, and perceiuing that he began to blush, said thus vnto him: My sonne, thou must goe with such as will not cause thee to blush: but be of good cheere, for thou maiest yet repent thee. *Blinde Eutichus* was set without the array of the battell by *Leonidas*, but being ashamed to leaue his fellowes in danger, he caused a slave to leade him to the place where they fought, and there wonderfully doing his endeauour, he was slaine. The Romanes were so shamefast amongst themselves, that the father would not bathe himselfe with his sonne, nor the sonne in law with the father in law. They so greatly esteemed honest shame and bashfulnesse, that when *Philip* king of Macedonia was accused before the Senate of many crimes, the shamefastnesse of yong *Demetrius* his sonne, who blushed and held his peace, stood him in greater stead than the shamelesse boldnesse of the eloquentest Orator in the world could haue done. The sonne of *Marcus Cato* the Censor, beeing at the battell wherein *Perseus* was discomfited, and fighting with a iavelin, his sword fell out of his scabbard, whereof hee was so ashamed, that alighting on foot in the midst of his enemies, and doubling his courage and strength, hee tooke it vp and mounted againe, fighting on horsebacke as before. The sonne of *Marcus Scavrus* *Emilius Scavrus*, hauing abandoned and giuen over the keeping and defence of the countrey of *Trenta* committed to his charge, was so ashamed thereof, that not daring to returne againe to his father, he slew himselfe. *Parmenides* taught his Disciples, that nothing was terrible to a noble minde but dishonor, and that none but children and women, or at least, men hauing womens hearts, are afraid of griefe. When speech was ministred at the banket of the seuen Sages, concerning that popular gouernment which was happiest, wherein all haue equall authoritie, *Cleobulus* affirmed, that that citie seemed vnto him best guided by policie, wherein

*What death
Caesar
thought best.*

*How the Per-
sian youth
was instructed*

*Hippocrates
saying to a
yong man
that blushed.
Eutichus.*

*The shame-
fastnesse of
the Romanes.*

Cato his son.

*Scavrus his
sonne.
Parmenides.*

Cleobulus.

wherein the Citizens stood in greater awe of dishonour than of the law. *Plutarch* rehearseth a very notable historie of the force of honest shamefastnes in the Milesian maidens, who were fallen into such frenzie and perturbation of spirit, that without any apparant cause to be seene, they were suddenly overtaken with a longing to die, and with a furious desire to hang themselves. Which thing many of them had already put in practise, so that neither reasons, nor teares of fathers and mothers, no comfort of friends, no threatnings, policies, or devices whatsoeuer, could preuaile with them, vntill such time that a wise Citizen by his aduice procured an edict to be made by the Councell, that if any hereafter hung her selfe, shee should be carried starke naked in the sight of all men, through the market place. This edict being made and ratified by the Councell, did not only repress a little, but wholly staid the furie of these maidens that longed to die. Infomuch, that a simple imagination and conceit of shame and dishonour, which yet could not light vpon them before they were dead, did preuaile more with them than all other deuised meanes could doe, yea, than death it selfe, or grieve, which are two of the horriblest accidents which men commonly stand in feare of. To conclude therefore our present discourse, we learne that honest shame and shamefastnes, are alwaies commendable and befeeming all persons that purpose to obserue modestly in their words, gestures, countenances, and actions. We learne also that spirits well brought vp, are more easily wooon by shame than by feare, according to that saying of *Quintilian*, that *shamefastnes is the property of a free man, and feare of a bondman*. Further, we learne that every temperate man ought to be more ashamed of himselfe, when occasion of doing ill is offered, than of any other: that we must shun all euill, excessive and pernicious shame, proceeding from the want of discretion, because it hindreth men from effecting all good, wholsome and honest things, infomuch that of it selfe it is able to procure vnto vs losse, dishonour, and infamie.

A notable historie of the shamefastnes of the Milesian maidens.

Honest shame is alwaies commendable.

The end of the sixth daies worke.

The seuenth daies worke.

Of Fortitude. Chap. 25.

ASER.



AN endued with reason, and seeking to imitate as much as lieth in him, the Author of his beeing, (who albeit simply and absolutely he standeth not in need of any thing whatsoeuer, yet doth wonderfull workes without ceasing, for the benefit of his creatures) feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke in his soule, with a desire to profite all those among whom heeliueth, by all high, great, laudable, and laborious meanes, not fearing any peril, nor forcing any paine. Moreover, meditating and weighing the dignitie of the immortalitie of the soule, he careth not earthly & mortal goods, nor standeth in feare of the contrary: and whether it be for the hauing or not hauing of them, his minde is nothing at all the lesse quiet, neither doth he thinke that any good vpon earth can be taken from him. All which great and rare excellencies flow into him from the third riuer of the fountaine of Honesty, whereof we are now to speake: namely, of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which (as *Cocero* saith) cannot be forced by any force.

Fortitude is the third riuer of Honesty.

MANA. This vertue (saith *Seneca*) is very great, being able to resist and to fight against extreme miseries. Which is the property of *Fortitude*, that guideth a noble nature through hard and difficult things, that he may attaine to the end of his iust deuices.

ARAM. *Fortitude* is the cause that neither for feare nor danger we turne aside from the way of vertue add iustice. And as *Plato* saith, it lifteth vp our minds to attend to that which is most excellent, laudable, best, and most profitable. Therefore let vs heare **ACHITOB** discourse of the wonderfull effects of this great and worthy vertue.

ACHITOB. Whatsoeuer is done manfully, and with a great courage, appeareth verie decent, and befeeming a man. But the perfection of every worke consisteth in this, that it be done by a staid and constant reason, which teacheth vs, that there is nothing after God, but honestie, which we are to admire, to make account of, and to desire: and that we ought not in any sort to shrink & yeeld vnto perturbations, or to any other humane accidents whatsoeuer.

Wherein the perfection of euery worke consisteth.

Fortitude is a
Good of the
soule, not of
the body.

The proper-
ties that are
required in a
valiant man.

The part of
Fortitude.

Fortitude
fighteth for
iustice onely.

All hardy
men are not
valiant.

Which opinions being well imprinted in our mindes, pricke vs forward to enterprise those things that are most excellent, difficult, and fullest of labors and perils. For being free from all earthly care, and voide of feare or sorrow, we contemne euen death it selfe, and are in such sort prepared against all griefes, that our contentation lieth herein, that the greatest and most exceeding paines will not continue long, that the lest will vanish away of themselves, and that we shall be masters of the middle sort. This is that which the Philosophers by infinite learned writings required to be in the vertue of *Fortitude*, with which the force and strength of the body hath nothing common, as that which is a Good that belongeth to the body. But this is an immortall Good of the soule, consisting in the power and direction of the spirit, beeing fortified and confirmed through the studie of Philosophie, and causing man of his owne accord to make choice of, and to perfect all honest things for their owne sakes. *Fortitude*, then (as *Cicero* saith) is that part of honesty, which is knowne by the excellency, greatnesse, and dignitie of the heart, which after aduised counsell and good consideration, causeth man to vndertake without feare, all perillous matters, and constantly to endure all kind of travell. For constancy and dignity are neuer far from *Fortitude* in greatest distresses: because it adorneth him that possesseth her with the contempt of griefe and of death, causing him to esteeme nothing vntolerable that can happen to man, neither any thing euill that is necessarie. And so it is the preseruation of a firme and setled iudgement in things that seeme terrible and full of danger, seeing it is the knowledge of that which a man ought to endure. *Plato* also calleth it the knowledge of all good and euill: as though hee would say, that nothing can come to a valiant and noble minded man, against his expectation, although it may be contrarie to his will, because hee is setled and prepared to vndergoe all events, as if hee had certainly fore-seene them. *Aristotle* saith, that *Fortitude* is a mediocrity betweene searing and enterprizing. Moreouer, it maketh a man fit for all occasions of dangers and travells, and holdeth him betweene these two extremities of cowardlinesse and rashnesse, which vices are very hurtfull to a happy and commendable life. The same Philosopher saith, that whosoever will be strong and valiant, must be free from all feare of death, constant in aduersities, voide of feare in perils, choosing rather to die honestly, than to saue himselfe villanously. He must endeavor to build noble enterprises, hauing for his companions hardinesse, greatnesse of hart, good confidence and hope, besides, industry & patience. Then he commeth to set downe many kindes of *Fortitude* *Cicero* agreeing wel with him, saith that *Magnificence*, *Confidence*, *Patience* and *Perseuerance* are the parts of *Fortitude*. *Magnificence* sheweth it selfe in doing great and excellent things: *Confidence* in this, that a valiant man conceiveth good hope of the euent of them: *Patience* in a voluntary and continuall suffering for the loue of honesty and vertue: and *Perseuerance* in a perpetuall constancie, and in a firme and steadfast abiding in his purposes and resolutions vndertaken with good consideration following reason. Moreover, *Fortitude* (as the Stoicks said very well) is a vertue that fighteth for equity and iustice. And therefore neither they that suffer for vniust matters, nor they that fight for their priuate commodities, not being led only with zeale of publike benefit, can boast (except falsly) that they are decked with this precious vertue. For these latter sort of men are rather to be called cruel barbarous, mercenaries, and hired hangmen, destroying all humanity: and others impudent, shamelesse, and desperate yea so much more worthy of blame, as guilty of wilfull madnes, in that they shew themselves constant in doing euil. But those men are valiant & of great courage, who thinke that no actions whatsoeuer, no time or season ought to be voide of iustice, who deliuer the oppressed, and those that are wronged, who build all their deuises vpon vertuous workes. They (saith *Aristotle*) are voide of generosity, who fight either for feare of reprehension, or by constraint, or beeing stirred vp with other mens speech, or of choler, or through ignorance of dangers. And this was *Platoes* meaning, when hee said that all strong and valiant men hardy, but not all hardy men valiant: because hardinesse commeth to men either by art, anger, or policy: but *Fortitude* is ingendred in the soule by nature and holy education. And therefore this vertue standeth not in neede either of choler, rancor, ambition, pride, or of any other euill passion, whereby to bring to passe braue and glorious effects, but is rather an vtter enemy vnto them, because it proceedeth from a mature and ripe consideration and election of reason, which causeth a man boldly to put in execution whatsoeuer hee knoweth to belong to duty and honesty, according to that place whereunto hee is called. And this also is the cause that hee neuer taketh any thing in hand rashly, what pretence soeuer it hath, neither is hee kept backe by any feare in those matters which offer him good occasion of putting to his hand, what hazard or imminent dan-

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ger soeuer seemeth to threaten him. But (according to that sentence of *Socrates*, that the hardest things ought to be taken in hand and executed with greater constancy and valure of heart) after hee hath well and prudently grounded his enterprife vpon a certaine knowledge, and firme discourse of reason, neither reproches, nor praises, neither promises nor threatnings, or torments, neither pleasures nor griefes, are able to cause him to breake off, or in any sort to alter and change his resolution, which remaineth alwaies praise-worthy, and is neuer subiect to repentance, howsoeuer the matter falleth out: because we are not to iudge of enterprises by the euents, which are altogether out of our power, but by the ground-worke and foundation whereupon they were built. And further, when the greatest dangers are, then is the time wherein a valiant man being nothing at all abashed, most of all sheweth his strength and prowes, neuer taking himselfe to be overcome as long as his vertue is free & at liberty to giue him new supply of meanes to set forward againe his matters; otherwise in a desperate case. Briefely, to speake in a word, *Fortitude is the cause*, that neither for feare, nor danger we turne aside from the path-way of vertue and iustice, neither yet repent vs of well doing for any torment. And thus it belongeth properly to this vertue, to command chiefly over thesetwo perturbations grounded vpon the opinion of euill, namely, *Feare* and *Griefe*: as before wee saw that *Temperance* exerciseth her power ouer vnbrideled *Desire* and *Excessiue ioy*. Furthermore, because they that naturally haue greater stomacks, and more excellent spirits, are desirous and greedy of honours, power, and glory, and seeing that an excessiue desire to rule and to excell others, commonly groweth with the greatnesse of the heart, it is necessary that this vnruely affection should be moderated by the contempt of such things as are common to all men by nature. And this also is a propertie belonging to this vertue of *Fortitude*, which desiring the greatest and best things, despiseth those that are base and abiekt; aspiring to celestiall and eternall things, shunneth humane and mortall things, and iudgeth honours, riches, and worldly goods, an vnworthy recompence for his valiant acts. Which is the cause, that who-soeuer hath this vertue of *Fortitude* perfectly (if so great happinesse could be among mortall weights) he remaineth free from all perturbations of the soule to enioy a blessed tranquillitie, which together with constancy, procureth vnto him dignity and reputation. For this cause *Cicero* teacheth vs, that they which giue themselues to the gouernment of affaires, ought (at least as much as Philosophers) to make light account of temporall goods, from whence proceedeth all the rest of our mindes: yea, they ought to strue to that ende with greater care and labour than Philosophers doe, because it is easier for a Philosopher so to do, his life being lesse subiect to *Fortune*, and standing in lesse need of worldly Goods, than doth that of Politicks. And if any mishap befall them, it toucheth the Philosopher a great deale lesse. But whether it bee in warre, or in ruling a common-wealth, or in the gouernment of an house, there are alwaies meanes enough to exercise the workes of *Fortitude*: and many times this vertue is most necessary in things that seeme to bee of smalleth account. Besides, that honestie which wee seeke after is perfected by the forces of the soule, of which euery one hath great neede, not by those of the body. I will not say, that the firme knitting together of the members, and the good disposition of nature to sustaine manfully the iniuries of weather, & all kinde of paine and travell without sicknesse, is not a good helpe towards the execution of noble enterprises: onely I say, that it is not so necessarie, but that many being troubled with a thousand ill dispositions in their persons, especially such as were placed in offices of capitaines and conductors of armies, haue executed infinite great and glorious exploits, surmounting all weakenesse of their bodies, through the magnanimity of their heart. Yea, oftentimes they haue as it were constrained their bodies to change their nature, that they might bee made fit to execute whatsoeuer their wise spirit iudgeth to belong to duty. Was there euer any capitaine among the Romans greater than *Iulius Caesar*? Yet was he of a weake and tender complexion, subiect to great head-aches, and visited sometimes with the falling sicknesse. But in stead of vsing the weakenesse of his body for a cloake to liue nicely and delicately, he tooke the labours of warre for a fit medicine to cure the vntowardnes of his body, fighting against his disease with continuall labor and exercise, liuing soberly, and lying for the most part in the open aire, which made him to be so much the more admired and loued of his souldiers. As it may appeare by that which is reported of him, that being oneday by reason of a great storme and tempest greatly vrged with want of lodging in a plaine, where there was but one little cottage belonging to a Peasant, which had but one chamber, hee commanded that *Oppius*, one of his Capitaines, who was ill at ease should bee lodged there: for himselfe he lay abroad with the rest, saying: that the most honourable places were to be

The resolution of a valiant man is alwaies commendable and ynchangeable

Fortitude con-temneth mortall things.

Magistrates ought to make lesse account of worldly goods than Philosophers.

Of bodily force.

Iulius Caesar was sickly.

Marcus Ser-
gius lacked
his right
hand.

Fabius the
Greatest.

Pompey the
Great.

C. Marius.

Agis.

Dienecus.

appointed for the greatest, and the most necessarie for such as were most diseased. What shall we say of those, who being impotent in some part of their members, did notwithstanding not diminish in any sort, but augment the glory of their doings? *Marcus Sergius*, a Romane captaine, hauing lost his right hand in a battell, practised so well with the left hand, that afterward in an army he challenged foure of his enemies, one after another, and ouercame them: such force hath a good heart, that it can doe more in one onely little member, than a man well made and fashioned in all points, that hath but a cowardly heart. Wee might here alledge infinite examples, whereof histories are full, of all those effects, which wee said were brought forth by the vertue of *Fortitude* in noble mindes: but wee will content our selues to touch certaine Generals that were of notable and politicke prowesse and valure, and constant in their resolutions; as well for shortnes sake, as also because hereafter we shall haue further occasion to bring others in sight, when we handle more at large the parts and branches that proceede from this happie talke of *Fortitude*. *Fabius* the Greatest commeth first to my remembrance, to prooue that the resolution of a couragious heart grounded vpon knowledge and the discourse of reason, is firme and immutable. This Captaine of the Romane army being sent into the field to resist the furie and violence of *Hannibal*, who being Captaine of the Carthaginians, was entred into Italie with great force, determined for the publike welfare and necessity to delay and prolong the warre, and not to hazard a battell but with great advantage. Whereupon certaine told him, that his owne men called him *Hannibals* schoole-master, and that hee was iested at with many other opprobrious speeches; as one that had small valure and courage in him, and therefore they counsell'd him to fight, to the end hee might not incurre any more such reprehensions and obloquies. I should be (quoth hee againe to them) a greater coward than now I am thought to be, if I should forsake my deliberation necessarie for the common welfare and safetie, for feare of their girding speeches and bolts of mockerie, and obey those (to the ruine of my country) whom I ought to command. And indeed afterward he gaue great tokens of his vnspeakeable valure, being sent with three hundred men only to encounter with the said *Hannibal*; and seeing that he must of necessitie fight for the safetie of the Common-wealth, after all his men were slaine, and himselfe hurt to death, he rushed against *Hannibal* with so great violence and force of courage, that he tooke from him the diademe or frontlet, which he had about his head, & died with that about him. *Pompey*, who by the renowne of his high enterprises, got to himselfe the surname of *Great*, being ready to saile by sea, and to passe into Italy, whither he was to carrie a certaine quantitie of wheate to meete with a famine, according to the commission given him of the Senate, there arose a very great tempest, in so much that the marriners made great doubt to weigh vp their anchors. But his resolution beeing well made before, and grounded vpon the dutie of a noble heart, hee tooke shipping first of all, and caused the sailes to bee spread in the winde, saying with a loud and cleare voice, It is necessarie that I goe, but not necessariethat I liue. *Caius Marius*, who was sixe times Confull, beeing in warre against the Allies of the Romanes that were reuolted, inclosed himselfe one day with trenches, and suffered a thousand iniuries and vaunting speeches, both of his enemies and of his owne men, but yet cared nothing at all for them, nor went from his deliberation, which was, that he would not fight at that time. And when *Publius Silla*, one of the chiefe captaines of the enemy cried vnto him, saying: If thou art such a great captaine, *Marius*, as men report of thee, come out of thy campe to battell: Nay, doe thou (quoth hee againe vnto him) if thou art a great captaine, compell me to come out to battell in despite of my teeth. Afterward this *Marius* shewed himselfe to be one of the most valiant and couragious men of his time, as well in the discomfiture of the said enemies, as in two other battells which he wan against the barbarous *Cimbrians* and *Flemings*, who were entred into Italy to inhabite there: in one of which battells about an hundred thousand fighting men were slaine in the field. *Agis* king of *Lacedaemonia*, beeing resolved to fight, his Counsellers told him, that there was no reason so to doe, because his enemies wereten against one. It must needs be (quoth this couragious Prince) that hee which will command many must fight also against many. Wee are ynough to put naughtie men to flight. The *Lacedaemonians* vse not to aske what number there is of the enemies, but onely where they are. The answer which *Dienecus* made to one that told the Councell of *Grecia*, that the multitude of the Barbarians was so great, that their arrowes couered the Sun, cometh neere to the couragious saying of king *Agis*. For concluding with their opinion who perswaded to fight, *Dienecus* made this answer: *Thou tellest vs very good newes*. For if the multitude of the *Medes* is such, that they are able to hide the Sunne, they will offer vs the meanes how to fight in

in the shadow, and not in the beate of the Sunne. We may not here passe over with silence the testimony of invincible *Fortitude*, which alwaies findeth meanes to effect her glorious purposes, giuen by *Themistocles*, when hee saw the sundrie opinions of the chieftaines of the Græcian armie vnder the leading of *Euribiades* the Lacedæmonian, touching the place where they should fight with *Xerxes* fleet: The greatest part determined to forsake Salamis, where they were at that time, and to retire to Peloponensius, fearing the great force of their enemies, who were about twelue hundred vessels, whereas they themselves had but three hundred. But *Themistocles* sent *Sicinnus* his childrens schoolemaster secretly in a Sciffe towards the Persians, aduertising them of the resolution which the Græcians had taken to flie, faining (as he made *Xerxes* beleue) that hee fauoured their side. Vpon this watch-word *Xerxes* sent part of his armie to the other side of Salamis. Whereupon the Græcians considering that they were enuironed, resolued and settled themselves as men constrained to fight; and indeed the victorie remained on their side, to the confusion and ouerthrow of their enemies, who departed out of Grecia: which otherwise would haue bene greatly shaken, had not *Themistocles* vsed this notable stratageme, thereby to stay the shamefull flight of his countremen. It was this vertue of *Fortitude*, which caused *Damindus* the Lacedæmonian to make this answer to one who told him, that the Lacedæmonians were in danger to suffer much mischief, if they agreed not with *Philip*, who was armed against the Græcians. O my friend (quoth he) that art halfe a woman, what euill can he cause vs to suffer, seeing wee make no account of death it selfe? *Dercyllides* being sent from Sparta towards king *Pyrhus*, to know wherefore he marched with his army vpon their borders, and vnderstanding of him, that he commanded them to receiue againe their king *Cleonimus*, whom they had banished, or hee would let them know, that they were not more valiant than others already subdued by him, made this answer: if thou art a God we feare thee not, because we haue not offended thee: but if thou art a man, thou art no better than we. The answer which certaine Polonian Embassadors made to *Alexander* the Great, who threatned their countrey, sheweth also the excellencie of their courage. We are afraid (quoth they to him) but of one onely thing, namely, least the skie should fall vpon vs. Thunder (as *Plato* saith) terrifieth children, and threatnings fooles. *Anaxarchus* being likewise threatned by the same Monarch that he should be hanged: Threatensthis (quoth he) to thy Courtiers, who feare death: for my part, I care not whether I rot in the ground, or aboue the ground. *Socrates* also answered thus to one that asked him, whether he were not ashamed to commit any thing that would procure his death: My friend, thou doest not well to thinke that a vertuous man ought to make any account either of danger, or of death, or to consider any other thing in all his actions, than this; whether they are iust or iniust, good or bad. If wee desire to see farther what effects *Fortitude* bringeth forth in the greatest and most sinister dangers, *Marcus Crassus* shall serue vs for sufficient prooffe. When he was threescore yeares of age, albeit he had receiued the foile in a battell against the Persians, wherein the greatest part of his armie was destroyed, and his sonne being Captaine of a thousand men, was slaine, whose death seemed more to astonish the rest of his men, than any other danger, yet hee shewed himselfe in this mishap more vertuous than ever before, and went through all his bands crying aloud in this manner: It is I alone my friends, whom the sorrow and griefe of this losse ought to touch. But the greatness of the fortune, and glory of Rome remaineth whole and invincible, as long as you stand on your feete. Notwithstanding, if ye haue any compassion of me, seeing me lose so valiant and vertuous a sonne, I pray you shew the same by changing it into wrath against your enemies, to take vengeance of their cruelty, and be not abashed for any mishap befallen vs: for great things are not gotten without losse. Patience in trauels, and constancy in aduersities haue brought the Romane Empire to that greatnesse of power wherein it is now placed. With such speeches he fought vnto the death. Will we haue other examples of wonderfull prowesse and courage? *Iudas Macchabeus*, after many victories obtained by him against the Lieutenants of *Antiochus*, and against those of *Demetrius*, was set vpon and assailed with two and twenty thousand men, (others say two and thirtie thousand hauing himselfe but eight hundred, or a thousand with him. And being counselled to retire into some place of safety, God forbid (quoth he) that the Sunne should see me turne my backe towards mine enemies. I had rather die, than staine the glory which I haue gotten by vertue, with an ignominious and shamefull flight. In this resolute perswasion hee greatly weakened his enemies, and yet died more through wearisomnesse, than of blowes or wounds which hee had receiued in fight. *Leonides* king of Sparta, hauing with him but three hundred naturall Lacedæmonians, fought and put to flight at the straight of Thermopylae three hundred thousand Persians: but he and all his

L. Dentatus.

Eumennus.

Aristomenes.

Lyfmachus.

died of the wounds which they received in that fight. *Lucius Dentatus* a Romane, was endued with such Fortitude and Generosity, that one writeth of him, that he was in sixe score battels and skirmishes, and eight times came away Conqueror from fighting hand to hand: that he had received of his captaines by way of reward, and in token of his valure, eightene launces, twenty bards of horses, foure score and three bracelets, and sixe and thirty crownes: and lastly, that by his meanes nine Emperours triumphed in Rome. *Eumennus* a Macedonian Captaine, hauing beene put to the woorst by *Antigonus*, retired into a strong hold, where being besieged, and brought to parly through necessitie of victuals and munition, it was signified vnto him from his enemye, that reason would hee should come and speake with him vnder his faith and promise without hostages, seeing he was both greater and stronger. But *Eumennus* made him this answer, *That hee would neuer thinke any man greater than himselfe, as long as hee had his sword in his owne power.* And therefore demanding of him no woorse conditions, than as one that thought himselfe to bee his equall, he salied forth vpon his enemies with such valure and courage, that hee saued himselfe out of their hands, and afterward greatly troubled *Antigonus*. *Aristomenes* the Messenian, being taken by the Lacedamonians, and deliuered fast bound to two souldiers to be kept, he drew neere to a fire, and burned a sunder his bands with a little of his flesh: afterward comming suddenly vpon his keepers, he slue them both, and saued himselfe. *Lyfmachus* being cast to a Lyon by *Alexander*, because he gaue to *Calisthenes* the prisoner that poyson wherewith hee killed himselfe, fought with him, and stretching forth his arme and hand all armed into his throate, he tooke hold of his tongue and strangled him. Whereupon the Monarch euer after greatly esteemed and honoured him. By this small number out of infinite examples, which I could here mention, we see the great and wonderfull effects of this vertue of *Fortitude*, which are no lesse in euery part thereof touched in our discourse, as hereafter I hope we shall declare at large. Wherefore we may well say, that this vertue is very necessary to liue well and happily, and to leade vs to the ende of our being, which is, to refer both our life and death to the onely exercise of dutie and honesty: that by it wee enioy the true rest of the soule, which is nothing else (as *Cicero* saith) than a peaceable, sweete, and acceptable constancie, which vndoubtedly alwaies followeth *Fortitude*, being crowned with these two inestimable rewards, the contempt of griefe, and of death, whereby we forsake that which is mortall, that we may imbrace heavenly things in the hope and certaine expectation of that happy immortalitie.

*Of Timorousnesse, Feare, and Cowardinesse, and
of Rashnesse. Chap 26.*

A CHI-TOB **V**VE may call to remembrance that saying of *Plato* before mentioned, that a temperate man, not endued with the vertue of *Fortitude*, falleth easily into cowardinesse and basenesse of minde, which is the defect of that vertue, which euen now we described: and likewise, that a strong and valiant man without the direction of *Prudence* and *Temperance*, is easily carried away with temerity and boldnesse, which is the excesse of the same vertue. Which two vices are so hurtfull in the soule, that he which is infected with them, holdeth much more of the nature of a beast, than of that essence wherein he was created. Let vs then consider what these imperfections are through the horror of that infamie which followeth them, we may bee more zealous to follow that which is decent and honest.

A SER. We must take good heed (saith *Cicero*) least through feare of perill, wee commit any thing that may iustly argue vs to bee timorous and fearefull. But withall we must beware that wee offer not our selues vnto dangers without cause, than which nothing is more foolish and blame worthy.

A M A N A. It is not seemely for a man (saith *Plato*) to commit any cowardly act to auoide perill. Temerity also setteth forth it selfe with courage, and contempt of dangers, but vnadvisedly and to no purpose. But let vs heare **A R A M**, who will handle this matter more at large.

A R A M. Albeit there is no greater disgrace than to bee iustly reproched with cowardly and faint heart, especially for youth to bee called effeminate, yet is that feare good, which turneth vs away from dishonest things, and maketh man staied and well aduised. This is the cause why the Ancients speaking of feare, made it twofold, the one good and necessarie,

Two kinds of
feare.

necessary, the other euill and hurtfull. The first, which they grounded vpon a good discourse of reason and iudgement, was so esteemed and honoured of them, that in the city of Sparta, which for armes and arts flourished most among the Græcians, there was a temple dedicated and consecrated to this feare: which, as they affirmed, better maintained and preferred the estate of Common-wealths, than any other thing whatsoeuer, because thereby man was led to stand more in awe of blame, reproch, and dishonour, than of death or griefe. Which thing maketh him both apter and readier to vndertake and to execute all vertuous and laudable matters, whensoever good and iust occasion shall bee offered; and also more staied against euery rash and vniust enterprize that might procure dammage to the common wealth. And this was the occasion of that Prouerbe, *Fear alwayes accompanieth shame*. Another reason alledged by these wise men, why they honored in such sort this fained goddesse, was, because to doubt and feare nothing was more hurtfull to common wealths, than their very neighbor enemies, the feare of whom was their fastie and assurance. The other naughty and pernicious feare standeth of two kindes. The first being destitute of all good reason and assured iudgement, is that which we call Cowardlines and Puslanimitie, alwaies followed of these two perturbations of the soule, *Fear* and *Sadnes*; and is the defect of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which we purpose chiefly to handle at this present. The Grecians called it by these two words *timor* and *shame*, the one signifying Trouble, the other a Band; as if they would haue said, that it held the soule bound, and wholly troubled. They affirmed also, that this feare was as it were a giddines and alienation of the minde from the right sence, making the soule idle and dead, voide of euery good exploit or effect whatsoeuer. The last kinde of feare is that which workerh in the wicked a feare of paine and punishment appointed for offences, whereby they are as it were with a bridle kept backe and restrained from presuming to commit their villanies and damnable purposes. Now as the first kinde of feare said to bee good and necessary, is a great token of a commendable and vertuous nature, as that which for good cause is grounded vpon the feare of reproach and infamy, and vpon a desire to effect whatsoeuer belongeth to duty: so the one of these two last kindes testifyeth a vile, contemptible, and abiect nature; and the other a wicked and corrupt disposition. *Plutarke* speaking of this good feare, calleth it one of the Elements and grounds of vertue, saying, that it is chiefly requisite & necessarie for those that haue authority ouer others, who ought to feare rather to practise euill, than to receiue punishment for the same, because the first is the cause of the latter, not onely to themselves, but to so many as wallow in wickednesse, which is neuer without recompence. Therefore a prudent and well aduised man ought to haue this feare alwaies before his eyes, I meane this childlike feare, which is vnseparably ioyned with the true loue we owe to our common Father, and is the beginning of all wisdom, whereby we are induced to honour him. And looke how much the more the ancient Pagans were kept in awe by this good feare, so much the more shall our condemnation be doubled, if we despise it. The duty also of this profitable feare is, to haue an eye vnto the good and safety of our country, and to cause vs faithfully to discharge euery charge committed vnto vs, to the end we incure not perpetuall shame and infamy among all good men. It causeth vs to feare onely the dishonor of an vnauided counsell or action, and to account it very seemely and honourable to be blamed and euill spoken of for well doing, which *Alexander* the Great said did well become a king. This good feare made *Phocion* who for his desert and valure was chosen Generall for the Athenians fye and forty times, to say, that he would neuer counsell, but hinder to the vttermost of his power that enterprize of warre, which they would haue concluded against *Alexander*. For (said he) although the Athenians would cast away themselves, I will not suffer them to do so, because I haue for that intent and purpose taken vpon me the charge of a Captaine. And when *Demosthenes*, who perswaded this war, said vnto him, The people will kill thee, if they enter into a fury. *Phocion* replied, Nay they will kil thee, if they be wel in their wits. *Antigonus* the second, king of Macedonia, declared what benefite cometh of this good feare necessary for the foresight of a wise and experienced captaine in war, when retiring once from before his enemies who came to assaile him, and being told by certaine that he fled, hee answered, It is cleane contrary. For I looke backe to that profit which is behind me. As touching the opinion of the Ancients already mentioned, that to stand in feare of nothing is more hurtfull to Common wealths than forraigne enemies: it is that which *Scipio Nasica* a Roman senator meant to signifie, when vpon the hearing of some, who saide that Rome was in safety, if Carthage were laide wast: he replied, that it was far otherwise. For (said he) we are in greater danger now than euer, because we stand no more in awe of any whereb he wisely inferred,

A temple dedicated to feare.

The feare of neighbour enemies is the safety of a Common-wealth. Two sorts of pernicious feare.

Of the good feare.

It is ioyned with the true loue of God.

It causeth vs to respect the good of our country.

Antigonus.

Scipio Nasica.

that too great and vnlooked for prosperity of cities is commonly the cause of raising ciuill wars in them and secret diuisions, or else of bringing into them so great idlenes, that by it a gate is opened to all vices, as in truth it fell out with the Romanes. For they being in the top of their felicity and greatnes, by reason of the destruction as well of the Carthaginians by *Scipio* the yonger, as of the Macedonians vnder *Perseus* and *Antiochus*, the people began to abuse their authority, preferring vnto estates and places of honor, not the best and iustest citizens, but such as flattered them most in their vices and dissolutenesse, and wane their hearts with prodigall and superfluous feasts and distributions, to whom they sold their publike voices. Whereupon in the end, those ciuill warres arose, which was the cause of their final overthrow, and of the alteration of their popular estate into a tyranny, afterwards called a Monarchie. But this discourse being the matter of another subiect, let vs come to the defect of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which is a feare voide of reason and assurance, and argueth a faint and cowardly heart, causing a man through want of sense and vnderstanding to account this the surest way, to doubt all things, and to distrust every one. Of this feare one of the ancient said, *Feare taketh away memory and all good effect from euery art, and industry*. Yea sometimes some have bene found so faint hearted, that as soone as this feare seized vpon them, they gaue vp the ghost; not being oppressed with any other euil or violence. It is in this passion that *Feare* and *Griefe* fully practise their power, being grounded vpon a false opinion of euill, & sworne enemies to all rest and tranquillity, gnawing and consuming life as iust doth Steele or yron. Neither is this feare without an vntruly desire and immoderate ioy in things that are worldly, base, and contemptible; whereupon the soule is continually carried hither and thither, with pernicious and immoderate passions, which deprive her of the excellency of her immortallitie, to attend to the mortall & corruptible affections of the flesh. *Alexander* spake of such as are possessed with this feare, when he said, that no place is so strong by nature & situation, which feareful men iudge safe ynough. Therefore the Satyricall Poet said very wel, *That Fortitude alwaies maketh timorous men little*. For although they be born big of stature, yet the small courage of their hearts makes them so much the more contemptible, bringing forth worse & more dangerous effects, & making them vnworthy of al intermedling with matters of estate, or policie, or of warre. In this number, among many whom histories mention, we may here reckon *Claudius* the first of *Cesars*, who was so faint hearted, base minded, and blockish, that his mother said often of him, that *Nature had begun, but not finished him*. And truly a heartlesse fellow, or one of little heart, is nothing else but a body without a soule. The memory of such men (of whom we see but too many examples among vs) ought to be buried in obliuion, and during their life time they should remaine vnknowne as well for their owne honor, as for the good of the common societie of men, to which they could not but be offensive and hurtfull. For the most part they are not onely afraid of men, of the hazards of wars, of troubles and seditions, of the dangers of long voyages, of the losse of their goods, of diseases, of dolors, yea, of the least discommodities and aduerlities that can befall men: the euent of all which, causeth them vsually to forget all reason and duty, but they are also frighted with dreames, they tremble at sights and visions, they credite false abusing spirits, and with a forlorne feare they stand in awe of the celestiall signes. Briefly vpon the least occasions that may be, and such as are vnwoorthy the care of a prudent and valiant minde, they fall oftentimes into such vexation of spirit, that they lose it altogether, and become mad and enraged: insomuch, that many haue hastened forward with their owne hands, the end of their so miserable daies. As we reade of *Mydas* king of Phrygia, who being troubled and vexed with certaine dreames, grew to be desperate, and died voluntarily by drinking the blood of a bull. *Aristodimus* also, king of the Messenians, being in warre against his subiects, it happened that the dogs howled like woolues, which came to passe by reason of a certaine herbe called Dogs teeth, growing about his altar at home. Whereupon vnderstanding by the Soothsayers that it was an euill signe, he was strooken with such a feare and conceite thereof, that he slue himselfe, *Cassius* the captaine had a better heart when he answered a Chaldean Astrologian, who counselled him not to fight with the Partians vntill the Moone had passed Scorpio; *I feare not* (quoth he) *Scorpions, but Archers*. This he spake because the Romane army had bin put to the worlde before in the plaine of Chaldea by the Parthian archers. Neuertheles that which we spake of *Mydas* and *Aristodimus* is seldome followed, yea is rarely found among cowardes, and base minded fellowes, who commonly flie from temporall death as much as may be, as also from griefe, which they feare in such sort, that contemning all vertue and iustice, they labour for nothing more, than to preserue their liues together with their carnall commodities, for the obtaining

The effects of
too great pro-
speritie in co-
mon wealths.

Of that feare
which is the
defect of
Fortitude.

Timorous
men are al-
waies little.

Claudius.
Cesar.

The feare of
faint-hearts.

Mydas.

Cassius.

Base minds
stand in great
feare of death
and griefe.

obtaining of which they seeme to liue cleane without all care of their soule, as if her portion were in this world, & should end together with the bodie. The effects of this feare of death are sufficiently felt of euery one in particular, the number of the being very smal, who would not willingly make (as we say) a sluce to their consciences, that they might be deliuered thereof. Let vs then confesse our selues to be feareful and faint hearted, and not boast of Fortitude and generositie of heart, which will not suffer vs to stand in feare, no not of certaine death in an holy and honest cause: so farre is it from fearing and forsaking duty through doubt of an vncertaine death. That which *Speron* rehearseth in his dialogues of a gentleman of Padua, sufficiently sheweth what maruellous force is in the apprehension and conceite of death, which extendeth it selfe not onely vpon the spirits of men, but also changeth the nature of their bodies, who want constancie to beare and sustaine a small and light grieue for the enioying of eternall goods. T his yong gentleman being put in prison vpon some accusation, it was told him, that of a certaintie his head should be cut off the day following. Which newes altered him in such sort, that in one onely night he was all white and graie-headed, whereof before there was no shew or appearance, and so he liued long time after. Besides, experience daily ministreth vnto vs sufficient prooffe of the mischieues which proceede of want of courage and faint-heartednesse, especially in matters of estate, gouernment, and publike offices, wherein a fearefull and soft man, for euery reproch, dislike, or euill opinion of the world, yea of such as are most ignorant, and much more for the least dangers of his person, and for feare and threatnings of the greater sort, yeeldeth easily against all dutie, and suffereth himselfe to be drawne to the error of the wicked and common sort. As for the middle and lesser sort, wherefore seruethey being voide of reason and assurance? *Homer* saith, *That king Agamemnon dispensed with a rich coward for going to warre personally, for a Mare which he gaue him.* Wherein truly he had great reason, because a fearefull man hurteth much and profiteth little, not onely in warre, but euery good and vertuous action. T his caused that great capitaine *Paulus Emilius* to say, that magnanimity and courage were for the most part reuerenced in euery enemye of theirs, but that cowardlinesse, although it had good successe, yet was it alwaies and of all men despised. I might here mention sundrie vices, which ordinarily grow and are nourished of cowardlinesse and pusillanimitie, as namely, cruelty, treason, breach of promise, impatience, idlenesse, sloath, couetousnesse, enuie, backbiting, and all iniustice; were it not that I hope the sequelle of our discourses will offer vs matter and occasion to handle these vices particularly, our houre not affording vs time and leasure to enter vpon so many things together. There remaineth yet a word to bee spoken of that feare which I said did accompany the froward and wicked many times, being called by the Poet a seruile feare, which thorough the onely horror of punishment holdeth them backe from practising their wicked purposes. Of them spake *Pythagoras* when hee said, that hee which careth not for doing of euill in any other respect, but onely because he would not be punished, is very wicked. Now although such feare is accursed, and to be condemned in all, yet is it necessary for the preservation of humane society. For otherwise, all things would runne to confusion through the shamelesse malice of the wicked, of whom the earth is full. And it is a great deale better, that through such feare they should be restrained from their wicked desires and wils, than that they should without all feare abandon themselves to put them in execution: albeit they are no way excusable before God, who requireth to be serued with heart and spirit. Neuertheles, such feare doth not alwaies stay them from putting their malice in effect, but the more they are restrained, so much the more are they inflamed and kindled with a desire to satisfie their corrupt will, which in the end is constrained to burst forth, and evidently to shew that mischiefe which they kept secret a long time. But if the common sort (saith *Seneca*) be staied by lawes from committing euill, the Philosopher contrariwise hath reason for all lawes, doing good not because the law commandeth it, and abstaining from euill not because it forbideth it, but because he knoweth the one to be honest, and the other vile and wicked. Having now seene that vice which is cleane contrary to *Fortitude*, and knowing that euery vertue hath a counterfeir follower thereof, no doubt but Rashnesse is that vice which falsly shrowdeth it selfe vnder the title of *Fortitude* and valure. For this vertue easily ouerthroweth it selfe if it be not vnderpropped with good counsell, and the greater abilitie it supposeth to haue in it selfe, the sooner it turneth aside to wickednesse, if prudence gouerne it not. This is that which *Isoocrates* saith, that *Fortitude* ioyned with Prudence is auailable, but otherwise it procureth more euill than good to the possessors thereof. If *Fortitude* (saith *Lactantius*) without necessarie constraint, or for a dishonest matter hazardeth her selfe into dangers, shee changeth

A strange alteration of a Gentleman's haire in one night.

Agamemnon dispensed with a rich coward.

What vices proceed of cowardlines.

Of seruile feare.

Of Rashnesse and of the effects thereof.

Who is a ver-
tuous man.

Cato.

Iphicrates
comparison
of an army to
mans body.

The rashnes
of Ifadas.

How a man
may be vali-
ant.

changeth into rashnes. He that doth any thing at al adventures (saith *Aristotle*) not cōsidreing how well he doth it, ought to be called vertuous: but only if he put it in executiō, after know- ledge, consultation & election. Therefore as it is a noble act to make such account of vertue, as for the love thereof, not to feare the losse of life. otherwise very deere: so is it a point of rash- nes and folly to contemne life vpon a small & light occasion. Rashnes then is that which cau- feth a man with ioy of heart, and for a vaine and friuolous matter, to cast himselfe into certain and vndoubted dangers, & to desire earnestly to fall into them, to vndertake all things vnad- uisedly, and vnconstrained to expect those perils which he knoweth will fall vpon him. The elder *Cato* hearing certaine men, to commend one openly who desperately hazarded him- selfe, & was bold without discretiō in perils of war, said vnto them. *That there was great differēce between much esteeming of vertue, & little weighing of life,* as if he would haue said, That it is a cō- mendable thing to desire life to be vertuous. And truly to liue and die are not of themselves good, but to do both of them rightly and in a good matter. So that to shun death, if it pro- ceede not from a faint heart, is not to be reprehended. But Rashnes is especially to be con- demned in Captaines and Heads of Armies, as that which procureth great damage to kingdomes and Monarchies, and to so many as march vnder their conduct. This is that which *Iphicrates* an Athenian Captaine would haue vs learne, who compared in an army the Scouts lightly armed to the hands: the Horsemen to the feete: the battle of foote men to the stomacke and breast: and the Captaine to the head of a mans body. For (said he) the Cap- taine that hazardeth himselfe too much, and throweth himselfe into danger without cause, is not retchlesse of his owne life only, but also of all those whose safety dependeth vpon him: and contrariwise, in taking care for the safegard of his owne person, he careth therewithall for all those that are vnder him. *Ifadas* the Lacedemonian seeing *Epaminondas* with the The- ban army at hand against the Spartans, ready to force and take their Citie, vnclothed himselfe starke naked, putting off his shirt and all, and taking a Partisane in one hand, and a sword in the other, he went with might & maine against his enemies, where he shewed great prowesse and valure. For which behauiour although he had a Crowne giuen him by the Seignorie ac- cording to the custome that was among them, yet he was fined, because he hazarded his life so rashly. Wee see daily among vs but too many examples of great mischiefes which befall men through their rashnes, led with ambition and desire of vaine glory. Therefore to conlude, and to draw some profite out of our present discourse, wee say, that we ought to feare the in- curring of blame and dishonor for filthy and vnhonest matters, and for euill deeds, and are to shun all feare proceeding of want of courage, of pusillanimitie, and of a depraued and corrupt nature: This last, as proper and peculiar to the wicked, and the other, as that which maketh a man vnapt to all good and commendable things. And as it is an act of Prudence and Forti- tude to provide for a tempest and for stormes to come, (when the ship is still in the Hauen) and yet not to bee afraid in the midst of stormes: so is it a point of rashnesse for a man to throw himselfe wittingly into an euident danger, which might be auoided without any breach of vertue and iustice. Therefore *Plato* saith, that timorous and rash men feare and enterprise vnadvisedly, whatsoeuer they take in hand, but that noble minds do all things with prudēce. This also is that which *Seneca* saith: *Thou mayest be valiant if thou cast not thy selfe into perils, nor desirest to fall into them as timorous men doe: neither abhorrest or standest in feare of them, as beeing ti- morous.* But following the sage aduice of *Cicero*, before we enterprise any thing, we must not onely consider whether it be honest and commendable, but also whether there bee any like meanesto execute it, that neither through cowardlines we giue it ouer, nor through greedy desire and presumption, wee purchase to our selues the reputation of rash men: obseruing moreouer in every matter of importance this Maxime of estate, that before wee beginne any thing wee must diligently prepare and fore see whatsoeuer is necessary thereunto.

Of Magnanimitie and Generositie. Chap. 27.

A R A M. **V**Hen that saying of *Aristotle* cometh to my remembrance, that *Fortitude* is a mediocrity in fearing and enterprising, but that *Magnanimitie* consisteth in great things, I am somewhat troubled in the vnderstanding of this sen- tence: because it seemeth he would put a difference betweene *Fortitude* and *Magnanimity*, as if this latter had more excellency and perfection in it than the other. For this cause my com- panions hauing intreated this morning of the vertue of *Fortitude*, I propound now vnto you to discourse vnto vs what *Magnanimity* is.

ACHITO B.

ACHITON. Among mortall and perishing things, there is nothing (as the Philosophers say) that ought to trouble the Magnanimity of a noble hart. But I find that they propound vnto vs in this word such a wisdom, as cannot be in him that remaineth all his life time subiect to affections and perturbations. For this they would not haue in true Magnanimity, which notwithstanding is well able to bring forth infinite woonderfull effects out of a noble minde, causing it to be neuer vnprovided of a good resolution to be put in execution according to the ouerthwarts that happen vnto him.

ASER. The property of a noble spirit (saith *Cicero*) is not to bee turned aside through ingratitude from the desire of dooing good to all men, even to his enemies, as also to leaue carking for that which is mortall, that hee may embrace celestiall things. But wee shall vnderstand more at large of thee **AMANA**, how these maruellous effects are workes of true Magnanimity.

AMANA. Although the vertue of *Fortitude* be neuer perfected without Magnanimity (which is as much to say, as Generositie or noblenesse of heart) as that which vndoubtedly is comprehended vnder the first part of *Fortitude*, which *Cicero* calleth Magnificence, or a dooing of great and excellent things, yet notwithstanding it seemeth that this word *Magnanimity* carrieth with it some greater & more particular Emphasis, and that a man may say, that the woonderfull effects thereof appeare principally in three points, whereof I purpose here to

discourse. The first concerning extreame and desperate matters, as when a man is past all hope of sauing his life, wherein perfect Magnanimity alwaies knoweth how to finde out a conuenient remedie and wise consolation, not suffering himselfe to bee vexed therewith.

The second respecteth duty towards enemies, against whom generositie will in no wise suffer a man to practise or consent to any wickednes, vnder what pretence soeuer it be, not for any aduantage which may be reaped thereby. The third causeth a noble minded man to contemne and to account that thing vnworthy the care of his soule which others woonder at, and labour by all meanes to attaine, namely, strength, health, beauty, which the Philosophers call the goods of the body: and riches, honour and glory, which, they say, are the goods of Fortune:

and likewise not to stand in feare of their contraries. Amongst the woorthy and famous men of olde time, whose names and glorious facts crowned with an immortall Lawrell, are ingraued in the temple of Memory, we finde no praise woorthy of greater admiration, or that ought to awaken and stirre vs vp better in Christian duty, than the effects of this vertue of Magnanimity, vpon these three occasions presently touched. Whereof one effect is, that wee

yeeld not against reason, nor passe the limits of duty by fainting vnder that heauy burden of extreame distresses, which the horror of death bringeth with it: but that even in the midst of greatest agony which seemeth intollerable in mans iudgement, wee shew such grauity and woorthines, that wee depart not in any sort from the peace and quietnes of our soules, but with constancy and cheerefulnes of spirit, meditate vpon the ioy of that haue of saluation, which we behold with the eies of our soule, wherein through a happy death at hand, wee shall shortly be receiued. Another effect is, that wee accomplish (so farre as our frailty can approach to perfection) the commandement of the diuine will, by louing our neighbours as our selves, and by abstaining, even in regard of our greatest enemies, from dooing, procuring or consenting, yea by hindering that no treachery or treason should bee wrought them, nor any other thing vnbecoming that naturall loue, which ought to be in euery one towards his like, and further, by procuring them all the good and profit that may bee. The third effect of this great vertue, no lesse woonderfull than the rest, is in that a noble minded man so long as he liueth, wholly withdraweth his affection from worldly and corruptible things through a steadfast and constant reason, and lifteth it vp to the meditation and holy desire of heauenly and eternall things. The remedie which these great personages destitute of the right knowledge of the truth, most commonly vsed when their affaires were past all hope of mans helpe, was death, which they chose rather to bring vpon themselves by their own hands, than to fall into the mercy of their enemies, whereby they supposed that they committed a noble act, woorthy the greatnes of their innincible courage. And if peradventure they were surprisid, and forced in such sort by their enemies, that they were compelled to become their prisoners, they never desired them to saue their liues, saying, that it becomed not a noble heart; and that in so doing they should submit both heart and body to him, who before had but the body in his power, *Cato* the yonger being brought to such extremity in the town of *Vtica*, that by the aduice of all those that were with him, he was to send Embassadors to *Cesar* the Conqueror, to practise an agreement after submission to his mercy, yeelding thereunto in the behalfe of

others

What Magnanimity is.

Magnanimity consisteth in three things.

The goods of the body and of Fortune.

The first effect of magnanimity.

The second effect.

The third effect.

The common remedy of the Ancients in desperate cases.

Cato of Vtica

The opinion
of the Stoicks

Brutus.

A notable his-
torie of the
Numantines.

No man
ought to ha-
sten forward
the end of
his daies.

Alcibiades
constancie
and courage
in death.

others, but forbad that any mention should be made of himselfe. *It belongeth* (quoth he) *to those that are overcome, to make request, and to such as haue done amisse, to crave pardon.* As for mee I will account my selfe invincible so long as in right and iustice I shall be mightier then Caesar. He it is that is now taken and overcome, because that which hitherto he denied to take in hand against the Common-wealth, is at this present sufficiently testified against him, and discovered. Neither will he be holding or bound to a tyrant for an unjust matter. For it is a point of iniustice in him to usurpe the power of saving their lives (like a Lord) over whom hee hath no right to command. After many other speeches of Philosophy vsed by him, and standing much vpon that Stoicall opinion, *That onely a wise and good man is free, and that all wicked men are bond men and slaues*, he went alone into his chamber, and slue himselfe with his sword. Sylla the Dictator hauing condemned to death all the inhabitants of Perouza, and pardoning none but his Host, hee also would needes die, saying that he would not hold his life of the murtherer of his countrey, Brutus, after the battell lost against Augustus Caesar, was counselled by certaine of his friends to flie: *I must flie indeed* (said he) *but with hands, not with feete.* And taking them all by the hand, he vttered these words with a very good and cheerefull countenance: *I feele my heart greatly contented, because none of my friends haue forsaken me in this businesse: neither complaine I of fortune at all, but onely so farre forth as toucheth my countrey.* For I esteeme my selfe happier than they that haue vanquished, as long as I leaue behinde me a glorie of vertue for bazarading all liberally, to free from bondage my brethren and countrymen. Which praise our conquering enemies neither by might nor money can obtaine, and leaue to posteritie: but men will alwaies say of them, that being unjust and wicked, they haue ouerthrowne good men to vsurpe a tyrannous rule and dominion, that belongeth not vnto them. After he had thus spoken, hee tooke his sword, and falling vpon the point thereof, gaue vp the Ghost. Cassius also his companion, caused his owne head to be cut off by one of his slaues, whom hee had made free, and kept with him long time before for such a necessity. The historie which we reade of the Numantines, commeth in fitly for this matter which we handle here. For after they had sustained the siege of the Romanes fourteene yeares together, and were in the end inclosed by Scipio with a great ditch of two and fortie foote in depth, and thirtie in bredth, which compassed the citie round about, the Consul summoned them to commit themselves to the clemencie of the Romans, and to trust to their promise, seeing all meanes of fallying foorth to fight, and of recovering any victuals were taken from them. To whom they made this onely answer, that forasmuch as they had liued for the space of 338. yeares in freedome, they would not die slaues in any sort. Whereupon, such as were most valiant, assembled together and slue those that were most growne in yeares, with women and children. Then they tooke all the riches of the citie, and of the temples, and brought it into the midst of a great hall, and setting fire to all quarters of the citie, each of them tooke the speediest poyson they could finde: so that the temples, houses, and riches, and people of Numantia ended all in one day, leauing to Scipio, neither riches to spoyle, neither man or woman to triumph withall. For during the whole time wherein their citie was besieged, not one Numantine yeelded himselfe prisoner to any Romane, but slue himselfe rather than hee would yeeld. Which Magnanimitie caused Scipio to bewaile the desolation of such a people, in these wordes: *O happie Numantia, which the gods had decreed should once end, but neuer bee vanquished.* Now albeit these examples and infinite other like to these, are set foorth vnto vs by Historiographers, as testimonies of an excellent Magnanimitie, whereby they would teach vs both to bee neuer discouraged for the most tedious trauels and irkesome miseries of mans life, and also to stand so little in awe of death, that for feare thereof, much lesse for any other torment or griefe, wee neuer commit any thing vnseeming a noble heart: yet notwithstanding, no man that feareth God, and is willing to obey him, ought to forget himselfe so much, as to hasten forward the end of his daies for any occasion whatsoever. This did Socrates know very well when he said, that wee must not suffer our soule to depart from the Centinell wherein shee is placed in this body, without the leave of her Captaine: and that so weightie a matter as death, ought not (as Plato saith) to bee in mans power. But if it bee offered vnto vs by the will of God, then with a Magnanimous heart voide of all starting aside in any thing against dutie, wee must set free this passage, beeing slaid and assuredly grounded vpon that consolation, which neuer forsaketh a good conscience, not onely through the expectation of a naked and simple humane glory, which most of the Heathen propounded to themselves, but of that life which abideth for euer: following therein the constancy of Alcibiades, a great Captaine of Grecia, who hearing the sentence of his condemnation to death pronounced, said: *It is I that leaue the Athenians,* condemned

condemned to die, and not they mee. For I goe to seeke the gods where I shall bee immortall, but they shall remaine still amongst men, who are all subiect to death. Socrates also hauing a capitall accusation laide against him wrongfully, directeth his speech to the Iudges, and saide vnto them, that his accusers by their false depositions might well cause him to die, but hurt him they could not: adding further, that he would neuer leaue his profession of Philosophie for feare of death. I am perswaded (quoth he in Plato) that this my opinion is very good, namely, that every one ought to abide constantly in that place and trade of life, which either he hath chosen himselfe, or is appointed him by his superior: that hee must account that for the best, and hazard himselfe therein to all dangers, without feare either of death or of any other thing whatsoeuer. And therefore I should erre greatly, if I should now for feare of death forsake that rancke wherein God hath placed mee, and would haue me remaine in, as I alwaies beleened and thought: namely, that I should liue a student in Philosophie, correcting mine owne and other mens vices. Now, if I should doe otherwise, I might iustly bee accused for calling my selfe a wise man, not being so in deede: seeing to feare death, is to thinke that to bee, which is not. But neither I, nor any other man, ought to doe all that wee may in iudgement or in war, to the end to auoide death. For it is very certaine, that he who would in time of battell cast downe his armour and flie away, might by that meane auoide death, (and the like is to be vnderstood in all dangers and perils) if hee were not afraid of infamie. But consider (O countrey men) that it is no very hard matter to auoide death, but farre more difficult to eschue wickednesse and the shame thereof, which are a great deale swifter of foote than that is. O speech worthy of eternall praise, and such a one as instructeth a Christian notably in a great and noble resolution: namely to runne the race of his short dayes in that vocation, whereunto God hath called him, and that in the middest of tortures, torments, and all agonies of death. From which, whilest wee expect a happie passage, wee ought to be no more destitute of an apt remedie in all those things, which according to the world are most irksome and desperate, but sustaine them with like constancy and woorthinesse, not departing from the tranquillitie and rest of our soules, which is a more noble act, than to hasten forward the end of our daies, that wee may be deliuered of them. But howsoeuer it bee, let vs alwaies preferre a vertuous and honest death, before any kinde of life, be it neuer so pleasant. And seeing that one and the same passage is prepared as well for the coward as the couragious, (it being decreed, that all men must once die) the lovers of vertue shall doe well to reape to themselves some honor of common necessity, and to depart out of this life with such a comfort. Now to come to the second commendable effect of this vertue of Magnanimity, whereof Heroicall men were so prodigall heretofore for the benefite and safety of their enemies, wee can bring no better testimony than the courteous fact of *Fabritius* the Romane Consul towards *Pyrrhus*, who made warre against him, and whose Philition wrot vnto him, that he offered himselfe to murder his maister by poyson, and so to end their strife without danger. But *Fabritius* sent the letter vnto him, and signified withall, that hee had made a bad choise of friends, as well as of enemies, because he made warre with vpright and good men, and trusted such as were disloyall and wicked: whereof hee thought good to let him vnderstand, not so much to gratifie him, as least the accident of his death should procure blame to the Romanes, as if they had sought or consented to ende the warre by meanes of treason, not being able to obtaine their purpose by their vertue. *Camillus* a Romane Dictator, is no lesse to be commended for that which he did during the siege of the Citie of the Fallerians. For hee that was schoole master of the chiefest mens children among them, being gone out of the Citie, vnder colour to haue his youth to walke, and to exercise themselves along the walles, deliuered them into the hands of the Romane Captaine, saying vnto him, that he might bee well assured the Citizens would yeeld themselves to his deuotion, for the safety and liberty of that which was deereft vnto them. But *Camillus* knowing this to bee too vile and wicked a practise, saide to those that were with him, That although men vsed great outrage and violence in war, yet among good men certaine lawes and points of equity were to be obserued. For victory was not so much to bee desired, as that it should be gotten and kept by such cursed and damnable meanes, but a Generall ought to warre, trusting to his owne vertue, and not to the wickednesse of others. Then stripping the saide schoole master, and binding his hands behinde him, hee deliuered him naked into the hands of his schollers, and gaue to each of them a bundle of rodde, that so they might carry him backe againe into the citie. For which noble act the citizens yeelded themselves to the Romanes, saying: that in preferring iustice before victorie, they had taught them to choose rather to submitte themselves vnto them, than to retaine still their libertie: confessing withall, that they were overcome more by their vertue, than vanquished by their force and power.

Socrates
speech at his
arraignment.

What it is to
feare death.

Examples of
the second
effect of mag-
nanimity.
Fabritius.

Camillus.

A good les-
son for a
Generall to
learne.

Treason and
crueltie neuer
finde place in
a noble heart.

Of the third
effect of Mag-
nanimitie.

Aristides.

Magnanimitie
is invincible.

So great power hath Magnanimitie, that it doth not onely aduance Princes to the highest degree of honor, but also abateth the heart of the puissant and warlikeemie, and oftentimes procureth victorie without battell. Truly we may draw an excellent doctrine out of these examples, which make all those without excuse, that spare nothing to attaine to the end of their intents and devices, making no difficulty, at the destruction of innocents, but exercising all kinde of crueltie, so they may overthrow their enemies by what meanes soeuer: vsing commonly that saying of *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedæmonians, *That if the Lions skinne will not suffice, the Foxe his skinne also is to bee sewed on.* But let vs resolutely hold this, that treason neuer findeth place in a noble heart, no more than the bodie of a Foxe is found in a Lions bodie. Further, it is notoriously knowne, that the Ancients strined to procure all good and profite to their enemies, vsing clemencie and humanity towards them, when they had greater occasion and meanes to bee reuenged of them. Hereof wee may alleadge good examples, when wee discourse hereafter particularly of those vertues that are proper to a noble minded man, who ought to hate crueltie no lesse than treason. Wee are therefore to looke vnto the last effect, and sound proofe of Magnanimity and Generositie here propounded by vs, which wee said, consisted in the contempt of earthly and humane goods. Wherein truly relecth the very perfection of a Christian, who listeth vp his desires to his last and soueraigne Good in heaven. Now, because there are but few that loue not themselves too much in those things that concerne the commodities of this life, and fewer that seeke not after glorie and honour, as a recompence of their excellent deeds, and that desire not riches earnestly to satisfie their pleasure; in these three points also a noble minded man causeth his vertue to appeare more wonderful, because hee doth not iudge them to be a worthy reward for the same, but rather altogether vnworthie the care of his soule, for which principally hee desireth to liue. This is that which *Cicero* saith that it is not seemely that hee should yeeld to couetousnesse and concupiscence, who could not bee subdued by feare, or that hee should bee overcome by pleasure, who hath resisted griefe: but rather that these things ought to bee shunned by all possible meanes, together with the desire of money, seeing there is nothing more vile and abiect than to loue riches nor more noble than to despise them. This also is that which *Plato* saith, that it belongeth to the dutie of a noble heart not onely to surmount feare, but also to moderate his desires and concupiscences, especially when he hath libertie to vse them, whether it bee in the pleasure of the bodie, or in the ambitious desire of vaine-glorie, honour and power. In this sort then, hee that hath a right noble and woorthy minde, will no more weigh greatnesse among men and estimation of the common sort, than hee doth griefe and pouertie, but depending wholly vpon the will of God, and contenting himselfe with his workes wrought in him, hee will not that any good thing vpon earth can bee taken from him. And because he aspieth to those things that are best, highest, and most difficult, hee abideth free from all earthly care and griefe, as beeing long before prepared for all dolours, through the contempt of death, which bringeth an end to the greatest and most excessiue pangs, serueth him for an entrance into eternall rest. Wee haue already alledged many examples of ancient men, fit for this matter which now we speake of, and the sequelle of our treatises will furnish vs with mo when we shall come to intreate of riches and worldly wealth, whereof we are to speake more at large. But here we will propound *Aristides* onely to be imitated, who was a worthy man among the Athenians, whose opinion was, that a good citizen ought to be alwaies prepared alike to offer his bodie and minde vnto the seruice of the commonwealth, without hope or expectation of any hire & mercenary reward either of money, honour, or glory. And so with an vspeakable grauity and constancie, hee kept himselfe alwaies vpriight in the seruice of his countrey, in such sort that no honour done vnto him could cause him either to bee puffed vp in heart, or to bee more earnest in imploying himselfe: (as it is the manner of some to doe seruice according as they are recompenced) neither could any repulse or deniall which hee suffered, abate his courage or trouble him, or yet diminish and lessen his affection and desire to profit his common-wealth. Whereas now adayes wee see that the most part of men with vs vpon a small discontentment, labour to make publike profite to serue their desires and passions, in stead of giuing themselves to the good and benefit of their country. Now concluding our present discourse, we learne that true and perfect Magnanimity and Generosity is in invincible and inexpugnable, because vpon this consideration, that death is the common end of mans life, & that happy passage to life eueralting, she despiseth it altogether, & makes lesse account thereof than of bondage & vice: sustaining

sustaining also with a great and vnappalled heart, most cruell torments, not being moued thereby to doe any thing that may seeme to proceede of the common weakenesse, and frailtie of mans nature. Further we learne that this vertue maketh him that possesseth her, good, gentle, and curteous, even towards his greatest enemies, against whom it suffereth him not to vse any couin or malice, but keepeth him alwaies within the limits of equitie and iustice: causing him further to make choice of and to finish all honest matters of his owne will, and for their loue, not caring at all for mortall and corruptible things, that he may wholly apprehend and take hold of those things that are diuine and eternall

Of Hope. Chap. 28.

A M A N A. Considering that the perfection of a wise mans life consisteth in the practise of great and excellent things, hee that is borne to vertue feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke with desire to bring them to passe. But the instabilitie and small assurance which hee knoweth to be in that which dependeth vpon the doubtfull euent of every high enterprise, oftentimes cooleth his vertuous intents, if a certaine confidence and good hope did not make easie vnto him the meanes of attaining thereunto. Likewise, when hee feeleth the sharpe pricking that proceedeth from the ouerthwarts and miseries of man, which sequester themselues very little from his life, hee is soone daunted with sorrow and care, if hee haue not this hope that comforteth him with expectation of speedie redresse. Of you therefore (my companions) wee shall vnderstand the excellency of this *Good* that belongeth to the soule and is so necessarie for a happy life, I meane *Hope*, which dependeth of the vertue of fortitude, whereof wee haue discoursed all this day.

A R A M. Learned men (saith *Bias*) differ from the ignorant sort in the goodnesse of hope, which truly is very profitable, sweete and acceptable to a prudent man. But euill hope leadeth carnall men, as a nauty guide, vnto sinne.

A C H I T O B. As good hope serueth to increase strength in a man, so rash hope oftentimes beguideth men. But it belongeth to thee *A S E R* to handle this matter.

A S E R. *Alexander* the Great beeing by the States of all *Græcia* chosen generall Capitaine to passe into *Asia*, and to make warre with the *Persians*, before hee tooke shippe hee inquired after the estate of all his friends to know what meanesthey had to follow him. Then hee distributed and gaue to one lands, to another a village, to this man the custome of some haven, to another the profite of some borough towne, bestowing in this manner the most part of his demeanes and reuenues. And when *Perdicus* one of his Lieutenants demanded of him what hee reserued for himselfe: hee answered *Hope*. So great confidence had this noble Monarch, not in the strength of his weapons, or multitude of good warriors desirous of glorie and honour, but in his owne vertue, beeing content and satisfied with a little, in his incontinencie, beneficence, contempt of death, magnanimitie, curtesie, gracious entertainment, beeing easie to bee spoken with, having a free disposition by nature, without dissimulation, constant in his counsels, readie and quicke in his executions, willing to bee the first in glorie, and alwaies resolute to doe that which dutie commaunded. From this *Hope* thus surely grounded, hee neuer shrubke, vntill the last gaspe of his life: which caused him to make this answere to *Parmenio*, who counselled him to accept of the offers which *Darius* made vnto him for peace: namely, sixe thousand talents, beeing in value sixe Millions of golde, and the halfe of his kingdome, with a daughter of his in marriage; *If I were Parmenio, I would accept of his proffers*. Besides, hee sent word to *Darius*, that the earth could not beare two Sunnies, nor *Asia* two kings. Neither was hee deceiued of his good hope, which led him to such a perfection of worldly glory and felicitie, that he was the first and last that euer approached neere vnto it. This *Hope* was that foundation whereupon so many great and excellent Heathen men and Pagans built their high and noble interprises. For prooffe hereof may bee alleadged that definition which *Cicero* giueth of *Confidence*, being the second part of *Hope*, affirming it to be that vertue, whereby the spirit of man putteth great trust in weightie and honest matters, having a certaine and sure hope of himselfe. And elswhere he saith that he shall neither reioyce, nor be troubled out of measure, that trusteth in himselfe. But we know that this *Hope*

Wherein the perfection of a wise mans life consisteth

Alexander reserued hope onely for himselfe.

Properties requisite in a Generall.

The definition of confidence.

Our hope
must bee
grounded vpon
the grace
of God.
Of vaine
hope.

Who are soonest
throwne
downe with
aduersitie.
Wencelaws.

The diuision
of hope.

Of the true
and infallible
hope.

Of earthly
hope.

Speeches vn-
becoming a
wise man.
The fruite of
hope.

is weake and vncertaine, if it bee not settled and grounded vpon a sure expectation of the helpe and grace of God, without which wee can neuer prosper. Now this is out of doubt, that wee cannot hope and waite for that grace, vnlesse our counsels and enterprises, haue reason for their guide, and right and equitie for their bounds. For (as an ancient man saith) that man hopeth in vaine that feareth not God, and they onely are filled with good hope, whose consciences are cleane and pure. So that all they that are led with sundry euill passions, either of ambition, of vaine-glorie, or of any other vnbridled desire, can neuer haue that happie and good hope, which neuer deceiueth men. And indeede they misse oftentimes of their intent, yea, are deprived of that which was their owne and certaine, because they are desirous to get vniustly another mans right, beeing also vncertaine. The selfe same thing falleth out to those that trust and stay in such sort vpon their owne strength, vertue and constancie, that fearing in no respect (as they say) the greatest calamities that can come to man, assure themselves in their prosperitie to bee inuincible in their resolutions, and presume that nothing is able to pull them downe, or to cause them to change their opinion: and yet so soone as the winde of aduersity bloweth, they are the first that are throwne to the ground, and soonest shew forth the inconstancy and imbecillity of mans nature left to it selfe. As contrariwise, they to whom God giueth eies to acknowledge themselves, are then humbled, so that they reuerence the ordinance of God, who derideth all the enterprises of men. The practise hereof was well knowne to *Wencelaws* king of Hungary, beeing driven out of his kingdome, and forsaken of his owne, who oftentimes vsed to say, *The hope I had in men hindered me from putting my trust in God: but now that all my confidence is in him, I assure my selfe that he will helpe me by his diuine goodnesse.* As indeed it fell out so vnto him, beeing reestablished againe in all his estates and dignities. But to the end we confound not together that which is simply diuine, with that which is humane, I thinke we ought to make a double hope, the first, true, certaine, and vnfallible, which concerneth holy and sacred mysteries: the other doubtfull, respecting earthly things onely. Astouching the first, we know things to come by the assurance thereof, as well as if they were already done. Wee are taught in the holy Scripture what is the vndoubted certaintie of this hope, which through faith ought to bee so imprinted in our hearts, that by the strength, power, and vertue thereof, wee should runne the race of our short daies in all ioy, happinesse and peaceable tranquillitie of our minds, expecting without doubting the perfect and absolute enioying of those goods that are immortall, vnutterable and endlesse in the second and eternall life. Without this hope grounded vpon the free goodnesse of the Almighty, let vs assuredly perswade our selues, that mans estate is more miserable than that of brute beasts, seeing this is, the onely way of his saluation. The other hope which concerneth this present life onely in all such things as we propound to our selues for the benefit and contentation thereof, hath such need to be ruled, guided, and referred to the happie end of the first excellent and heavenly hope that otherwise it cannot but be doubtfull, inconstant, and rash, what humane reason soeuer wee can alleadge to perswade the possibility of attaining to the end of our pretended deui-ces, which in one moment may be quite ouerthrowne, the occasions whereof beeing for the most part secret and hid from vs. Moreouer the imperfection of whatsoever men commonly most esteeme vpon earth is so great, that together with their continuall vncertain-tye, the perturbations which hinder the tranquillitie of the soule, redouble and abound so much the more, as the enioying of these earthly commodities increase and augment, leauing in man a continuall desire to multiplie them, and a feare to lose them. Astouching this hope therefore of humane things which wee wish might alwaies prosper with vs, wee may well hope what wee will, but withall wee must prepare and settle our selues to support constantly whatsoever falleth out, that that which commeth vnto vs against our expectation: and that wee neuervse such repinings as these, vnbecoming a wise man, *I would neuer haue thought it: I looked for another matter: I would neuer haue supposed that such a thing could haue happened.* In the meane while wee must not omitte to Hope the best alwaies in our crosses and calamities, because nothing lenifieth so much the sharpnesse of present aduersities as the hope of future benefit, the certaine expectation whereof as it were slealeth away our labours, and causeth all feare of perill to vanish away. This is that which *Apollodorus* saith, that we must neuer be discouraged for aduersities, but alwaies hope for better things. The calamities of mortall men (saith *Euripides*) in the end leaue of themselves: and as the winds do not alwaies blow vehemently, so happie men are not euer fortunate. The one flieth from the other: but he is a good man, who is alwaies full of good hope, *Pindarus* calleth it the nurse of olde age.

Thales

Thales said, that nothing in all the world was more common than *Hope*, because it abideth with them also that haue no other goods. The *Elpisticke* Philosophers affirmed, that nothing better maintained and preserued the life of man, than *Hope*. And truly without hope, which easeth the burthen of mans miseries, the world were not able to sustaine life. For it greatly helpeth man to liue contentedly and happily, if, as wee said, it haue respect to the best ende, vnto which all our desires and inclinations ought to bee referred, and ought to bee gouerned thereby according to reason and iustice. Otherwise it is certaine that a man can neuer peaceably and to his contentation, enioy his present estate and condition, but alwaies some new hope of better things to come, will cause him to neglect that whereof hee is assured, and to runne after an vncertainty, vntill in the ende beeing often deceiued and missing of his purposes and enterprises, hee bee ouerthrowne quite through his great hope. Therefore *Plato* writeth, that Fortune is more contrary to that man whom shee suffereth not to enioy that which hee hath, than to him whom shee denieth to graunt that which he demandeth of her. This gaue occasion to *Cineas* (a very wise man, and so excellent an Orator, that one writeth of him, that hee brought more townes in subiection to his master *Pyrrhus* by his tongue, than himselfe did by his valure) when he saw that although this king might enioy a happy peace and quietnesse, if hee would bee contented to reigne peaceably ouer his subiects: yet hee burned with desire to vndertake warre against Italy; to enter into talke with him, and to aske of him this question. If Sir, the gods shew vs this fauour that wee should remaine Conquerors in this warre, what good would the victorie doe vs? Wee might afterward (answered *Pyrrhus*) easily subdue the *Græcian* and *Barbarian* cities bordering vpon that countrey. Well, when this is done, (replied *Cineas*) what shall we doe afterward? *Sicilia* (answered *Pyrrhus*) will of it selfe yeelde vnto vs. Shall *Sicilia* then (quoth *Cineas*) ende our warre? What will stay vs after (quoth this Monarch) from passing into *Afrike* and to *Carthage*, and from the recoverie of the kingdome of *Macedonia* with ease, that so wee may command all *Græcie* without contradiction? Whereunto *Cineas* replied, When all is in our power, what shall wee doe in the ende? *Pyrrhus* beginning to smile, said, Wee will rest vs at our ease, my friend, living in all pleasure, and as merrily as may be. Then *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point which hee desired, said vnto him: And what Sir, letteth vs from rest at this present, and from living in ioy and pleasure, seeing wee haue all things requisite and necessary, without seeking it with so much effusion of mans blood, besides infinite hazards and dangers, and that in such places where it is vncertaine whether we shall finde it: These wise speeches sooner offended *Pyrrhus* than caused him to change his minde. And although this Prince could not doubt at all what happinesse and great felicity he forsooke, yet was it vnpossible to take the hope of that which he desired out of his minde. Wherefore *Antigonus* king of *Macedonia* compared him very fitly to a Dice plaier, to whom the Dice speake faire by giuing vnto him good chances, but yet so that hee cannot call the same againe to serue his turne. For he lost that by hope, which he had gotten indeed, desiring so earnestly that which he had not, that he forgot to make that sure which was already in his possession. And indeed it fell out very unhappily with him in the ende. For after hee had fought prosperously a certaintime, hee was discomfited by the *Romans*, and being after besieged, was slaine with a tile which a woman let fall vpon his head. Was there euer Monarch who ought rather to haue contented and delighted himselfe peaceably in the enioying of his vnspeakeable prosperities than *Iulius Caesar*? And yet not beeing satisfied with the *Romane* Empire, which he had obtained by so many trauels and innumerable dangers, hee made preparation (whilest the conspirators sought his death) to goe himselfe in person to warre against the *Parthians*. So that as long as he liued, the hope of that which was to come, caused him to contemne the glory gotten by his former deeds, and to depriue himselfe of that commendation, which he should haue no lesse deserved in preseruing himselfe, and in the good government of his great estate, than he did in conquering the same: whereof hee reaped no other benefit, but onely a vaine name and glorie of small continuance in his life time, which procured him the enuie and hatred of his countrymen, so that hee was murdered with three and twentie blowes of the sword on his body, after hee had ouerliued *Pompey* (who was vanquished by him) foure yeares onely, or little more. Histories are full of sundrie such alterations, which commonly follow them that are not content with their estate: from whence wise men and of good iudgement may draw this instruction, to limitt their thoughts and desires. For as *Diodorus* the Athenian said, these two things are very hurtfull to men, *Hope* and *Loue*, of which the one leadeth, and the other accompanieth men.

Our life
would be in-
supportable
without hope.

Cineas talke
with *Pyrrhus*
concerning
his great
hope.

Pyrrhus com-
pared to a
Dice-plaier.

Caesar was led
continually
with new
hope.

Two things
hurtfull to
men.

We must not
iudge of en-
terprifes by
the euent.

Ill hap is
more com-
mon than
good.

Seneca adui-
feth vs to pre-
pare our
selues to all
euent.

What the au-
thor vnder-
standeth by
the word
Fortune.

accompanieth them; the one seeketh out the meanes to execute their thoughts, and the other perswadeth them with good successe. And although these two things are not seene with the eye, yet are they mightier then visible punishments. Hereof came that old proverbe, *that proud men eat themselves with vaine hope, which by little and little choaketh them, as a naughty fat doth mans bodie.* And if wee bee willing to keepe our selues from so dangerous a downefall, let vs cure our soules of all hurtfull hope, and let reason and dutie (as wee haue already said) leade and limit all our affections and enterprises, considering wisely their beginning, namely, that we ground them vpon right & equity onely, knowing that they ought not to be iudged of by the euent and end of them, which oftentimes seeme to fauour vniust counsels and doings. And this offereth some colour and occasion to the wicked to prosecute their dealings, hauing no care of violating right and iustice. But howsoever it bee, a miserable end bringeth them an ouer late repentance. Neither let vs perswade our selues, that the issue of our imaginations and enterprises, although they be well grounded, shall certainly fall out according to our meaning; (for this is that hope, which greatly hurteth, and most of all troubleth them) but let vs know, that as in all things which grow, there is alwaies some corruption mingled in them) it being necessaries that all mortall feedes should presently bee partakers of the cause of death) so from the same fountaine ill happe floweth vnto vs in great measure, yea sooner and more abundantly than good successe. Which thing *Homer* willing to giue vs to vnderstand, fained that there were two vessels at the entrie of the great Olympus, the one being full of hony, the other of gall, of which two mingled together *Iupiter* causeth all men to drinke. And *Plutarke* saith, that men can neuer purely and simply enioy the ease of any great prosperitie, but whether it be fortune, or the enuy of destitute, or else the naturall necessitie of earthly things, there ease is alwaies intermingled in their life time, with euill among the good; yea in the like mishap, that which is worse surmounteth the better. All these things beeing considered of vs, they will make vs more aduised and staied in all our counsels and aduices, and in such sort affected and prepared with true prudence, fortitude and magnanimitie, that whatsoeuer hapneth vnto vs, wee shall not bee troubled or farther moued, but receiue it, as hauing long before expected and looked for it. This doth *Seneca* very learnedly teach vs, saying: that wee ought not to be astonished or maruell at vnlooked for chances that light vpon vs, but prepare and conforme our hearts to all euent that may come vnto vs, premeditating and thinking aforehand, that wee are borne to suffer, and that nothing commeth to passe, which ought not to be. *Destinie* (saith he) *leadeth those that are consenting, and draweth gainsayers by force.* Neither ought wee, through doubt of that which is to come, to neglect good, heroicall, and farre remooued hopes of excellent things, hauing thus grounded them as wee haue said. For wise and famous personages desirous of honour and glorie, were alwaies of opinion, that they ought to bee entertained and kept in a sound and settled resolution of the minde, because of the varietie of accidents, which daily happen contrary to the common opinions of men: wherein experience teacheth vs, that according to the direction of a good spirit, and the good successe that followeth and accompanieth it, whatsoeuer concerneth the managing of worldly affaires, is changed, and turneth about with the moouing of fortune, if be it lawfull for vs vnder this Heathen word to vnderstand the ordinance of God. Therefore to end our present discourse, wee will note this, that first wee are to defend our selues by the grace of God, with that happie and certaine hope which can neuer deceiue or confound any, being a certaine guide to keepe vs in this long and tedious pilgrimage from going astray out of the way of saluation. Secondly from this, the prop, stay, and comfort of mans life against all miseries and calamities will flow and issue. Thirdly and lastly, wee shall bee stirred vp to all great and noble workes, for the good and common profit of euery one, referring the euent of them to the wonderfull counsell of the providence of God, and receiuing them asiust, good and profitable.

The end of the seuenth daies worke.

The eight daies worke.

Of Patience, and of Impatiencie: of Choler and Wrath. Chap. 29.

ASIR.



IF vertue consisteth in hard matters, if that which commeth nearest to the diuine nature, and is most vnease and least of all vsed of all men, better beseeming a valiant and noble minded man, than any other thing whatsoener; no doubt but patience is the very same thing: whereof the Scripture teacheth vs, that God is the author, and that he putteth it in daily practise among his creatures, deferring the full punishment of their faults by expecting their repentance. Further this vertue so much resembleth fortitude, whereof we discoursed yesterday that we may say with *Cicero*, that Fortitude is borne of her, or else with her, seeing there is nothing so great and burthensome, which shee cannot easily sustaine and overcome, euen the violentest and most common passions of mans nature, as impatiencie, choler & anger, which commonly procure the vtter ruine of the soule. Therefore let vs (my Companions) begin our daies worke with the handling of the effects of this great vertue of patience, and of the vices that are cleane contrarie vnto it.

Rom. 15. 5.
Exod. 34. 9.

A MANA. Patience (saith *Plantus*) is a remedie for all griefes. Endure patiently, and blame not that which thou canst not auoide. For he that is able to suffer well, overcommeth. But this vertue is so rarely found among men, that moe will offer themselves to death, than abide griefe patiently. Neuerthelesse, it is the point of a wise man (saith *Horace*) to set a good face vpon that which must needs be done.

Patience a
salue for all
fores.

ARAM. By patience (saith *Cicero*) we must seeke after, that which we cannot obtaine by fauour: and if we endure, all the inconuenience will turne to our profite. But learned men whilest they resist not their perturbations, trouble, and ouerturne with a suddaine vehemencie those things which they had begun with a quiet spirit and minde, throwing downe at one blow whatsoeuer they had builded with long labour. But of thee **ACHITO** we shall vnderstand the praise and propertie of this vertue of Patience, with the contrary effects thereof, namely, Impatiencie, Choler and Anger, and the meanes to shun and auoide them.

ACHITO. Among all the ancients, the Stoike Philosophers were most zealous and precise obseruers of all points concerning this vertue of patience, which they grounded vpon the fatall cause of necessitie, requiring such exactnesse and perfection thereof in men, that they would haue a noble heart to be no otherwise touched with aduersitie than with prosperitie, nor with sorrowfull things than with ioyfull. For this cause *Aristo*. said, that vertue onely was to be wished: and therefore that it was all one to be sicke or sound, poore or rich: briefly, that in al other humane and necessary vses of nature, there was no more euill in one kinde, than in another. Whereby it seemeth that these Philosophers delighted in painting out a picture of such patience, as neuer was, nor shall bee among men, except first they should be vnclodhed of all humane nature, or become as blockish and sencelesse as a stone. For so long as man remaineth in this life, hee cannot be voide of affections and perturbations, that draw the soule to care and to provide for the bodie, which continually crieth out against her for feare of griefe, and of wanting that which belongeth vnto it. But it is the dutie of a wise man to moderate all passions in such sort, that in the end reason remaine mistresse. Moreouer wee say that vertue, which is a habite of comelinesse and mediocritie in affections, ought neither to be without her motions, nor yet too much subiect to passions. For the abolishing of desire maketh the soule without motion, and without ioy even in honest things: as on the otherside ouer vehement motions thereof altogether trouble her, and cause her to be as it were beside her selfe. Further, we seeke after the common practise of men, not for that perfection which they wish for, and whereunto they ought to aspire: and wee desire that affection should shew it selfe no otherwise in vertue, than a little shadow of a hidden cloud, or a line in a picture. Therefore true patience which wee ought to imbrace in all things, not as compelled and of necessitie, but cheerefully and as restoring in our welfare, is a moderation and tolerance of our euils, which, albeit we sigh vnder the heavy burthen

Of the Stoicall
Patience.

Vertue is nei-
ther without
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of patience.

of them, cloth vs in the meane while with a spirituall ioy, that strueth so well and maffeth in such sort the sence of nature which shunneth griefe, that in the end it worketh in vs an affection of piety and godlinesse, ioyned with a free and cheerefull mind, vnder the yoke and obedience of the iust and rightfull will of God, through a certaine expectation of things promised, and causeth vs to iudge impatiency to be contumacie and rebellion to this diuine will, and sufficient of it selfe to make a man to be called wretched. Patience (saith *Plato*) is a habite that consisteth in sustaining stoutly all labours and griefes for the loue of honestie. The law saith, that it is a very good thing to keepe the tranquillity of our spirit as much as may be in aduersities, and not to complaine of that which is vncertaine: because men know not whether that which is light vpon them be good or euill for them, as also because sorrow can not helpe that which is to come, but rather hindereth the curing of the euill: and lastly, because there is nothing in humane matters, whereof any great account is to be made. But if I must needs support them, my desire and labour is to do it nobly, honestly and couragiously. It skilleth not what we endure, but how we endure it. And then doth patience preuaile most, when we know that whatsoeuer we haue done, was executed of vs for godlinesse sake. The

The fruits of
patience.

conflict of Patience (saith *Euripides*) is such, that the vanquished is better than the vanquisher. And let vs not thinke that there is any calamity, which cannot be sustained by the nature of man armed with Patience, which is an inuincible tower. Patience, (saith *Cicero*) is a voluntarie and long suffering of labours, calamities, trauels, and difficult matters, for the loue of honestie and of vertue. And when all things are overthrowne, and counsaile will doe no more good, there is but this one onely remedy, to beare patiently whatsoeuer shall come vpon vs. Patience serueth vs for a meane to attaine to great matters, staying men from fainting in dangers and trauels. By patience whatsoeuer is disordered, may be brought againe to good order, as that wise Emperor, *Marcus Aurelius* would giue vs to vnderstand, when hee said, That patience had no lesse holpen him in the gouernment of his estate than knowledge. Likewise it is for the most part followed of courtesie and gentlenesse, which make him well liked of that is adorned therewith, and sooner draweth good will, the cause of mans obedience, then force or violence doth. He that is slow to anger (saith the wise, is better than the mighty man, and he that ruleth his owne minde, is better than he that winneth a citie. True patience loueth the afflictions which she suffereth, causing him that possesseth her to giue praise to God in the midst of aduersities, and to submit himselfe to his iudgement when he is pressed with diseases: neither can pouertie keepe him backe from commending highly his bounty and goodnes. To be short, as a pearle sheweth her beautie euen in the midst of a puddle: so a patient man causeth his vertue to appeare in all aduersities. Moreover this patience which we shew in aduersities, mooueth those to compassion and pittie that see vs suffer. Which thing as it greatly comforteth in affliction, so oftentimes it causeth others to reape inestimable benefit, when they behold vs to suffer vniustly. For it serueth to awaken and to strengthen the weake in the knowledge of their duty, that they suffer not themselves to be deceived with the poysonfull sweetnesse of worldly goods and commodities. In a word, the vertue of patience is so necessarie for a good and happy life, that no part or action of mans life

Of impatien-
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wrath.

can be guided to their proper end without her. And as she is a branch of Magnanimity, Fortitude, and greatnes of courage: so Impatiencie is a weakenes and imbecility of a base, vile, and contemptible nature, wherein choler, and in the end wrath, are easily ingendred: which are two very pernicious passions in the soule, and differ nothing from fury (as the elder *Cato* said) but onely in this, that they continue a lesser time, and this a longer. This is that which *Possidonius* teacheth vs, saying, that anger is nothing else but a short fury. *Aristides* called it the inflammation of blood, and an alteration of the heart. *Cicero* saith, that that which the Latines call Anger, is named of the Gracians desire of reuenge. And *Solon* being demanded to whom a man fraught with Anger, might be compared, answered: To him that maketh no account of loosing his friends, and careth not although he procure enemies to himselfe. But besides the sayings of all these Sages, experience sufficiently sheweth vs, that Choler and Anger are enemies to all reason: and (as *Plutarke* saith) are no lesse proude, presumptuous, and vncasie to be guided by another, than a great and mighty tyranny: inso much that a ship given ouer to the mercy of the winds & stormes, would sooner of it selfe receiue a Pilot from without, than a man carried headlong with wrath and choler, would yeeld to the reason and admonition of another. For an angry man (like to those that burne themselves within their owne houses) filleth his soule in such sort with trouble, chafing, and noyse, that he neither seeth nor heareth any thing that would profite him, vnlesse he make provision long time be-

fore

fore to succour himselfe with reason through the studie of wisdom, whereby he may be able to ouerthrow his impatiencie and choler, which argue and accompany for the most part a weake and effeminate heart. And that this is true, we see that women are commonly sooner driuen into choler then men: the sicke then the sound: the old than the yoong: all vicious, gluttonous, ielous, vaine-glorious, and ambitious men, than those that vnfaignedly hate vice. Whereby it is euident enough, that choler proceedeth from the infirme and weake part of the soule, and not from the Generosity thereof. Neither doth it make against our saying, to alleadge the opinion of *Aristotle*, and of all the Peripateticks, who maintained that wee ought to moderate these affections and passions of the soule: but otherwise that they were necessarie to pricke men forward to vertue. Yea *Aristotle* saide, that choler was as a whetstone to sharpen and set an edge vpon Fortitude, and Generositie. The Accademicks, and Stoicks contend greatly against this opinion, and namely *Cicero* and *Seneca*, who said, that for as much as choler is a vice, it cannot be the cause of vertue, seeing they are two contrary things that have nothing common together. And considering that Fortitude proceedeth from an aduised consultation and election of reason, which perfecteth the worke, whereas choler hindereth and troubleth it in such sort, that an angrie man cannot deliberate, it is not possible that it should stand him in any stead in the performance of excellent actions. And this is an invincible reason, because vertue cometh not of vice. Now, this being the ende of all Philosophie for a man to know his vices, and the meanes, how to deliuer himselfe from them, and seeing that the infamie and discommodity which accompany impaciency and choler, cannot but be knowne vnto vs, yea are notwithstanding so common amongst vs, that the perfectest are infected therewith, let vs looke for some helpe and meane to cure our selues thereof. First let vs know, that although men may be moued to wrath and choler for diuerse causes, yet vnto all of them, the opinion of being contemned and despised is commonly ioyned. And therefore the true and soueraigne remedy for this, (that so we may auoide such a cold and slender occasion of entring into choler against our neighbors, altogether vnbecoming the loue we owe them) will be to put from vs as much as may bee, all suspicion of being despised and contemned, or of brauerie and boldnesse, and to lay all the fault either vpon necessitie or negligence, vpon chance, vntowardnesse, lacke of discretion, ignorance, or want of experience which are oftentimes in them that offend vs. This will seeme very strict counsell, and hard to practise, yea hatefull to many of our Frenchmen, chiefly to those of the Nobilitie, who are so curious in the preservation of their honour, with which title they would disguiseth the desire of worldly glory, whereunto they shew themselves so much affectionated. But they tell us sufficiently, that they neuer knew wherein true honour consisteth, which is no more separated from vertue then the shadow from the body: also that they know not what patience is, accounting it rather to be faint-heartednesse and cowardlinesse, than a part and daughter of the vertue of Fortitude and Generosity, yet iudging it a dishonour to a man that is contumeliously handled, not to render the like again. But contrariwise we are to know, that to support & endure wrong and iniurie patiently, and even then when we haue most meanes to reuenge our selues, is a note of a most absolute, noble, and excellent vertue. Yea it becometh a Christian most of all, and such a one as hath those words of the Scripture well engrauen in his heart; *Thou shalt not auenge, nor be mindefull of wrong against the children of thy people, but shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe: I am the Lord, vengeance and recompence are mine.* But I hope that hereafter we shall discourse of this subiect by it selfe, which deserueth to be handled more largely. Following therefore our matter, we must vnderstand, that choler is bred of a custome to be angry for small things, & afterward becommeth easily afire of sudden wrath, a reuenging bitterness, and an vtractable sharpenesse, making a man froward and furious, disliking every thing. Wherefore a wise man ought presently to oppose the iudgement of reason to every little anger, and to suppress it. This will helpe to make the soule firme and of power to resist and beate backe all fiercenes of choler in matters of greater weight and consequence. For he that nourisheth not his anger in the beginning, nor inflameth it himselfe, may easily auoide, or at least scatter it. Moreover this will be a great meane to overcome our choler if wee obey it not, nor giue credite vnto it from the very first instant wherein it beginneth to appeare, imitating *Socrates* therein, who, whensoever he felt himselfe somewhat more eagerlie moued against any man than he ought (like to a wise Pilot that getteth himselfe vnder the Lee of some rock) let fall his voice gently, shewing a smiling countenance and more courteous looke, thereby setting himselfe directly against his passion. Besides, it will greatly helpe vs, if when wee are moued with anger, wee stay our tongue a certaine space, and delay a little while

Who are most
giuen to im-
patiencie and
choler.

Aristotle con-
trary in opini-
on.

How impati-
ency and cho-
ler may be cu-
red.

What the
wicked iudge
of patience.

Leuit. 19. 18.
Deut. 32. 35.

Whereof cho-
ler is bred.

A good way
to remedie
choler.

The coun-
saile that A-
thenodorus
gaue to Au-
gustus.

Eph. 4. 26.

Anorable cu-
stome of the
Pythagorans.
Cotis breake
his glasses to
auoid occa-
sions of wrath.

Magistrates
ought not to
punish any in
their choler.

As Theodo-
sius did.

Plato refused
to correct his
seruant in his
anger.

Aure lianus
anger was the
cause of his
death.

Valentinian
in his anger
brake a veine
& died ther-
of

while our owne reuenge. For it is very certaine that a man promiseth, speaketh, and doth many things in his anger, which afterward he wissheth had neuer beene in his thought. Vn- to this fitly agreeth that counsaile which *Athenodorus* taking his leaue, gaue to *Augustus* the Emperour to stay the pernicious effects of quicke & readie choler. This Philosopher minding to teach some remedy to be opposed at the very instant when this monarch should feele him selfe overtaken with anger, whereunto he easily suffered himselfe to be carried, willed him to rehearse the foure and twenty letters of the Greeke alphabet before he did any thing in his anger. But knowing, this that it is a special property of mans imbecillity to be stirred vp to anger and to bee troubled, let vs follow that commandement of the Scripture. *Not to sin in our anger, neither to let the Sunne goe downe upon our wrath,* least wee shew our selues to haue lesse vertue and curtesie than the Ethnike Pythagorian Philosophers, who albeit they were nei- ther kin nor allied, yet kept this custome inuiolable, *that if peradventure they were entred into some contention and choler one against another, before the Sunne went downe, they appointed a mee- ting where they imbraced and shooke hands one with another.* Further wee haue carefully to a- uoide all occasions which wee know might induce and prouoke vs to anger. As *Cotis* king of Thracia wisely behaued himselfe, when one brought him a present of many goodly ves- sels curiously made and wrought, but verie brittle, and easie to breake, because they were of glasse. After hee had well recompensed the gift, he brake them all for feare, least through choler, whereunto he knew himselfe subiect, he should bee moued with wrath against any of his seruants that should breake them, and so punish him too seuerely. And of this matter we may also draw a good instruction for all those that are placed in authority aboue others, namely, that they beware least they correct or punish any body in their choler, but onelie when they are void of all vehement passions, considering the fact in it selfe aduisedly, and with quiet and settled senses: knowing that as bodies seeme greater through a miste, so doe faults through choler, which for the most part carrieth Princes headlong to commit execra- ble and cursed cruelties. Among many examples we may note that of the Emperour *Theodo- sius*, who being moued with anger against those of Thessalonica for a comotion which they made, and for slaying his lieutenant, sent his armie thither, with commandement that they should bee vtterly rooted out: whereupon fiftene thousand were slaine, neither women nor children being spared. Of which fault repenting him, but too late, he made a law afterward, whereby hee willed that the execution of his letters Patents and commandements should bee held in suspence and deferred, thirtie daies after signification and knowledge of them, namely, when any were to be punished more rigorously than of custome he vsed. Neither is it lesse dangerous in an estate that the administration of publike charges should bee commit- ted to such as suffer themselves to be ouer ruled with wrath, seeing there are not in a man- ner fewer matters which are to be winked at and dissembled, than to bee punished and cor- rected. And although Magistrates haue authority and iust cause to punish vices, yet haue they nolicence to shew themselves to be passionated. But this being a matter of Policie, let vs con- tinue our morall instructions, & note that which we reade of *Plato*, deseruing to be considered of here, who being very angry with a seruant of his for a great fault committed by him, and seeing *Xenocrates* to come towards him requested him if he were his friend, to correct that seruant of his, because at this present (quoth hee) anger surmounteth my reason. Whereby this wise Philosopher declared sufficiently, that if the first motions are not at all in our pow- er through the imperfection of our nature, yet at the least, reason may serue for a bridle to hinder every naughty execution: teaching vs likewise, that we ought to vse and exercise our power and authoritie ouer others without any extreme passion. Further that wee may haue such imperfections in greater hatred, we are to note that choler hath beene the ouerthrow of many great men, as it was of the Emperour *Aurelianus* who was endued with notable ver- tues, but otherwise easily moued to anger, whose wrath was such, that their death with whom he was displeased, was the onely remidy to appease it. For being one day incensed a- gainst *Mnestheus* his Secretary, hee knowing his masters disposition, for the safegard of his life deuised to write (counterfeiting the Emperours hand) in a little scroules the names of the principall capt aines of his army, putting himselfe in the number of those whom hee had ful- ly purposed to put to death, and bearing it vnto them, said, that he saw this bill fall out of the Emperours sleeue. Whereat they beeing astonished, and giuing credite thereunto, resolved with themselves to preuent it, and so falling vpon him, slue him. Moreouer it is well known to every one, that choler may greatly hurt health, whereof men are for the most part desirous enough. It was cause of the Emperour *Valentinians* death, who through crying out in his cho-

his choler, brake a veine in his necke. From this vice proceedeth another detestable imperfection, which is swearing, a thing directly contrary to a wise mans life, and condemned by the law both of God and man: whereof we might easily be cured by custome, if first we destroyed Impatiencie and Choler, which prouoke blasphemie. The Romanes obserued an ancient decree, which expressly commanded, that when yong men would sweare by the name of some god, they should first goe out of the house wherein they were. Which was a commendable meane both to retaine and keepe them from swearing lightly and vpon the suddaine, also that they might haue good leisure and space to bethinke themselves. This would be very profitable for vs towards the correcting of this vice, the vnumeasurable licence whereof ought to be kept backe and chastised by some better meanes. Yea, it were very expedient and necessary to renew and put in practise that law of good king *S. Lewis*, that all blasphemers should be marked in the forehead with an hot yron, yea, punished with death; if they would not be corrected otherwise. Such contemners of the name of God ought to learne their lesson of *Charilaus* the Ethnick and Pagan, who being demanded why the images of the gods in Lacedaemonia were armed, *To the end* (quoth he) *that men might feare to blaspheme the gods, knowing that they are armed to take reuengement.* Concluding therefore our present discourse, let vs learne to decke our liues so well with patience, (which is so profitable and necessary to saluation, and to a good and happie life) that we be patient towards all men in all things, to the end we may obey the will of God, and reape the fruite of his promises, as the end of patience is the expectation of things promised. And let vs know, that the learning and vertue of man is knowne by patience, and that he is to be accounted to haue lesse learning and vertue, that hath lesse patience. Further, let vs learnethat the office and duty of a prudent and noble minded man is to winke at many things that befall him, to redresse other things, to hold his peace at some things, and to suffer much, so that he follow reason alwaies, and flye opinion. Lastly, wee are to know, that he which endureth euill patiently, shall know also how afterward he may easily beare prosperity, and that euery christian offereth an acceptable sacrifice to God, when hee yeeldeth vnto him daily thanks in the midst of infinite troubles and vexations: which benefit will worke in vs the vtter ouerthrow of all impatiencie, choler and wrath, sworne enemies to all reason and vertue.

Valentinian in his anger brake a veine and died thereof. Against the infamous vice of swearing. A notable decree of the Romanes.

S. Lewis his law against swearing. Charilaus.

1. Thes. 5. 14. Heb. 10. 36.

*Of Meekenes, Clemencie, Mildnes, Gentlenes, and
Humanitie. Chap. 30.*

A CHI. *A* Philosopher in a great assemblie of people, taking a lanterne & a candle lighted **TOB.** At midday, and going into an high place in all their sight, was demanded what he meant to doe withall: *I seeke* (said he) *for a man but can see none, no not one.* And truly it is a very rare and excellent thing to finde one that indeede is a Man, which is as much to say, as curteous, or made of meekenes, and gentlenes: for which cause *Plato* calleth him a ciuill creature, and sociable by nature. Now therefore let vs vnderstand of you my companions, what worthy effects this vertue of meekenes bringeth forth in man.

A SER. *Mercie* (saith *Plato*) *ought no more to be taken away from the nature of man, than the altar out of the Temple.* And every noble heart ought to be so curteous and gracious, that he be reuerenced more than feared of his neighbours.

A MANA. There is no nation so barbarous, which loueth not meekenesse, curtesie, beneuolence, and a thankfull soule: and contrariwise, which hateth and contemneth not proud, wicked, cruell, and vngratefull persons. But it belongeth to thee **A RAM** to discourse of this matter vnto vs.

A RAM. Sinne hauing depriued man of the perfection of graces, wherewith the image of God in him had enriched and beautified him (namely, with perfect goodnes and holy righteousness,) there remained nothing in his soule but a weake desire to aspire to that soueraigne Good, of which she felt her selfe spoiled. For further confirmation whereof, this incomparable beauty of the visible shape of the body was left vnto him, to the end that in his principall worke, as in a rich picture, he might finde large matter to moue him to contemplate and to admire the excellency and greatnes of his Creator, who is able to set him againe in his former glory & brightnes. By means of this knowledge a man feeleth himselfe effectually moued & touched with the loue of his like, imprinted in euery nature, which desireth vially to shew forth the effects thereof to the profit of many, if it be not wholly depraued and accursed. This loue ought to be so much the greater and more perfect in man, by how much

This word Man is in Latin Homo from whence is deriued Humanitas, which signifieth curtesie or gentlenes.

No nation voide of curtesie.

Reasons to
mooue vs to
loue our
neighbours.

much the neerer he approacheth to the vnderstanding of the incomprehensible secrets of the diuinity. For what thing ought more to stirre vs vp, and to mooue vs with zeale to do good to our neighbours, than the consideration both of their creation after the image of God, whereunto we owe all honour, loue, and obedience, and also of their reestablishment into the same image by his pure grace and mercie: besides the contemplation of the excellent composition and building of this frame of man? These things being well considered in our minds whom shall we take for our enemy, for a stranger, as contemptible, vnworthy, and of no account, seeing this brightnes and grace of God shineth in euery one, and especially in those whom the world despiseth? Moreouer when we know by his word that Man is substituted of God in his place, that we should acknowledge towards him the inestimable benefites which we haue and daily receiue from the helpe and goodnesse of our common Father, who promisseth to accept as done to himselfe, what good thing soeuer we procure to his creatures, so that it be done with a glad some and cheerefull countenance, and with a sweete and courteous kinde of beneficence, voide of arrogancy, and contumely, or reproch; shall any thing

A Temple de
dicated to
Mercy.

stay vs from exercising towards euery one all duties of humanity? We reade in *Macrobius*, that long sithence there was a Temple in Athens dedicated to Mercy, into which none was suffered to enter except he were beneficiall and helpfull, and then also with licence from the Senate. In somuch that through a desire which the people had to haue access into it, they studied earnestly to exercise workes of pitie and pietie. Yea, the greatest reproch which an Athenian could vtter to his neighbour, was to hit him in the teeth, that hee was neuer in the Academie of the Philosophers, nor in the Temple of Mercy, girding him by this onely reproch with two shamefull things, the one of ignorance and want of prudence, the other of cruelty and inhumanity. Now if among those of old time the only naturall seed of the loue of their like, which also is seene in beasts, was so strong and powerfull that it brought forth in them (notwithstanding they were destitute of the heavenly light) fruits worthy of perpetual memory, as they that had nothing in greater estimation than to shew themselves meeke, gentle, courteous, helpfull and gracious towards others, even towards their enemies: what ought they to do, that say they are all members of that one head, who recommendeth so expressly vnto them meekenes, mildnes, gentlenesse, grace, clemency, mercy, good will, compassion, and euery good affection towards their neighbor? All which things are comprehended vnder this onely sacred word of Charity, which is the indissoluble band of God with vs, whereby we are inflamed with the loue of him for that which we owe vnto him, and thereby also are induced to loue our neighbors for the loue of God. But let vs consider how the Ancients hauing but the shadow of this perfect Charity, praised and esteemed this vertue of Meeknesse, from which they knew how to drawe so many good commodities for the profit and succour of euery one, that after we may note here certaine woorthy examples to stirre vs vp so much the more vnto our duty. Meeknesse (saith *Plato*) is a vertue that belongeth to the couragious part of the soule, whereby we are hardly mooued to anger. Her office and duty is to be able to support and endure patiently those crimes that are laid vpon her, not to suffer her selfe to be hastily carried to reuenge, nor to be too easily stirred to wrath, but to make him that possesseth her, mild, gracious, and of a staied and settled minde. Meekenesse and gentlenesse (as he saith else where) is that vertue whereby a man easily appeaseth the motions and instigations of the soule caused by choler, and it standeth him in steade of a moderate temperance of the spirit, decking him with mildnes & courtesie, which draweth vnto him the loue of strangers, and good seruice of his owne. Whereby it appeareth, that whosoever is milde and courteous to others, receiue much more profit and honor than those whom he honoreth. They are not to be credited (saith *Cicero*) who say that a man must vse cruelty towards his enemies, esteeming that to be an act proper to a noble and couragious man. For nothing is more commendable or worthy a great and excellent man, than meeknesse and clemency. It seemeth also that liberality, beneficence, iustice, fidelity, and many other good deeds, wherof many men taste, and which procure to a man greater good will of euery one, are proper to mildnes and meekenes, called by an auuncient man the characters of an holy soule, which neuer suffer innocency to be oppressed, and as *Chilo* saide, which leade noble hearts slowly to the feasts of their friends, but speedily to the succouring of them in their calamities. This vertue of meekenes is truly most necessary for a valiant man. For without it he should be in danger to commit some actions which might be iudged cruell. And seeing that a noble minded man commeth neere to the diuine nature, he must resemble it as much as may be in gentlenesse and clemency which adorneth and honoureth those especially that are life

What Cha-
rity is.

The definitio
& effects of
meekenesse.

vp

vp in dignitie, and haue power to correct others. True it is also, that they are deceived that commend, and as it were adore the bounty of great men and Magistrates, who of a certaine simplicitie without prudence, shew themselves gracious gentle, and courteous towards all men. Which is no lesse pernicious to an Estate, than is the severity and cruelty of others. For of this ouer great lenity, among many other inconveniences, an impunity of the wicked is bred, and the sufferance of one fault quickly draweth on another. Therefore the mildnesse of those that haue power and authoritie, ought to be accompanied with severity, their clemency mingled with rigour, and their facilitie with austeritie. This is that which *Plato* learnedly teacheth vs, saying: *That the noble and strong man must bee courageous and gracious, that hee may both chastise the wicked, and also pardon when time requireth.* And as for those offences which may bee healed, hee must thinke that no man is willingly vnioist. Therefore *Cicero* saith, that it is the property of a noble minded man simply to punish those that are most in fault, and the authors of euill, but to saue the multitude. And thus the rigour of discipline directing meekenesse, and meekenesse directing rigour, the one will set foorth and commend the other: so that neither rigour shall bee rigorous, nor gentlenesse dissolute. By the learned sentences of these Philosophers, it is very euident, that the vertue of meekenesse is not onely a part of Fortitude, which cannot bee perfect without it, but hath also some particular coniunction with all the other vertues, yea is as it were the seede of them, and induceth men to practise all dutie towards their neighbours. But because the order of our discourses will offer vs matter and occasion to intreat particularly hereafter of iustice, and of reuenge of wrongs and iniuries which a man receiue of his enemy, as also of other vertues here briefly mentioned, we will now come to certaine notable examples of meekenesse, gentlenesse, mildnesse, and goodnesse of nature. The first that commeth to my remembrance is *Philip* king of Macedonia, who giueth place to none in the perfection of these gifts and graces. When it was tolde this good Prince, that one *Nicanor* did openly speake ill of his maiesty, his counsellors being of opinion that hee was to be punished with death: *I suppose* (quoth he to them) *that hee is a good man. It were better to search whether the fault commeth not from vs.* And after hee vnderstood that the said *Nicanor* was a needie fellow, and complained that the king neuer succored him in his necessity, hee sent him a rich present. Whereupon afterward it was told *Philip*, that this *Nicanor* went vp and downe speaking much good of him. *I see well* (said hee then to his counsellors) *that I am a better Physician for backbiting than you are, and that it is in my power to cause either good or euill to be spoken of me.* The good disposition of *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, commeth in here not vnfitly vpon the like occasion. For hearing certaine souldiers speake ill of him hard by his tent, who thought not that the king could ouer-heare them, he shewed himselfe, vttering these onely words without farther hurting them: *Good Lord could you not goe further off to speake ill of me?* And to say truth, such gifts and graces become a noble Prince very well: yea, he cannot more worthily and more befitting himselfe giue place to any wrongs, than to those that are done to his owne person. As contrariwise those men are vnworthy their scepters, who cruelly reuenge their owne iniuries, and pardon such as are done to others, yea such faults as are directly against the honour of God. A prince well instructed in vertue (saith *Xenophon* in his *Cyropædia*) ought so to behaue himselfe towards his enemy, as to thinke and consider that at some time or other hee may bee his friend. Was there euer Monarch more feared of his enemies than *Alexander* the Great, inuincible in all things hee tooke in hand, in so much that hee would not onely force all humane powers, but also times and places themselves, and yet who hath left greater proofes of meekenesse and curtesie than hee? As he was on his voyage vnder taken for the conquest of the Indians, *Taxiles* a king of those countries came and desired him that they might not warre one against another. *If thou* (said this king vnto him) *art lesse than I, receive benefits: if greater, I will take them of thee.* *Alexander* greatly admiring and commending the grauitie and courteous speech of this Indian, answered thus: *At the least wee must fight and contend for this: namely, whether of vs twaine shall be most beneficiall to his Companion:* so loath was this noble Monarch to giue place to another in goodnesse, mildnesse, and curtesie. Hereof he gaue a great argument, after hee had vanquished *Porus* (a very valiant Prince) of whom demanding, how he would bee entertained of him, this king answered, Royally. Neither would he giue him any other answer, albeit *Alexander* vrged him thereunto. For he said that all was contained vnder that word. As indeed the Monarch shewed that he was nothing ignorant thereof. For he did not onely restore his kingdome vnto him, but enlarged it also, wherein he surmounted his victorie, and

A mediocrity must be kept betweene mildnes and cruelty.

Philip a prince of a good and milde nature.

Antigonus.

Oh that Princes would consider this.

Alexander.

A commendable combat.

Bessus cruelly
put to death
for killing
Darius.

Julius Caesar.

Aurelius.

Dion.

Al priuate re-
uenge cometh
of frailtie.

Lycurgus.

Lewes the 12

procured to himselfe as much renoune by his clemency, as by his valure. Had hee euer any greater enemie than *Darius* vanquished and subdued by him? And yet when he saw himselfe letted from vsing towards him any bounty woorthie his greatnesse, because *Bessus* one of his captaines had slaine him, hee was so displeased therewith, that he caused the murderer to bee punished (albeit he was one of his familiar friends) with a most cruell death, causing him to bee torne asunder with two great trees bowed downe by maine strength one against another, vnto each of which a part of *Bessus* his body was fastened. Then the trees being suffered to returne backe againe to their first nature, with their vehement force rent asunder the body of this poore and miserable wretch. *Julius Caesar* was of such a courteous disposition, that hauing conquered *Pompey* and all his enemies, he wrote to his friendes in Rome, that the greatest and most pleasant fruit which he gathered of his victory, consisted in sauing daily the liues of some of his countrey men who had borne armes against him: as in truth he did so. And for a great prooffe of his meekenes, and gentlenes, that speech may serue, which he vttered when he vnderstood that *Cato* retiring into the towne of *Vtica* after the losse of the battell had killed himselfe. O *Cato* (said this monarch, being then very peniue) I enuy thee this thy death, seeing thou hast enuiued me the glory of sauing thy life. I neuer yet denied clemencie (said that good Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*) to him that demanded of mee, much lesse haue I euill entreated or offered dishonor to anie that trusted in me. Neither can anie victorie be called a true and perfect victorie, but that which carrieth with it some clemencie. To overcome is a humane thing, but to pardon, is diuine. Hereof it is (said the same vertuous Prince) that we esteeme the greatnes of the immortall gods not so much for the punishment, as for the mercy which they vse. The clemencie and bountie of *Dion* the Syracusan is worthy of perpetuall memorie. For hauing brought to ruine the tyranny of *Dionysius* the yonger, and recovered the liberty of his countrey, one of his greatest enemies named *Heraclides*, beeing a very pernicious fellow, fell into his hands: whereupon all his friends gaue him counsell to put him to death. Vnto which *Dion* wisely answered, that other captaines and heades of armies vsed commonly to imploy most of their studie in the exercise of armes and of warre, but as for himselfe hee had long since studied and learned in the schooles of the Vniuersitie to overcome anger, enuie, and euery euill affection and will: the prooffe whereof consisted not onely in behauing himselfe well towards his friends, and towards good men, but also in pardoning, and in the exercise of gentlenesse and humanitie towards his enemies, so that hee had rather excell *Heraclides* in bountie and courtesie, than in power and worldly glorie. And although (quoth hee) mens lawes auouch it to bee more iust, to reuenge an iniurie receiued, than to offer it vnto another, yet nature teacheth vs, that both the one and the other proceede of the same imbecillitie: and howsoeuer that man is hardly altered, who hath gotten an habite of wickednesse, yet are there few men of so brutish and vntamed a nature, or so sauage in reclaiming that their peruersenesse cannot in the end be well overcome by beneficence, when they see that men returne good turnes againe and againe into their bosome. By these learned discourses it appeareth that *Dion* forgave *Heraclides*, and bestowed vpon him great benefits. *Lycurgus* the reformer of the Lacedæmonian estate, by whose meanes that common-wealth so long time flourished, doth yet passe all those before alleadged through the goodnesse and mildnesse of his gentle nature. This graue and gracious personage hauing receiued such a blow with a staffe, that one of his eyes was put out in a sedition stirred vp against him in the citie, because of the rigour of those lawes which hee had established there, after the sedition was appeased, had the offender deliuered into his hands to punish him as hee thought good. But hee not hurting or displeasing him at all, kept him in his house, and instructed him in all vertue and good discipline, and within the yeares end hee brought him forth into the publike assembly, beeing no lesse vertuous and well nurtured than before hee was vicious: vsing these words vnto the people: Behold I restore him vnto you, beeing milde gracious and fit to doe you seruice whom ye gaue to mee proud, outragious and dissolute. O act befeeming the soule of a Christian rather than of an Ethnike: which ought to make them greatly ashamed, who for the least wrong receiued of another, would not sticke to slaine not one man onely, but a thousand, yea tenne thousand rather than their worldly honour should bee hurt or touched: which pretence of honour they vse very often to colour their brutishnesse withall. Now leauing here the auncients of whome wee haue a million of testimonies in the reading of histories, I thinke we shall doe well to propound here vnto our Princes being too much inclined to reuenge iniuries, the clemency of king *Lewes* the 12. who succeeding

Charles

Charles the eight in the kingdome, would neuer reuenge himselfe of any outrage or iniurie done vnto him, even then when he was but Duke of Orleance. In so much that being incited by some to punish one that was his great enemie during the life of his predecessor, he answered: *That it would not becom a king of France to goe about to reuenge iniuries offered to a Duke of Orleance.* Neither ought we to let passe in silence the goodnesse and clemencie of that great king Francis, who going in person to chastise the rebellion of the Rochelers, forgave them, and put not one to death, saying: *That albeit he had no lesse occasion to reuenge this iniurie than the Emperour Charles, who punished very cruelly those of Gaunt, yet he had rather increase his praises by preserving than by destroying his subiects.* After his example king Henry the 2. having given in commission to the Duke of Montmorencie Constable to chastise the rebellion of the countrey of Guyen, and especially the inhabitants of Burdeaux, afterward gaue out a generall absolution, and forgave the racing of the Town-house, the paiment of two hundred thousand pounds, and the defraying of the charges of the armie wherein they were condemned. And truly as it belongeth to the Sunne to lighten the earth with his beames: so it appertaineth to the vertue of a prince to haue compassion vpon the miserable. Yea so many, as stand in neede of mercy, and beeing worthy thereof craue for it, ought to finde harbour in the haven of his excellency. Now to come to the end of our present discourse, if by so many examples which we haue touched, and innumerable others, of which histories are plentiful, wee may note amongst the famous, noble and courageous men of olde time, such effects of meeknesse, gentlenesse, bountie, mildnesse, clemency and humanitie towards their enemies, no doubt but they endeouored to doe much more for their friends, brethren and countrimen, for whose safety they feared not many times to die, as heretofore wee haue seene examples thereof, and may see more hereafter. And how much lesse would they haue failed to succour them in all other duties and charitable offices? So that if wee be men and not monsters in nature, let vs learne what are the fruits not onely of true Christians, but also of true humanitie, and of nature not beeing wholly depraued and corrupted: to the end that framing our manners, milde, gentle, and gracious, to the succour, benefite, and profite of euery one, and following the steppes and traces of the vertue of Fortitude and Magnanimitie, which is neuer churlish, idle or proude; wee may liue a happy life directly to her proper end, expecting our renewing in that life which is immortall and euerlasting.

Henrie the 2.

Of Good and Ill hap. Chap. 31.

AR. AM. **T**Here hath beene alwaies men of great humane learning, but voide of the sincere knowledge of the truth, that haue maintained one of these two opinions: some, *That all things were gouerned by nature: others, that they were ruled by fortune.* They that acknowledge nature for the first cause of all things did attribute vnto her a constellation, which through the strength and efficacie of the starres gouerned the counsell & reason of men. The other sort acknowledging fortune, maintained that all things were done at aduenture and by chance. Now albeit there are too many at this day that follow this error, yet is it so absurd a thing, that in the writings of Ethniks and Pagans, a thousand inuincible reasons are found of sufficient force to conuince such opinions of meere lying and over-great sottishnesse, and to constraîne those that are most impudent and shamelesse to acknowledge an infinite almighty power to be the Creator of nature, and of all things mouing therein, and to dispose and order them with an eternall and euerlasting providence. True it is, that I would not absolutely deny the marvellous effects which many haue noted in heavenly bodiesthroughout nature: neuertheless I hold this for certaine, that as all their vertue dependeth of one only God, so hee withdraweth from them his power when and as soone as it pleaseth him. Of this I inferre, that they greatly deceiue themselves, who thinke that the seeking out of the starres, and of their secret vertues diminisheth any thing from the greatnesse and power of God: seeing that contrariwise his maiestie is much more famous and wonderfull in doing such great things by his creatures, as if hee did them himselfe without any meane. Now that which I haue touched here, my companions, is, not to offer any occasion to discourse of the Mathematicks, or of any part thereof, which would be to depart out of those bounds which we appointed to our Academy. But seeing nothing is so common

The Stoicks.

The Epicures

amongst vs to vse, or rather to abuse these words of *Good and ill hap*, by attributing vnto them some power and vertue ouer our doings: inso much that wee commonly say there is nothing but good or ill lucke in this world, I thinke it will not be without fruit to consider narrowly that we ought to thinke of these words, and wherein we are to seeke and desire good hap, & wherein to feare and fly ill lucke. Now therefore let vs be instructed of you touching this matter.

Wherin good
and ill hap
consist.

Who is happy
in Socrates
iudgement.

The cause
why Amasis
forsook his al
liance with
Polycrates.

An ordinarie
imperfection
in man.

A meanes to
auoid the
griefe of our
misery.

Another im
perfection.

A CHITO B. Good hap consisteth in that contentation which proceedeth from the perfection of the subiect thereof, being adorned with a perfect habite and entire possession of all kind of Good, in the priuation whereof all ill hap consisteth. This cannot be verified of the passions and affections of men, nor of their worldly affaires, which are alwaies intermingled with diuerse and sundry accidents, turning one while on this manner, by and by after another, and carrying the soule continually vp and downe with these two perturbations, *Desire and Griefe*. Therefore if there be a happy man in the world (said Socrates) it is he that hath a pure and cleane soule, and a conscience defiled with no thing. For the mysteries of God may be seene and beheld of him onely.

A S E R. A temperate and constant man that knoweth how to moderate feare, anger, excessive ioy, and vnbrideled desire, is very happy: but he that placeth other fading Goods in his felicity, shall neuer haue a quiet mind. Let vs then heare of **A M A N A**, wherein wee ought to iudge that happines or unhappines consisteth.

A M A N A. The continuall alteration and sudden change of one estate into another cleane contrary, which might alwaies be noted in the nature, disposition, and events of mens actions, counsels and desires, gaue occasion to some of the ancient Philosophers to thinke the sicke more happy than the sound: because (said they) sicke folkes looke for health, where as the healthy expect sicknes. For this very consideration it seemeth that *Amasis*, almost the last of those kings that reigned peaceable in Egypt, shooke off all the alliance and league with *Polycrates* king of Samos, who was so happy in worldly respects, that do what he could, yet could he not know what sorrow meant, but all things fell out vnto him better than hee desired. For prooffe whereof may serue that which happened vnto him, after he had cast into the sea a ring of great value which he loued exceedingly. Now, although he did so of purpose, to the end he might tast of some sorrow and griefe, yet he found it quickly againe in the belly of a fish taken by Fisher men, and bought for his kitchen. Whereupon this wise Egyptian iudged it a thing altogether impossible, but that some great misery was to follow hard at the heeles of so great happines: and therefore he would not be partaker thereof, as of necessitie he should haue beene, if he had continued still that league which before was betwixt them. Neither was *Amasis* any thing deceiued in his opinion. For within a while after *Polycrates* was deprived of his kingdom, and shamefully hanged, seruing for a common and notable example of the instability and variableness of mans estate, as also to shew that it is a very absurd thing to place happines in so vacertaine felicity. And yet among infinite imperfections borne with man, this is common in him, to loose quickly the remembrance of a benefit received, but to retaine a long time the memory of a calamitie fallen vpon him. Which is the cause that he alwaies suppoeth his mishaps to bee without comparison greater than all the good happe that he can haue: so that he complaineth continually of his miseries and calamities, not remembring the innumerable benefits which are daily offered and presented vnto him from the grace and bountifullnesse of God. Notwithstanding, if all men (as *Socrates* said) as well as rich as poore, brought their mishaps, and laid them in comming together, and if they were in such sort diuided, that euery one might haue an equall portion, then should it be seene, that many who thinke themselves overcharged and oppressed, would with all their hearts take againe vnto them their fortune, and be contented withall. *Wouldst thou* (said *Democritus*) *auoid the griefe of thy miserie?* Behold the life of the afflicted, and by the comparison thereof with thine thou shalt see that thou hast cause to thinke thy selfe very happy. *Hee that will measure his burthen* (saith *Martiall*) *may well beare it.* Now, with this common complaint in men of their estate and condition, this custome also is ioyned to lay the cause of that which they suffer vpon cruell and intolerable destiny, accusing that to accuse their owne fault.

Where-

Wherefore we cannot more aptly compare them than to blinde folks, who are angry, and oftentimes call them blinde that vnawares doe meete and iuſle them. But if wee deſire to cure our ſoules of ſo many miſerable paſſions, which deprive vs of true reſt and tranquillitie neceſſary for a happie life, let vs be carefull to learne how to diſcerne true happineſſe from miſhap, that we may reioyce in that which is good, and as readily giue thanks to the Author thereof, as naturally, through a falſe opinion which we haue of euill, we ſuſtaine humane miſeries and croſſes vnpatiently. Firſt then let vs heare the ſundry and notable opinions of many ancient men touching good and ill hap. If thou knoweſt all that ought to be knowne in all things (ſaid Pythagoras) thou art happy. Let them be accounted very happy (ſaid Homer) to whom Fortune hath equally weighed the good with the euill. The greateſt miſerie of all (ſaid Bias) is, not to be able to beare miſery. That man is happy (ſaid Dionyſius the elder) that hath learned from his youth to be vnhappy. For he will beare the yoke better wherunto he hath bene ſubiect and accuſtomed of long time. Demetrius, ſurnamed the Beſieger, ſaid, that hee was indged none more vnhappy than hee but neuer taſted of aduerſity, as if he would haue ſaid that it was a ſure argument, that Fortune indged him to be ſo baſe and abiect, that he deſerued not that ſhe ſhould buſie her ſelfe about him. That man (ſaith Cicero) is very happy, who thinketh that no humane matters, how grieuous ſoeuer they may be, are intollerable or ought to diſcourage him: iudging alſo nothing ſo excellent, whereby hee ſhould bee moued to reioyce in ſuch ſort, that his heart be puffed and liſt vp thereby. Yea, hee is very happy, who ſitly and conueniently behaueth himſelfe in all things neceſſary for him. Nothing is euill (ſaith Plutarke) that is neceſſary. By which word, Neceſſary, both he and Cicero vnderſtand whatſoeuer commeth to a wiſe man by fatall deſtiny: becauſe he beareth it patiently, as that which cannot bee auoided, thereby increaſing his vertue ſo much the more, and ſo no euill can come to a good man. Solon drawing neerer to the truth of ſincere happines, ſaid, that it conſiſted in good life and death: and that to indge them happy that are alive, conſidering the danger of ſo many alterations wherein they are, were all one, as if a man ſhould be fore hand appoint the reward of the victorie for one that is yet fighting, not being ſure that hee ſhould ouercome. Socrates ſpeaking rather with a diuine than a humane ſpirit, ſaide, that when we ſhall be deliuered from this body wherein our ſoule is incloſed as an oſter in his ſhell, we may then be happy, but not ſooner: and that felicity cannot be obtained in this life, but that we muſt hope to enioy it perfectly in the other life, as well for our vertues, as by the grace and mercy of God. Not the rich (ſaid Plato) but the wiſe and prudent auoide miſery. They that thinke (ſaith Ariſtotle) that eternall goods are the cauſe of happineſſe, deceiue themſelues no leſſe than if they ſuppoſed, that cunning playing on the harpe came from the inſtrument, and not from art: but we muſt ſeek for it in the good and quiet eſtate of the ſoule. For as we ſay not that a body is perfect becauſe it is richly arraid, but rather becauſe it is well framed and healthfull: ſo a ſoule well inſtructed, is the cauſe that both hir ſelfe and the body wherein ſhee is incloſed, are happy: which cannot be verified of a man becauſe hee is rich in gold and ſiluer. When I conſider all the aboue named wiſe opinions of theſe Erbnikes and Pagans, I cannot ſufficiently maruell at the ignorance and blockiſhnes of many in our age touching Good and ill hap, becauſe they labour to make theſe words priuate, and to tie them to the ſucceſſe of their affections in worldly matters: which if they fall out according to their deſire and liking, behold preſently they are raiſhed with extreme ioy, boaiſting of themſelues, that they are moſt happy. But contrariwiſe, if they miſſe of their intents, by and by they deſpaire, and thinke themſelues the vnhappyeſt men in the world. Doe we not alſo ſee that moſt men iudge them happy that poſſeſſe riches, pleaſure, delight, glory and honour: and thoſe men miſerable that want, eſpecially if after they had abundance, they loſe it by ſome miſhap, the cauſe whereof they commonly attribute either to good or ill lucke, which they ſay ruleth all humane affaires? We reade that Apollonius Tbianus hauing trauelled ouer all Asia, Africke and Europe, ſaid that of two things wherat he maruelled moſt in all the world, the firſt was, that he alwaies ſaw the proud man command the humble, the quarrellous the quiet, the tyrant the iuſt, the cruell the pittifull, the coward the hardie, the ignorant the ſkilful, & the greateſt theeuſ hang the innocent. But in the meane while who may doubt whether of theſe were the happyeſt: that the good were not rather than the wicked? If happines according to the Ancients, and to the truth, be perfected in good things, then it is certaine, that whoſoeuer enioyeth al good things ſhall be perfectly happy. Now nothing can be called good but that which is profitable, and contrary to euill: ſo that whatſoeuer may as ſoone be euill as good, ought not to be called good. Moreover, it muſt be the poſſeſſion of ſome firme, ſtedfaſt, & permanent Good that maketh a man happy. For nothing ought to waxe old, to periſh or decay of thoſe things wherein a happy life conſiſteth, ſeeing he that feareth to loſe them cannot be ſaid to liue quietly. Therefore neither beauty, nor ſtrength, and diſpoſition of body, neither riches, glorie, honour

Notable opinions of good & ill hap.

Solon ſaid that happines conſiſted in a good life and death.

The doctrine of Socrates & of the papists is all one touching the hope of life and death.

The common opinion of men concerning happines & unhappines

Wherat Apollonius maruelled moſt.

Notable reaſons to ſhew that no worldly thing can be called good and that happines cannot be perfected by any ſuch thing.

Wherein true
happines con-
sisteth.

Who are vn-
happie.

The happines
of man com-
meth from
within him.

Our life is
compared to
table-play.

Alexander &
Crates oppo-
sed one
against ano-
ther.

honor or pleasure can be truly called Goods, seeing oftentimes they are the cause of so many evils, waxe old, and vanish away many times as soon as a man hath received them; and lastly, worke in vs an vn-satiabie desire of them. How many men are there to whom all these men haue bene the occasion of euill? And how can we call that good which being possessed, and that in abundance, cannot yet keepe the owner thereof from being vnhappy and miserable? Wherefore we may say, that happines cannot be perfected by the possession of humane and mortall things, neither vn-happinesse through the want of them, but that the true felicity which we ought to desire in this world, consisteth in the goodnes of the soule, nourished in the hope of that vn-speakable and euerlasting happines, which is promised and assured vnto it in the second life. And so we say, that none are vnhappy but they, who by reason of their peruerfenes, feeble their conscience a doubting of the expectation of eternall promises: as also they that giue ouer themselves to vice, whose nature is to corrupt, destroy, and infect with the venome that is alwaies about it, all things whereof it taketh hold. As for the common miseries of mans life, they cannot in any sort make him vnhappy, whose naturall disposition and manners being framed and decked with vertue, are able to giue and to impart to every condition of his life, whether it be poore or rich, prosperous or aduerse, honorable or contemptible; happines, ioy, pleasure and contentation, which flowe in his soule abundantly from that fountaine and liuely spring which Philosophie hath discovered vnto him in the fertile field of Graces and Sciences, whereby he enioyeth true tranquility and rest of spirit, as much as a man may haue in this mortall life, moderating the perturbations of his soule, and commanding ouer the vn-pure affections of the flesh. And then as the shoo turneth with the fashion of the foote, and not contrary wise, so the inward disposition of a wise and moderate man causeth him to leade a life like vnto the same, that is, milde, peaceable and quiet, beeing neuer carried away with vn-reasonable passions, because she neuer enioyeth or reioiceth immoderately in that which she hath, but useth well that which is put into her hand, without feare or repining if it be taken away: following therein in the saying of *Democritus*, that whosoener mindeth to liue alwaies happily, must propound to himselfe and desire things possible, and bee content with things present. Therefore seeing the fountaine of all felicity and contentation in this life is within vs, let vs cure and cleanse diligently all perturbations which seek to hinder the tranquility of our spirits, to the end that externall things which come from without vs against our will and expectation, may seeme vnto vs friendly and familiar after wee know how to vse them well. *Plato* compared our life to table-play, wherein both the dice must chance well, and the plaier must vse that well which the dice shall cast. Now of these two points the euent and lotte of the Dice is not in our power, but to receiue mildly and moderately that which falleth vnto vs, and to dispose every thing in that place where it may either profit most if it be good, or doe least hurt if it be bad, that is in our power, and belongeth to our duty if we be wise men. Fortune (saith *Plutarch*) may well cast mee into sicknes, take away my goods, bring me in disgrace with the people: but shee cannot make him wicked, a coward, slothfull, base minded or enuious, that is honest, valiant, and noble minded; nor take from him his settled and temperate disposition of prudence, which maketh him to iudge, that no tedious, grievous or troublesome thing can befall him. For being grounded, not vpon vanishing goods, but vpon philosophicall sententes, and firme discourses of reason, he may say, I haue preuented thee fortune, I haue closed vp al thy chances, & stopped the waies of entrance in vpon me: & so led a ioyfull life as long as vertue, and that part which is proper to man are strongest. And if peradventure some great inconuenience happen vnto him against all hope, which humane power is not able to ouercome, then with ioy of spirit hee considereth that the haven of safety is at hand, wherein hee may saue himselfe by swimming out of the body as out of a Skiffe that leadeth, departing boldly and without feare from the miseries of the world, that he may enioy absolute and perfect happines. *Alexander the Great*, hauing vnder his dominion more than halfe the world, when he heard the Philosopher *Anaxarchus* dispute and maintain that there was innumerable worlds, he began to weep saying, *Haue I not good cause to be sorrowfull and to mourne, if there be an infinite number of worlds, seeing as yet I haue not bin able to make my selfe Lord of one?* But *Crates* the Philosopher being brought vp in the schoole of wisdom, and hauing in stead of all wealth but an old cloke and a scrip, neuer wept in all his life, but was alwaies seene merry, and passing ouer his daies cheerfully. By which two kinds of life contrary one to another, it appeareth sufficiently that it is within our selues, and not in outward things, wherein we must seeke for the foundation of a certaine ioy, which is watered and flourisheth in strength by the remembrance of good and vertuous actions

actions proceeding from the soule guided by right knowledge and reason. *Homer* bringeth in *Agamemnon* complaining greatly because hee was to commaund so great a part of the world, as if he had an intollerable burthen vpon his shoulders. Whereas *Diogenes* when hee was to be sold for a slave, lying all along, mocked the Sergeant that cried him to sale, and would not rise vp when he commanded him, but scoffingly said vnto him, If thou wert to sell a fish, wouldest thou make it arise? Crie this rather, *that if any man want a master, he should buy me: for I can serue his turne well.* Whereby we may fitly note this, that all the happinesse, rest, and contentation of man dependeth of vertue onely, and not of worldly greatnesse and glorie. For this reason the selfe same *Diogenes* beholding a stranger come from *Lacedemonia*, more curiously decked on a festiuall day than he was wont, said vnto him: *What? Doth not an honest man thinke that every day is festiuall vnto him?* And truly there is nothing that ought to moue vs so much to shew all outward signes of ioy, or that breederh such fereuitie and calmenes against the tempestuous waues of humane miseries and calamities, than to haue the soule pure and cleane from all wicked deeds, wils, and counsels, and the manners vndefiled, not troubled or infected with any vice. For then acknowledging the estate of mortall and corruptible things, we iudge them vnworthy the care of our soules, that we may wholly lift them vp to the contemplation of heavenly & eternall things, wherein our happinesse and perfect felicitie consisteth. Hereby we learne, that in the second life only we are to seeke for and to expect the fruition of true happinesse, which can neuer increase or be diminished. For as no man can make a line straighter than that which is straight, and as nothing is more iust than that which is iust: so he that is happie can not be more happy. Otherwise vntill a man had gotten all that might be had, his desires would neuer be settled, and so no man should be called happie. But felicitie is perfect of it selfe. *Cicero* knew it well enough, when hee said: *That no man standeth in feare of great things, could be happie:* and in that respect no man liuing can be so, but to speake in deede of a happie life, that is it which is perfect and absolute. To the end therefore that we may reape some profite by our present discourse, let vs neuer thinke that any man may be called happie or unhappie, because he is aduanced or disgraced, with honours, goods, and worldly commodities, or because he is partaker either of prosperitie or aduersitie, throughout his whole life. But he onely ought to be esteemed happy in this world, that knoweth in rest and quietnesse of soule how to vse both estates, and neuer suffereth himselfe to be carried away or troubled with vn-cleane desires, but with all his heart seeketh for the possession of a firme, stedfast, and abiding Good, being assured, as we said, that not one of those things wherein a happie life consisteth shall waxe olde, perith, or fall to decay. To conclude, he is happy that sheweth in all his workes and actions of this life a paterne of honesty and vertue, being moderate in prosperitie, and constant in aduersitie. A man thus affected and disposed, will behaue himselfe without reproofe in the time present, will call to minde with ioy and pleasure the time past, and will boldly and without distrust draw neere to the time to come, even with a cheerefull and ioyfull hope of better things, and with a stedfast expectation of that vnspokeable and endlesse happines, which is prepared for the elect.

Agamemnon.

Diogenes.

Common.

Where we must seeke for true happines.

Who is happy in this world.

Agamemnon.

Of Prosperitie and Aduersitie. Chap. 32.

AMA- **B**eing in our former discourse entred into the diuers and contrary effects which the nature and condition of worldly affaires draw with them, whereof euery one in his particular place may daily haue good and sufficient testimonies: and seeing through the malice and corruption of our age, all things are at that point, as if they meant to lay more hard and difficult crosses vpon vs to sustaine, I thinke we shall not depart from our matter, if we seeke for some instruction whereby to gouerne our selues prudently in prosperitie and in aduersitie, considering the effects of both of the one and the other, to the end we may auoide those that are most pernicious, and retaine still with vs that constancie and worthinesse that is required in the vertue of Fortitude, which teacheth a man how hee ought to behaue himselfe nobly in euery estate and condition of life. For as gold transfigured by the workeman, now into one fashion, and then into another, is transformed into sundrie kindes of ornaments, and yet remaineth alwaies that which it is, without any alteration of substance: so it behooueth a wise and noble minded man to continue alwaies the same in things that are contrarie and diuers, without any alteration and change of his constancie and vertue. But I leaue the discourse of this matter to you my Companions.

A pretie comparison.

A similitude. **ARAM.** As a man (saith Scipio) deliuereth ouer his horses, (which because they haue beene in many skirmishes, are become resty, furious, and untractable) to the yomen of his horses, to bring them into good order againe: so men that are growne to be unruly through prosperitie, must be brought as it were to a round circle, that they may consider of the inconstancy of worldly things, and of the variablenesse of wretched fortune.

A similitude. **ACHITO B.** In prosperitie (saith Euripides) bee not lift up too much, and in aduersitie hope the best alwaies. And as in a fire (saith Socrates) it is good to behold a cleare brightnesse: so is a moderate soule in felicitie. But let vs heare **A SER:** who will handle that which here is propounded more at large.

Common effects of the fraile nature of man.

Prosperitie more hurtfull than aduersity

Plato was requested by the Cyrenians to giue them law.

A SER. As men prouide bulwarks and banks against a river that vseth to overflow: so he that desireth to liue happily, must fortifie himselfe with powerfull and conuenient vertues, to resist the hurtfull assaults which the vnlooked for successe of humane affaires make vpon him continually, both in prosperitie and in aduersity. For questionlesse nothing is hardlier kept within compasse, than hee that hath all things according to his hearts desire: neither is any thing so much cast downe, or sooner discouraged than the same man, when hee is afflicted and misseth of his purpose. All minds are not resolute and constant enough from slipping beside themselves, and beyond the limits of reason, neither in great prosperitie, which puffeth and lifteth vp mens hearts, especially theirs that are base by nature; nor yet in vnlooked for aduersitie, which through the heauy burthen thereof oftentimes astonisheth and amazeth them that are thought to be best settled and assured. But if we consider apart the pernicious effects which issue from these two contraries, when reason doth not guide and gouerne them, we shall finde nothing but pride in the one, and faintnes of heart, basenes of minde, & oftentimes despaire in the other. Notwithstanding we may well note this, that prosperitie hath alwaies bin the cause of far greater euils to men than aduersity, and that it is easier for a man to beare this patiently, than not to forget himselfe in the other. Whereof I thinke we may not vnfitly alledge for a reason that which *Menander* saith: that man of all other living creatures is aptest to fall suddenly downe from high to low, because hee dareth undertake the greatest matters although he be weake. Whereupon being as it were naturally subiect to falling, it is not so strange vnto him, being better furnished for that (seeing he is or ought to bee prepared therto long before) than when against his naturall disposition hee ascendeth to some greatnesse not hoped for. Now, whether it be for this reason, or because vice is his proper inheritance, the memorie of the time past aswell as of the present time, furnisheth vs with sufficient testimonies, seeing few are found that forgoe not themselves in their prosperitie, whereas many haue behaued themselves wisely, and taken occasion to bee better in their aduersitie. Which beeing vnderstood of *Plato*, when hee was requested by the Cyrenians a people of Grecia, to write downe lawes for them, and to appoint them some good forme of government for their common-wealth: he answered, That it was a very hard matter to prescribe lawes to so rich, happy, and wealthie a people as they were. For commonly those cities which in short time come suddenly to great felicity, grow to be insolent, arrogant, and vneasie to range in order: neither is there any thing for the most part prouder, than a poore man made rich: as contrariwise none are so ready to receiue counsell and direction, as he whom fortune hath ouerrunne. He that is pressed greatly with aduersity, is seldome puffed vp with pride, or vanquished of lust, or drowned in couetousnesse, or overtaken with giuttonie, or lift vp with desire and worldly glory: all which imperfections happen commonly to those vpon whom fortune too much fawneth. That felicitie (saith *Seneca*) which hath not beene hurt, cannot endure one blow: but when it hath had a long and continuall combate with discommodities, and hath hardened it selfe by suffering and bearing iniuries, then doth it not suffer it selfe to be overcome of any euill. Now one of the greatest benefits that a man may haue in this life, is, neither to bee changed by aduersitie, nor lift vp with prosperitie: but to bee as a well rooted tree, which, although it bee shaken with sundry windes, yet cannot bee ouerthrowne by any of them. And truly it is very ridiculous that that which commeth to all worldly things by an ordinary and naturall course, euen by the sequelle of causes linked together and depending one of another, changing the estate of mortall things, should haue power to alter or to make any mutation in reason and wisdom, which ought to abide stedfast in the minde of man. For this cause *Plato* said that there was nothing but vertue could tame it, and that men furnished therewith behaued themselves constantly and courageously in both kindes of fortune. Vertue (saith *Cicero*) abideth calme and quiet in the greatest tempest, and although she be driven into exile, yet shee stirreth not out of her place and countrey, but shineth so alwaies of her selfe, that she cannot

cannot bee soiled with the spots of another. This excellent Orator and Philosopher giueth vs also wholsome counsell to oppose against the dangerous effects that are to bee feared in prosperitie. When we are (saith he) in best estate we must vse the counsell of our friends more than we doe commonly, and as long as it continueth we are greatly to beware that wee open not our cares to flatterers, who are the plague and destruction of the greater sort, because all their labor is to propound vnto vs occasions and meanes to enioy delights and pleasures, and to shew our selues to be proud and arrogant, during the time of our prosperity: to the ende wee should put good men farre from vs, and reserue to them onely that authority wherein they are settled. Whereas on the contrary side our true friends would leade vs backe to consider the inconstancie of humane things, to the ende that wee abuse not our felicitie, but behaue our selues as a wise Pilot doth, who alwaies feareth a smiling calmes in the maine sea. Which consideration maketh a man constant and resolute to beare and endure all sinister chances, and not so ready and easie to be deceiued, because hee alwaies feareth and distrusteth fortune. Let vs now come to examples of that which we haue here alleadged. As touching the pernicious effects of ouer great prosperitie, they may well bee noted in *Alexander the Great*, who although hee was endued with notable and rare vertues, yet could not vse moderately the great good speed and happie successe of all his enterprises, but being conquered of the Persian delights, gaue himselfe ouer to commit many insolencies, and then filled with presumption and pride, would haue beene worshipped. *Iulius Caesar* being ascended into the highest degree of fauourable fortune that he could desire, and lending his eare ouer freely to flatterers, would be called and declared a king, (which name was most odious to the Romans since the time that *Tarquinius* was banished, as we mentioned before) and retained alwaies to himselfe the authority and power of a Dictator, which before continued but a certaine time. He bestowed the publike offices and places of honour vpon whom he thought good, whereof proceeded the ill will of his subiects, and in the ende his destruction. The greatnesse of *Pompey* was that which afterward ouerthrew him. For imploying his credite to fauour others vnjustly, it fell out to him as to cities that suffer their enemies to enter euen into their strongest places, diminishing so much of their owne forces, as they add to others that wish them no good. Which thing *Sylla* the Dictator did very notably giue him to vnderstand, when he saw that *Pompey* by his countenance and fauour had brought *Lepidus* a wicked man to the dignity of Consulship. I see well (quoth *Sylla* to him) thou art very glad because thou hast preuailed in this suite: and sure thou hast great cause so to bee. For it is a goodly matter, and the point of a noble man to be so gracious with the people, that through thy fauour *Lepidus* the wickedest man in the world hath carried away the Consulship before *Catullus* the honestest man in all the citie. But I aduise thee to beware of sleeping now, and to haue a vigilant eye to thy busines, because thou hast armed and made strong an aduersarie against thy selfe. Whereof *Pompey* had experience afterward in those warres which *Lepidus* raised, against whom he was sent by the Senate, and in the end obtained the victorie. But the fauour he bare to *Caesar*, entring vpon the government of publike affaires, came not to that passe. For he was afterward ouerthrowne by the same meanes wherewith he had strengthened *Caesar* against others. Out of which we may draw an excellent doctrine for all that are placed in authority, or that haue the cares of great men at commandement, that they neuer cause the wicked to bee aduanced. For as the worme that is bred at the foote of a tree, groweth with it, and in the ende destroyeth it: so a wicked man aduanced by the fauour of one greater than himselfe, becometh afterward vnthankfull and trecherous vnto him. This moued *Archdamides* the Lacedaemonian to answer in this sort one that commended *Charilaus* king of Sparta, because hee shewed himselfe alike curteous to all: But how deserueth that man praise, who sheweth himselfe curteous towards the wicked? Now to returne to our speech touching the effects of prosperitie, not ruled by the reason of true prudence, what is more hatefull, or hath at any time beene more hurtfull to men than pride? Which (as *Plato* saith) dwelleth with solitarinesse, that is to say, is so hated, that in the ende it is forsaken of all the world? And whereof it is bred sooner than of prosperity? Which that wise man and excellent Romane captaine *Paulus Aemilius* knowing full well, after the victory gotten by him against *Perfes* king of Macedonia, being desirous to admonish the men of war that were in his army, and to keepe them within the compasse of their duty, he vsed these or the like speeches vnto them: *Is there any man now my friends and companions, that ought to waxe proud, and to glory in the posteritie of his affaires, if hee hath lucke too his liking and not rather to feare the sicklenes of fortune, who euen at this present setteth before our eyes such a notable example of the common frailty of man, subiect to the ordinary course*

Good counsell for those that are in prosperitie.

Alexander.

Iulius Caesar.

Pompey.

A wise foresight of *Sylla.*

An excellent oration of *P. Aemilius* to his souldiers.

course

course of fatall destinie, which turneth about continually: You see how in a moment of an houre wee haue beaten downe and put vnder our feete the house of Alexander the Great, who was the mightiest and most redoubted Prince in the world. You see a King not long since followed and accompanied with so many thousand fighting men brought to such miserie, that being prisoner hee must receiue his meate and drinke at the hands of his enemies. Ought wee to trust more to our good happe, and to thinke it more firme and assured? Truly no. And therefore let vs learne to humble our selues, and to restraine this foolish arrogancy and proud insolencie, wherewith our youth seemeth to be overcome by reason of the victory obtained by vs: and let vs expect to what ende and issue fortune will guide the enny of this present prosperitie.

M. Aurelius

Philip king of
Macedonia

Archidamas.

Cyrus.

The instabili-
ty of humane
things.

The common
effects of ad-
uersity

The fruits of
the studie of
Philosophie.

Marcus Aurelius after hee had vanquished Popilion, Generall of the Parthians, spake thus vnto him: I tell thee of a truth that I stand in greater feare of Fortune at this present, than I did before the battell. For hee careth not so much to ouertake the conquered, as to subdue and vanquish the Conquerors. This selfe same consideration caused Philip king of Macedonia, after he receiued newes of three great and sundry prosperities in one day, to vtter this speech: O fortune (said hee) (holding vp his hands towards heauen) I pray thee send mee for a counterbuffe some meane aduersity. Likewise after hee had overcome in battell the Athenians at Cherronenus, and by this victorie obtained the Empire of Græcia, hee commanded a little Page to crye vnto him thrise a day, Philip, remember that thou art a man: so greatly did hee feare least through arrogancy arising of his prosperity, hee should commit any thing that did not beecome him. The same thing did Archidamas the sonne of Agesilaus very well and wisely teach him, to whom Philip after hee was a Conqueror had written a very sharpe and rough letter: If thou measurest thy shadow (answered Archidamas) thou shalt finde that it is not waxen greater since thou didst overcome. The prosperity which Cyrus Monarch of the Persians alwaies had in all his enterprises, was the cause of that trusting too much thereunto, hee would not giue eare to the counsell of Cræsus, when hee diswaded him from that warre, which hee purposed to vndertake against Tomyris Queene of the Scythians, (which fell out hardly for him) vsing these wordes: Know that all worldly things haue a certaine course, which doth not suffer them to ende happily that haue alwaies had fortune prosperous, which hee might well speake by experience in himselfe. But Cyrus hauing already subdued all Asia, part of Græcia, the kingdome of Babylon, with infinite other places, and beholding his army to consist of sixe score thousand men, thought hee could not bee vanquished. Whereupon giuing battell to Tomyris, he lost his life, together with the renoune of so many goodly victories (being now overcome by a woman) his whole army also being hewen in peeces. And truly as one puffe of winde causeth the goodliest fruits, which beautifie the whole Orchard, to fall from the tree: so a little disgrace, a sudden mishap in one instant bringeth to nothing, and pulleth downe the greatnesse, wealth, and prosperity of men. And when wee thinke to lay a sure foundation of prosperity, even then is all changed, and the order of our conceits peruered and turned into an vnlooked for disorder and confusion. Now let vs come to consider particularly of the effects of aduersitie. There are few folks (if they bee not destitute of all good iudgement) that are ignorant and vnderstand not what belongeth to their duty, so long as prosperity lasteth: but few there are, who in great ouerthwarts and shakings of fortune, haue hearts sufficiently staied to practise and imitate that which they commend and make account of, or to flye from that which they mislike and reprehend. Nay rather they are carried away, and through custome of liuing at ease, together with frailty and faintnesse of heart, they start aside, and alter their first discourses. This is that which Terence meaneth, where hee saith, That when wee are in good health, wee giue a great deale better counsell to the diseased, than wee can take to our selues when wee stand in neede thereof. Notwithstanding hee that is beaten downe and humbled by affliction, easily suffereth himselfe to bee directed, gladly receiveth and harkneth to the aduice of good men, and if there bee any little seede of vertue in him, it increaseth daily, whereas prosperity would soone choake it. And if hee hath profited well in the studie of of wisdom, hee doth as Bees doe, which draw the best and driest honie out of Time, although it bee a very bitter herbe. So out of most troublesome accidents hee knoweth how to reape benefit and commodity, resolving with himselfe and taking counsell according to the mishaps that light vpon him. He doubteth not of this, that it is the duty of wise and vertuous men not onely to desire prosperity in all things, but also to endure aduersity with constancy and modesty. Hee knoweth that as the fruition of prosperity is for the most part full of sweetnesse, when it is not abused, so the constant suffering of aduersity is alwaies replenished and accompanied with great honour; and such a one may truly bee called noble and couragious, yea, he sheweth himselfe a great deale better to bee so in deede when hee yeeldeth not, nor fainteth in afflictions, than if hee

were

were in prosperity, which puffing vp the hearts of cowards and base mindes, causeth them sometimes to seeme couragious, when as they are lift vp by fortune into a high degree of honour and felicity, whereas in truth there is no such matter in them. *Cræsus* king of the Lydians being throwne from his estate and made prisoner to *Cyrus*, shewed greater vertue & generositie of hart at that time, than he did al the while he enioyed his great wealth, through which being puffed vp with pride, he would haue had *Solon* iudged him most happy. For being vpon a blocke ready to be buried, and both remembring and fitly applying to himselfe those wise discourses which hee heard *Solon* make vnto him concerning the small assurance that we haue in worldly felicity, and how no man ought to be called happy before the hower of his death, he resolued with himselfe to die constantly and cheerfully. And calling to mind this benefit which he receiued by the meanes of that wise man, whereupon he felt his soule filled with ioy: he repeated aloud three times the name of *Solon*, vnto no other words. Whereof *Cyrus* asking the cause, he vttered vnto him the selfe same discourses, which touched the heart of this Monarch in such sort, that presently changing the ill will he bare to *Cræsus*, he fully restored him to the fruition of his kingdome, and kept him neare vnto himselfe for one of his chiefe and principall counsellors. The Romanes (as *Polybius* saith) neuer observed their lawes more straightly, neuer caused the discipline of warre to be kept more seuerely, & were neuer so well aduised and constant, as after the Carthaginians had obtained of them the third victory at the battle of Cannas. And contrariwise, there were nothing bur partakeings and factions in Carthage, lawes were neuer lesse esteemed, magistrates neuer lesse regarded, nor manners more corrupted than at that time. But within a litle while after, they fel from the highest degree of their felicity, into vtter ruine, and the Romanes restored their owne estate into greater glory than it was in before. Vertue is, alwaies like to the Date tree: For the more she is oppressed and burthened, the higher she listeth vp her selfe, and sheweth her invincible power, and strength, ouer which fortune can nothing preuaile. And although aduersitie somewhat troubleth a vertuous man, yet is it not able to altar his noble courage, but remaining firme and constant, he knoweth how to take all things as exercises of his vertue; which, as an ancient man said, withereth and loseth her vigor without aduersitie. It is euident therefore that the effects of aduersitie are not so perditionous to a man, as those which prosperity commonly bringeth vnto him. For this latter is of a proud and presumptuous nature, alwaies enuied; and as commonly it is not freely admonished so it giueth eare vnto and receiueh as little: but the other is plaine and simple, followed of compassion, and ready to receiue counsell. Besides, it awaketh a Christian, and stirreth him vp to humble himselfe before the maiesty of God, to call vpon him, and to trust wholly on his only grace and vertue. Now if some (as I haue said) are so fainthearted, that they suffer themselves to be ouerwhelmed vnder the burthen of turmoiles and calamities, let vs attribute the causes thereof to ignorance, and want of good iudgement, which depriueth them of learned and sound cogitations and discourses that tend to a constant disposition, wherein the happines of this life consisteth. As for vs, if we desire to approach neere to that perfection which is required by the Sa- ges, let vs propound to our selues their examples to follow, that we may be temperate and constant in every estate and condition of life. Wee reade of *Socrates* that one and the same countenance was noted in him all his life time, that it was neither sadder nor pleasanter for any thing that hapned vnto him. He changed it not when he heard the sentence of his death pronounced, no not when he dranke the poison, following therein the contents of his condemnation, albeit then he was about threescore yeares of age. *Publius Rutilus* a Romane, being vniustly banished, neuer changed his countenance or behauiour, neither would put one any other gowne than that he vsed to weare, although it was the custome of such as were banished, to altar the same. Neither would he leaue off the marks of a Senator, nor request the iudges to absolue him, but led the rest of his daies with the same greatnesse, grauity and authority that he vsed before, not shewing himselfe any thing beaten downe with sorrow for the strange alteration of his first estate. *Quintus Metellus* surnamed *Numidicus*, because hee had subdued that countrey of *Numidia*, being driuen into exile through a popular faction and sedition, went into Asia, where as he beheld certaine plaiers, he receiued letters from the Senate, whereby he was certified that the Senators and people with one common consent had called him backe againe. Which good newes he bare with the like modesty that he did his banishment, not departing from the Theater before the sports were ended, nor shewing his letters to any of his friends that were round about him before he had assembled them together in his lodging to deliberate of his returne to Rome. The same grauity and constancy cau-

*Cræsus.*The Romanes
were wise &
constant in
aduersitie.The property
of vertue
oppressed.The wonder-
full constancy
of *Socrates*.*P. Rutilus.**Q. Metellus.*

Diogenes.

caused *Diogenes*, when he heard one hit him in the teeth with his banishment from Pontus by the Synopians, to make this answer: *And I haue bounded them within the countrey of Pontus.* Wee must account the whole scope of the firmament for the bounds of our countrey as long as weeline here. Neither ought any man within those limits to esteeme himselfe either banished, or a stranger: seeing God governeth all things by the same elements. Therefore *Socrates* said, that hee tooke not himselfe to bee either an Athenian or a Græcian, but a worldling. And how shall wee thinke that they who sustained so courageously their banishment from their countrey, (which was so deare vnto them, that they preferred the benefit thereof before the safety of their life) their deprivation and absence from their families, friends and goods, would not much more vertuously haue suffered all lesse aduersities? Therefore to end our present discourse, let vs learne that nothing belonging to this present life hath neither more euill nor good in it, than according to the ende which befalleth it, and that it is our duty to keepe our selues moderate, constant, and vpright, both in prosperity and in aduersitie, which is the propertie of true magnanimitie and greatnesse of courage. Let vs not lift vp our selues aboue measure for any temporall felicitie, nor bee too much discouraged because wee are visited with aduersity, but wisely expect what will bee the end of both, which a good and vertuous man shall alwaies find to bee happy when hee changeth his mortall estate for a life that is certaine and euermlasting.

Socrates tooke
the whole
world for his
countrey.

The end of the eight daies worke.

The ninth daies worke.

Of Riches. Chap. 37.

ASER.



Yesterday wee bestowed the better part of the day in discoursing of good and ill hap, of prosperity and aduersity, which with a swift pace following each other, seeme to change, to turne, and to overturne incessantly the dealings and desires of men. Now forasmuch as wee made mention of the ignorant multitude which placeth happinesse and felicitie in the fading goods of the world, and affirmed to the contrarie, that this felicity was very miserable, because

it maketh a man more insolent and arrogant, and giueth him greater occasion to bewaile, than to reioyce in his fortune; I thinke wee ought to consider more neerely of the nature of such goods as are no goods, beginning with riches whereunto men are slaues, more than to any other thing, albeit they procure them the greatest euils.

A MANA. Riches (saith *Epictetus*) are not in the number of goods. For they stir vs vp to superfluity, and pull vs backe from temperance. And therefore it is a very hard matter for a rich man to be temperate, or for a temperate man to be rich. As a man cannot vse a horse (saith *Socrates*) without a bridle, so hee cannot vse Riches without reason.

The fruits of
riches.

ARAM. It is almost impossible (saith *Diogenes*) that vertue should dwell in a rich cittie or house. For riches bring with them pride to him that possesseth them, excessive desire in gathering them, couetousnesse in keeping them, and filthinesse and dissolutenesse in the enioying of them. But let vs heare *ACHITOB*, who will handle this matter more at large.

ACHITOB. As children of three or foure yeares of age haue no more care or thought, but how they may play and passe away their time with the hauiing of daily foode according to their appetite, not considering or taking any care for the meanes which they might haue, and which would bee necessary for the nourishment of their olde age: so it seemeth to me that the men of our time behaue themselves, when through a more than childish ignorance they labour without ceasing to gather and to increafe wealth, which will doe them seruice but a little while, not caring in the meane time for certaine and immortall goods which will nourish them for ever. And yet the soule created according to the image of God, cannot better preserue and shew forth her diuine nature in this mortall body, than by contemning all earthly, humane, and fading things. But to the end we be not of the number of those that fill themselves with such passions, to purchase their owne destruction, let vs consider by the testimonies

testimonies of the auncient Sages, of the nature and quality of riches, and of the visible effects which they daily bring forth in those that serue and possesse them: next, we wil behold some examples of these famous personages, that we may bee induced thereby to contemne such pernicious goods. Men ought to make great account of riches (saith Socrates) if they were ioyned with true ioy, but they are wholly separated from it. For if rich men fall to vsing of them, they spoile themselves with ouer great pleasure; if they would keepe them, care gnaweth and consumeth them within; and if they desire to get them, they become wicked and unhappy. It cannot be (saith Plato) that a man should be truly good, and very rich both together, but he may well be happy and good at one time. And it is a very miserable saying, to affirme that a rich man is happy: yea it belongeth to children and fooles to say so, making them unhappy that beleue and approoue it. Slouth and sluggishnes grow of riches, and they that are addicted to heape them vp more and more, the greater account they make of them, they lesse esteeme vertue. So that if riches and rich men are greatly set by in a Common wealth, vertue and good men will be much lesse regarded: and yet greater matters are brought to passe, and Common wealths preserued by vertue, and not by riches. Riches (saith Isocrates) serue not so much for the practise of honesty as of wickednesse: seeing they draw the liberty of men to loosenesse and idlenesse, and stirre vp young men to voluptuousnesse. Men (saith Thales) are by nature borne to vertue, but riches draw them backe vnto them, hauing a thousand sortes of sorceries to allure them to vices, and through a false opinion of good to turne them from those things that are truly good. They suffer not him that hath them to be able to know anything, but draw him to externall goods. They are passing arrogant and most fearefull. If they vse themselves, they are riotous; if they abstaine, miserable. They neuer content their owners, nor leaue them void of sorrow and care: but as they that are sicke of the dropsie, the more they drinke become the thirstier, so the more that men abound in wealth the more they desire to haue. Riches of themselves breed flatterers, who helpe to vndoe rich men. They are the cause of infinite murders and bired slaughters: they make couetous persons to contemne the goods of the soule, thinking to become happie without them. They prouoke them also to delicacies and to gluttony, whereby their bodies are subiect to diseases and infirmities. Briefely, riches greatly hurt both body and soule. They stirre vp domesticall sedition, and that among brethren. They make children worse in behauiour towards their fathers, and cause fathers to deale more hardly with their children. Through them it cometh that friends suspect each other: for a true friende is credited no more by reason of a flatterer: Besides, rich men are angry with good men, saying, that they are arrogant: because they will not flatter them, and in like manner they hate such as flatter them, thinking that they keepe about them onely to rob them and to diminish their wealth. These are the euils, which may be said to bee commonly in riches. But these also accompany them, beeing execrable diseases, namely, presumption, pride, arrogancy, vile and abiect cares, which are altogether earthly, naughty desires, wicked pleasures, and an insatiable coueting. Besides, if they were not pernicious of themselves, so many mischiefes would not take their beginning from them. For men commit a thousand murders for gaine. They rob Churches, fidelitie is lost and broken, friendship is violated, men betray their countrey, maidens are loosely giuen: briefly, no euils are left vnexecuted through the desire of riches. They that giue themselves (saith Bion) to gather riches, are very ridiculous, seeing Fortune giueth them, couetousnes keepest them, and liberality casteth them away. Men must haue rich soules, (saith Alexides) as for silver it is nothing but a shew and veile of life. It is a naughty thing (saith Euripides) but common to all rich men, to liue wickedly. The cause thereof as I take it, is this, because they haue nothing but riches in their minde, which beeing blinde, seale up likewise the eies of their understanding. I pray God neuer sende mee a wealthie life, which hath alwaies sorrow and care for her companions, nor riches to gnaw my heart. Speake not to mee of Plute, that is to say of riches, for I make no reckoning of that God, who is alwayes possessed of the most wicked vpon the earth. O riches, you are easie to beare, but infinite cares, miseries, and griefes keepe you companie. Hee (saith, Democritus) that woondereth at such as haue great riches and are esteemed of the ignorant multitude to bee happy, will surely through a desire of hauing, commit and vndertake wicked things, and those oftentimes against the lawes. As drunkennes (saith Aristotle) begetteth rage and madnes, so ignorance ioyned with power, breedeth insolencie and furie. And to those whose minds are not well disposed, neither riches, nor strength, nor beauty, can bee iudged good but the greater increase ariseth of them, the more harme they may procure to him that possesseth them. Morouer, do wee not see that the most part of rich men, either vse not their riches, because they are couetous, or abuse them, because they are giuen ouer to their pleasures, and so they are all the seruants either of pleasures, or of trafficke and gaine, as long as they liue? But he that would bee (as Plato saith) truly rich, ought to labour not so much to augment his wealth, or to diminish his desire of hauing, because he that appointeth no bounds to his desires, is alwaies poore and needy. For this cause the liberty of a wise mans soule, who knoweth nature of externall goods belonging to this life, is neuer troubled

Of the nature
quality, and
effects of
riches.

Riches of
themselves
are the good
gifts of God,
but the euils
wrought for
or by them
come from
the corrupt
nature of man

The Poets
fained Plute
to be the God
of riches,
appointing
hell for his
kingdome.

The euil dis-
position of
the mind is
the true cause
of the hurt
that cometh
by riches.

From whence
happines and
contentation
cometh.

Great mad-
nes in coue-
ting in ony.

Examples of
the contempt
of Riches.

M Curius.

Phocion.

Philopamen.

with the care of them, being assured (as Plutarke saith) that as it is not apparell which giueth heate to a man, but onely staieth and keepeth in naturall heate that proceedeth from the man himselfe, by binding it from dispersing in the aire: so no man liueth more happily or contentedly, because he is compassed about with much wealth, if tranquillity, ioy, and rest, proceede not from within his soule. Heape vp (saith the same Philosopher) store of gold, gather siluer together, builde faire galleries, fill a whole house full of slaves, and a whole towne with thy debtors: yet if thou doest not master the passions of thy soule, if thou quencheest not thy insatiable desire, nor deliuerest thy soule of all feare and carking care, thou doest as much to procure thy quietnesse, as if thou gauest wine to one that had an ague. Life of it selfe (saith Plato) is not ioyfull, vnlesse care bee chased away, which causeth vs to waxe gray headed, whilest wee desire but meane store of riches. For the superfluous desire of hauing, alwayes gnaweth our hearts. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that oftentimes amongst men we see pouerty to be better than riches, and death than life. And truly there is great madnesse in the greedy coueting of monie. For they that are touched with this maladie, follow after riches with such zeale, as if they supposed that when they had gotten them, no more euill should come neere them. And then also they set so light by those which they haue, that they burne with the desire of hauing more. How then shall wee call that good, which hath no end or measure? Or that which being gotten, is the beginning of a further desire to haue more? A horse (saith Epictetus) is not said to bee better, because hee hath eaten more then another, or because he hath a gilt harnessse, but because hee is stronger, swifter, and better made: for euery beast is accounted of according to his vertue. And shall a man be esteemed according to his riches, ancestors, and beauty? If any thinke that his old age shall bee borne more easily by the meanes of riches, hee deceiuet himselfe. For they may well cause him to enioy the hurtfull pleasures of the body, but cannot take from him sadnesse, horreur, and feare of death: nay rather double his griefe, when he thinketh that hee must leaue and forsake them. In this short discourse taken from ancient men, the vanity of riches appeareth sufficiently vnto vs, as also the hurtfull effects that flow from them, if they be not ruled by the reason of true prudence. Hereafter wee are to see how wee may vse those riches well, which God putteth into our hands, being iustly gotten by vs: which is a part of iustice, whereof we are to entreate. In the meane time, that wee fasten not our hearts to so friuolous and vaine a thing, let vs call to minde some examples of wise and famous men, worthy of immortall renowne, who haue altogether contemned, eschued, and despised the couetous desire and hoording vp of riches, as the plague and vnauoideable ruine of the soule. Wee reade of Marcus Curius a Romane Consul, (the first of his time that receiued thrice the dignity of triumphing for the notable victories which he had obtained in the honor of his countrey) that he made so small account of worldly riches, that all his possession was but a little farme in the countrey sorily built, wherein he continued for the most part when publike affaires suffered him, himselfe labouring and tilling that little grounde which hee had there. And when certaine Embassadors vpon a day came to visit him, they found him in his chimney dressing of radish for his supper. And when they presented him with a great summe of monie from their Comonalty, he refused it, saying: that they which contented themselves with such an ordinarie as his was, had no neede of it: and that hee thought it far more honourable to command them that had gold, than to haue it. Phocion the Athenian being visited with Embassadors from Alexander, they presented him with a hundred talents (being in value threescore thousand crownes) which this Monarch sent vnto him for a gift. Phocion demanding the cause why, seeing there were so many Athenians besides him, they answered. Because their maister iudged him only among al the rest to be a vertuous and good man. Then (quoth he) let him suffer me both to seeme and to be so indeed, and carry his present backe againe to him. Notwithstanding hee was needie, as may bee prooued by the answer which he made to the Athenian Councell, who demanded a voluntary contribution of euery one towards a sacrifice. And when there were no more left to contribute but he, they were very importunate with him to giue somewhat. It were a shame for me (said he vnto me) to giue you money, before I haue payed this man, & therewithall hee shewed one vnto them that had lent him a certaine sum of money. Philopamen Generall of the Achaians, hauing procured a league of amity betweene the City of Sparta, and his owne, the Lacedemonians sent him a present of sixescore Talents, which were worth threescore & twelue thousand crownes. But refusing it, he went purposely to Sparta, where he declared to the Councell, that they ought not to corrupt and win honest men, or their friends with money, seeing in their need they might bee assured of them, and vse their vertue freely without cost: but that they were to buy & gaine with hired rewards, the wicked, and such as by their seditious orations in the Senate house vsed to raise mutinies, and to set the citie on fire; to the end that their mouthes being stop-
ped

ped by giftes, they might procure lesse trouble to the gouernment of the Common-wealth. A great Lord of Persia comming from his countrey to Athens, and perceiuing that hee stode in great neede of his aide and fauour of *Cimon*, who was one of the chiefe in the city, he presented vnto him two cuppes that were both full, the one of Dariques of golde, the other of siluer Dariques. This wise Græcian beginning to smile, demaunded of him whether of the twaine he had rather haue him to be, his friend, or his hireling? The Persian answered, that he had a great deale rather haue him his friend. Then (said *Cimon* carry back again thy gold and siluer. For if I bee thy friend, it will bee alwaies at my commaundement to vse as often as I shall neede. *Anacreon* hauing receiued of *Polycrates* five talents for a gift, was so much troubled for the space of two nights with care how he might keepe them, and about what to imploy them best, that he carried them backe againe, saying: That they bee not woorth the paines which he had already taken for them. *Xenocrates* refused thirty thousand crownes of *Alexander*, sent vnto him for a present, saying: That hee had no neede of them. What (quoth *Alexander*) hath hee neuer a friend? For mine owne part, I am sure that all king *Darius* treasure will scarce suffice mee to distribute among my friends. *Socrates* being sent for by king *Archelaus* to come vnto him, who promised him great riches, sent him word, that a measure of flower was sould in Athens for a Double, and that water cost nothing. And although it seemeth (quoth this Philosopher) that I haue not goods enough, yet I haue enough, seeing I am contented therewith. What is necessary (said *Menander*) for the vse of our life besides these two things, Bread and Water? *Bias* flying out of his city which he fore saw would bee besieged without hope of rescue, would not lode himselfe with his wealth as others did. And being demaunded the cause why, I carrie (quoth hee) all my goods with mee: meaning the inuisible gifts and graces of his mind. Truly gold and siluer are nothing but dust, and precious stones but the grauell of the sea. And (as *Pythagoras* said) we ought to perswade our selues, that those riches are not ours which are not inclosed in our soule. According to which saying, *Socrates* when he saw that *Alcibiades* waxed arrogant because of the great quantity of ground, which he possessed, shewed him an vniuersal Map of the world, and asked him whether he knew which were his landes in the territory of Athens. Whereunto when *Alcibiades* answered, that they were not described nor set downe there: How is it then (quoth this wise man) that thou braggest of that thing which is no part of the world? One meane which *Lycurgus* vsed, and which helped him much in the reforming of the Lacedemonian estate, was the disanulling of all gold and siluer coine, and the appointing of iron monie onely to be currant, a pound weight whereof was woorth but sixe pence. For by this meanes he banished from among them the desire of riches, which are no lesse cause of the ouerthrow of Common wealths than of priuate men. This moued *Plato* to say, that he would not haue the Princes and gouernors of his Common wealth, nor his men of war and soldiers, to deale at all with gold & siluer: but that they should haue allowed them out of the common treasure whatsoeuer was necessary for them. For as long gownes hinder the body, so do much riches the soule. Therefore if we desire to liue happily in tranquility and rest of soule, and with ioy of spirit, let vs learne after the example of so many great men to withdraw our affections wholly from the desire of worldly riches, not taking delight and pleasure (as *Diogenes* said) in that which shall perish, and is not able to make a man better but oftentimes woorse. Let vs further know that (according to the Scripture) no man can serue God and riches together, but that all they which desire them greedily, fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts which drowne men in perdition, whereof wee haue eye-witnesse daily before vs. This appeareth in that example which the selfe same word noteth vnto vs of the rich man that abounded in al things, so that he willed his soule to take her ease, and to make good cheere, because she had so much goods laid vp for many yeares: and yet the same night he was to pay tribute vnto nature, to his ouerthrow and confusio. Being therefore instructed by the Spirit of wisdom, let vs treasure vp in Iesus Christ the permanent Riches of wisdom, piety, and iustice, which of themselves are sufficient through his grace to make vs liue with him for euer.

*Cimon.**Anacreon.**Xenocrates.**Socrates.*

Five Doubles
in France
make a peny
of our coine.

Lycurgus abro-
gated the vse
of gold & sil-
uer coine.

Luk. 16. 13.

1. Tim. 6. 9.

Luk. 12. 16.

What riches
we ought to
treasure vp.

Of Pouerty. Chap. 34.

ACHI-
TOB.

NOW that we haue seene the nature of Riches with the most common effects which flowe from them, and seeing the chiefe and principall cause that leadeth men so earnestly to desire them, is the feare of falling into

N 2

pouerty

The chiefe
cause why ri-
ches are so
earnestly de-
sired.

pouerty, which through error of iudgement they account a very great euill, I am of opinion, that we are to enter into a particular consideration thereof, to the end that such a false per-
swasion may neuer deceiue vs, nor cause vs to goe astray out of the right path of Vertue.

A S E R. Pouerty (saide *Diogenes*) is a helpe to Philosophie, and is learned of it selfe. For that which Philosophie seeketh to make vs know by words, pouerty perswadeth vs in the things themselves.

A M A N A. Rich men stand in need of many precepts, as, *That they liue thriftily and soberly: that they exercise their bodies: that they delight not too much in the decking of them,* and infinite others which pouerty of her selfe teacheth vs. But let vs heare A R A M discourse more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

Against those
that thinke
poore men
lesse happy
than the rich.

A pretty com-
parison.

Mat. 19. 21. 23

No compari-
son betweene
worldly and
heavenly
treasures.

A R A M. If we consider how our common mother the earth, being prodigall in giuing vnto vs all things necessary for the life of man, hath notwithstanding cast all of vs naked out of her bowels, and must receiue vs so againe into her wombe, I see no great reason wee haue to call some rich, and others poore; seeing the beginning, being, and ende of the temporall life of all men are vnlike in nothing, but that some during this little moment of life haue that in abundance and superfluitie, which others haue onely according to their necessitie. But this is much more absurd, and without all shew of reason, that they whom wee call poore according to the opinion of men, should be accounted, yea commonly take themselves to be lesse happy than rich men, and as I may so say, bastard children and not legitimate, because they are not equally and alike partakers of their mothers goods, which are the wealth of the world, for the hauing whereof we heare so many complaints and murmurings. For first we see none, no not the neediest and poorest that is (except it be by some great and strangemishap) to be so vnprovided for, but with any labour and paines taking (which is the reward of sinne) hee is able to get so much as is necessary for the maintenance of his life, namely, foode and raiment; neither yet any that for want of these things, howsoener oftentimes he suffer and abide much, is constrained to giue vp the ghost. But further, as touching the true, eternall, and incomparable goods of our common Father, their part and portion is nothing lesse than that of the richest. Yea many times they are rewarded and enriched aboue others, in that beeing withdrawne from the care and government of many earthly things, they feele themselves so much the more rauished with speciall and heavenly grace (if they hinder it not) in the meditation & contemplation of celestiall thing: from whence they may easily draw a great and an assured contentation in this life, through a certaine hope that they shall enioy them perfectly, because they are prepared for them, in that blessed immortality of the second life. For nothing is more certaine than this, that as the Sun is a great deale better seen in cleare and cleane water, than in that which is troubled, or in a myrie and dirty puddle: so the brightnesse that commeth from God shineth more in mindes not subiect to worldly goods, than in them that are defiled and troubled with those earthly affections which riches bring with them. This is that which Iesus Christ himselfe hath taught, speaking to him that demaunded what he should do to haue eternall life: *If thou wilt be perfect (saith hee) sell that which thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue treasure in heauen:* adding besides, *that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdome of heauen.* If a father diuiding his substance among his children, should leaue to one as his eldest or best beloued, the enioying of his principall manner by inheritance, and to rest their mothers goods, which are of much lesse value, and that only for terme of life, what folly were it to iudge that these last were more preferred, and had better portions than the other? And I pray you what comparison is there betweene the greatest worldly and transitorie riches that can be, and the permanent treasures of heauen, seeing those cannot be compared but to a thing of nought, than which they are weaker, being moreouer accompanied with innumerable hurtfull euils, as wee haue already shewed? What happinesse and felicity can wealth adde to rich men aboue the poorer sort, that these should bee accounted miserable and wretched? *Take away (saith Lactantius) insolencie and boasting from rich men, and there will be no difference betweene a poore man and a rich.* And if he that made the condition both of the one and the other, and that provideth nourishment for vnreasonable creatures, doth distribute vnto vs as much as hee knoweth in his eternall praescience and foreknowledge to be needfull for vs, whereof shall we complaine, except, as inheritors of that damnable vice of ingratitude from the first man, we forget so many benefits receiued, as also those that are daily proffered and promised vnto vs of his heauenly goodness and grace? In a fealt (saide *Epictetus*) we content our selues with that which is set before vs, thinking it an impudent and vile part to aske any other thing of him that entertaineth vs.

vs.

vs. And how can we be so impudent and shamelesse in this world, as to aske those things of God, which he will not giue vs, and not content our selues with the vse of that which he hath liberally and freely bestowed vnto vs? But there is a further matter. For if we would consider the great, yea the vnspokeable fruits which pouertie bringeth with her, and whereof shee is able to make vs partakers in this life, without doubt she will bee found to bee a thousand times more happy than riches. Pouerty (saith *Aristophanes*) is the mistres of manners. Pouerty (saith *Archeilaus*) seemeth to be sharpe, hard, and trouble some, but shee is nurse to a good linage, as shee that acquainteth her selfe with frugality and abstinence. In a word, shee is a schoole of vertue. Wealth is full of wickednesse, (saith *Euripides*) but pouerty is accompanied with wisdom, and all honest men are contented with necessary things. And if they offer sacrifice to the gods with a little incense in the palme of their hand, they are for the most part sooner heard than they that kill many beasts for sacrifice. For (as *Menander* saith) the poore are under the protection of God, and it is better to possesse a little wealth with ioy, than a great deale with sadness. To desire but a little (saith *Democritus*) maketh pouerty equall with riches: & if thou desirest not many things, a little will seeme to thee to be very great. Pouertie (saith *Anaximennus*) maketh the spirit more sharpe, & men more excellent in all things belonging to this life. For shee is a very good mistres of knowledge and skill. The life of poore men (saith *Aristonimus*) is like to a nauigation made along the shore of some sea: but the life of rich men to that which is in the maine sea. For the first sort may easily cast anchor, come ashore, and save themselves, whereas the others cannot do so, because they are no more in their owne power, but in Fortunes. Fly not from pouerty (saith *Hipscus*) but from iniustice and wrong. For no man was euer punished because he was poore, but many because they were vniust. Neither is a mans life commended because he is rich, but because he is iust. Hunger (saith *Plutarke*) neuer engendreth adultery, nor want of money, lust: so that pouerty is a short kind of temperance. If thou wert borne among the Persians (saith *Epictetus*) thou wouldest not wish to dwell in Gracia, but to liue there in happy estate. Art thou not then a very foole, because thou seekest not rather to liue happily in pouerty, seeing thou art borne therein, than to strue with so great labour for riches that thou maiest liue? As it is better to lie downe in a very little bed with health, than in a great and large bed, being sicke: so is it a great deale better to liue in rest with a little wealth, than in trauell and care with abundance. For neither pouerty procureth trouble, nor riches driueth away feare: but reason is that which causeth men neither to desire riches, nor to feare pouerty. If other things (saith *Bion the wise*) could speake as well as we, and were licenced to dispute with vs, might not pouerty iustly say vnto vs after this manner? O man wherefore fightest thou against mee? Why art thou become mine enemy? Haue I robbed thee of any thing? Haue I bene the cause that thou hast receiued any iniurie, or haue I deprived thee of any good thing? Haue I taken from thee either Prudence, Iustice, or Fortitude? But thou fearest least necessary things should faile thee. What? Are not the waies full of herbes and fruits, and the fountaines of water? Hast thou not as many beds as the earth is great, and as many couerlets and mattresses as there are leaues? Hast thou not a good Cooke by my means, that maketh good sauce for thee in hunger? And hee that is a thirst, doth hee not take very great pleasure in drinking? Doeest thou thinke that a man shall dye for hunger, because hee hath noe tart, or for thirst, if hee haue not very delicate wine cooled with snow? All such things are but for delicacie and nicenesse. Doeest thou want a house, when there are so many goodly Churches in citties? What answer could bee made to pouerty, if shee should speake thus? Truly hee that hath vertue possesseth all goods, because that alone maketh men happy: which may bee spoken as well of a poore man as of a rich. For they (saith *Thales*) that thinke pouerty hindreth Philosophie, and that riches are a helpe vnto it, greatly deceiue themselves. For prooffe that it is not so, how many moe haue withdrawne themselves from study through riches, than through pouerty? Doe wee not see that the poorest study Philosophy best, which the wealthie because of their money and many matters, cannot doe? For this cause *Theophrastus* said very well, that many more haue perished through surfetting than through hunger. And to let you know that pouertie is more happie, and better esteemed of than riches, consider the examples of *Aristides* surnamed the Iust, who being very poore, was chosen to leuie and to gather tribute before all the rich men in Athens. And *Callias* the richest man of all the Athenians, sought by all meanes to haue his friendship, whereas the other made no great account of him. *Epaminondas* was not called halfe a God, nor *Lycurgus* a Sauiour, because they abounded in wealth, and were slaues to their passions, but because they profited their countrey exceedingly, and were content with their pouerty. Therefore wee may gather out of the sayings of so many great and vertuous men, an assured testimonie of the benefite and profite that commonly followeth the condition of poore men. And for inuincible proofes, haue wee not the examples of the liues of infinite Sages and learned Philosophers, who willingly forsaking, and wholly contemning riches, went to the Academie, commonly called the Schoole of Pouertie, there to enioy the

The fruits of
pouerty.

An excellent
defence for
pouertie.

Examples to
shew that po-
uertie was
more esteem-
ed of than
riches.

treasures of wisdom and vertue? Yea, which is more, wee finde that pouertie hath beene the onely and principall cause of enriching many with this vnspokeable treasure, according to that saying of *Aristotle*, that calamity is oftentimes the occasion of vertue. *Zeno* the founder of the Stoicall Academie, after he had possessed much wealth, and suffered many losses, had no more left but one ship of merchandise, which being cast away, hee vttered this speech: *Thou dost well Fortune to bring mee to the studie of Philosophie*, wherein hee continued ever after. The exile and banishment of *Diogenes* driven from his countrey, was the cause and beginning of his studie of Philosophie. And if any man thinke it a difficult and strange matter that a poore man should be skilfull, seeing that whilest he studieth, he must haue wherewith to nourish his body, let vs see what *Cleantes* answered to *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, who asked him if hee turned the millstone alwaies: Yea sir (said hee) I turne it yet about to get my liuing, but forsake not Philosophy for all that. How great and noble was the minde of that man, who after his labour wrote of the nature of God and of the heauens, with the same hand wherewith hee turned about the millstone? Others say, that he got his liuing by drawing water for a gardiner: about which hee bestowed the night onely, that hee might spend the day in hearing the Philosophers dispute. This man calleth to my remembrance two other Philosophers, named *Menendemus* and *Asclepiades*, who being accused before the Areopagites the chiefe iudges of Athens, as idle persons having no goods in possession, and being willed to declare how they liued, their answer was, that inquiry should be made of their Host who was a Baker. This man being called, said, that they bestowed the whole day in the studie of letters, and the night in sitting and boulding his meale, for which he gaue each of them a peece of money whereof they liued. But what? These ancient Sages wanted but few things to liue withall, seeing the most of them contented themselues with bread and water, and many times with herbes and fruites in stead of bread, and so *Pythagoras* alwaies liued. And yet they found so great contentation and felicity in such a life, that one *Philoxenus* having as yet but tasted of the first fruits of his profession of study, and being of that number which was sent by the Athenians to inhabite a new city in Sicilia, wherein a good house with great commodities to liue at ease, fell to him for his part, and seeing that delicacie, pleasure and idleness, without any exercise of letters reigned in those quarters, hee forsooke all and returned to Athens, saying, by the gods these goods shall not destroy me, but I will rather destroy them. All these fruits which are noted to be in pouerty, gaue occasion to an ancient man to say, that it was a vertue of Fortitude to sustaine pouerty patiently, but to desire it was the praise of wisdom. Now forasmuch as it will bee very hard if not altogether vnpossible, notwithstanding all reason that can be alleadged to men, to dispossesse them of the hatred and feare of pouerty, which naturally they shun, let vs learne of the Ancients, who ought to account himselfe poore, that we abuse no more this word Pouerty. *Diogenes* was vpon a time visited by *Alexander*, who said vnto him, *I see well Diogenes that thou art poore, and hast need of many things, therefore aske of mee what thou wilt, and I will giue it thee*. Whereupon this excellent Philosopher despising such offers of goods whereof he stood not in need, answered: *Whether of vs twaine Alexander seemeth to thee to haue most neede, and therefore poorest, either I that desire nothing but my pile of wood and a little bread, or thou who being king of Macedonia, dost hazard thy selfe to so many dangers to enlarge thy kingdome, insomuch, that the whole world will hardly suffice to bound thy ambition, and to content thy couetousnesse?* The Monarch so greatly admired the magnanimity of this man, that hee vttered these words with a loude voice, *If I were not Alexander, I would bee Diogenes*. *Marins* a Consul of Rome distributing land among his countrey-men, gaue to euery one fourteene acres onely. And vnderstanding that some were not contented therewith but demaunded more, I would to God (quoth hee then) that no Romane would care for any more land than would suffice to nourish him. So goodly and commendable a matter was it esteemed of these wise men to bee content with a little, and with that which is sufficient, rather than to thinke those men onely rich that were furnished with store of wealth. And to say truth, seeing God alone simply and absolutely standeth not in neede of any thing whatsoever, it may easily be presupposed, that the most excellent vertue of man, and that which commeth nearest to the diuine nature, consisteth in causing a man to stand in neede of fewest things. This is that which *Socrates* said, That to desire nothing (meaning worldly things) is in some sort to resemble God. And how can wee call him poore, whose soule is enriched with many great and rare perfections? *Cicero* writing to *Atticus* said, *That a friend was bound to wish but three things vnto his friend, namely, That hee bee healthy, that hee bee well accounted of, and that hee bee not needy*. Now that all these things are found in a temperate and noble minded man, wee may learne by

Zeno.

Diogenes.

Cleantes.

Menendemus
& AsclepiadesPythagoras
kept a spare
diet.
Philoxenus.Who ought
to be esteem-
ed poore.Diogenes
supposed A-
lexander to
be poorer
than himselfe.A friend is to
wish 3. things
to his friend.

by the effects of Sobriety, whereof wee haue heretofore discoursed, and by those of honour, which is neuer separated from vertue, no more than the shadow is from the body. And as for the necessary vse of foode and raiment, it is not wanting to them that stand most in neede thereof, as we haue already touched it in our present speech: and so a vertuous man cannot be called poore. But let vs yeeld a little to the common opinion of worldlings, that pouerty and want of earthly riches is odious and contemptible, yet that pouerty onely which proceedeth of sloth, Idlenes, & ignorance, or otherwise of foolish expences, of riot and superfluitie, may be said to be ful of reproch & shame, & is to be shunned. For whe pouerty is found in an honest, painefull, diligent, iust, valiant & wise man, it serueth for a great prooue of his magnanimitie & greatnesse of courage, because hee hath set his minde vnto great and high matters, and not vpon such small and vile things as the riches of the world are. Amongst many others of this number we may say, that *Aristides* was, being captaine and gouernour of the Athenian estate, as wee haue already mentioned, who after many excellent and great offices which hee bare to the good of his countrey, was so smally enriched thereby, that being dead, all his goods would not suffice to bury him. He vsed to say, that none ought to be ashamed of pouerty, but they that were poore against their will: and that it was a rarer matter, and worthy of greater praise, to sustaine pouerty vertuously and with a noble minde, than to know how to vse riches well. And so pouerty is neuer accompanied with shame, except it bee to them that fall into it through negligence or misgouernment of those goods which God hath put into their hands, that they should bee faithfull keepers and disposers thereof in charitable workes. This is that which *Thucydides* saith, that it is no shame for a man to confesse his pouerty, but very great to fall into it by his owne default. Therefore to reape profit by that which hath beene here discoursed, let vs put off that old error which hath continued so long in mens braines, that pouerty is such a great and troublesome euill, whereas it is rather the cause of infinite benefits: and let vs say with *Pythagoras*, that it is a great deale better to haue a quiet and settled minde, lying vpon the ground, than to haue much trouble in a golden bed. Moreover let vs know, that to possesse small store of earthly goods, ought not to bee called pouerty, because all fulnesse of wealth aboundeth in the knowledge and assurance of the fatherly grace and goodnesse of the author and creator of all things, which he offereth liberally to all without accepting either of pompe or greatnesse. And further, when as, continuing the care which it pleaseth him to take of vs, he giueth vs although in trauaile & sweate, wherewith to feede and to clothe vs in all simplicity and modesty, and that according to our necessity, wee should bee vnthankfull and altogether vnworthy the assistance of his helpe and fauour, and of his eternall promises, if not not contented, nor glorifying him for our estate, wee complained, or wondred at, and desired the calling of other men offering thereby in will and affection our birthrights through a gluttonous desire, whereas wee ought to preferue to our selues the possession of that heavenly inheritance, wherein consisteth the perfection of all glory, rest, and contentation.

What pouerty is odious.

Aristides.

Where the fulnes of riches is to be sought

Of Idlenesse, Sloth, and Gaming. Chap. 35.

A R A M. **T**WO things being the cause of all passions in men, namely, *Griefe* and *Pleasure*, they alwaies desire the one, but shie from and feare the other. But the occasion of the greatest euill that befalleth them, is, because these desires and affections being borne with them from the beginning, doe also grow and encrease along time before they can haue any iudgement framed in them through the right vnderstanding of things. Whereupon as well by nature, which of it selfe is more inclined to euill than to good, as through a long continuing in vice, they are easily drawne to follow the appetite and lust of their sensuality, wherein they falsly iudge that pleasure consisteth, and thinke it painefull not to please it. Being thus guided by ignorance, and walking like blinde men, they haue experience for the most part of such an ende as is cleane contrary to their purposes. As we may see in those men, who purposing with themselves to liue at their ease in ioy, rest, and pleasure, giue ouer all intermedling in serious matters, and such as be seeme the excellency of vertue, that they may liue in idlenesse: wherewith being bewitched they are partakers of many false pleasures, which procure them a greater number of griefes and miseries, all which they thought to auoid very well. And this we may the better vnderstand, if we discourse of Idlenesse, the enemy of all vertue, and cleane contrary to Perseuerance, which is a branch of Fortitude. Therefore I propound the handling of this matter to you my companions.

Griefe & pleasure the causes of all passions in men

A C H I T O B. Although we haue not a singular excellencie of spirit, yet we must not suffer it to be idle, but constantly follow after that which we haue wisely hoped to obtaine. For (as *Erasmus* saith) *that which is often done and reiterated, and continually in hand, is finished at last.*

A S E R. They that do nothing (saith *Cicero*) learne to doe ill, and through idlenesse the bodie and mindes of men languish away: but by labour great things are obtained, yea trauell is a worke that continueth after death. Let vs then giue care to **A M A N A**, who will handle more at large for our instruction that which is here propounded vnto vs.

Idlenes is the
mother and
nurse of all
vice.

Idlenes is a
gainst nature.

Scipio was
neuer idle.

To what end
we must study
Philosophie.

Pythagoras
precept a-
gainst Idlenes

Notable ex-
amples of the
redresse of
Idlenes.

A M A N A. As wee admire and honour them with verie great commendation, in whom wee may note as we thinke, some excellent and singular vertues, so wee contemne them whom wee iudge to haue neither vertue, courage, nor fortitude in them, and whom wee see to bee profitable neither to themselves nor to others, because they are not laborious, industrious, nor carefull, but remaine idle and slothfull. And to say truth, the manners, conditions, and naturall disposition of such men, are wholly corrupted, their conuersation is odious, vnprofitable, and to bee auoided, seeing that Idlenesse is the mother and nurse of vice, which destroyeth and marreth all. Therefore it was very well ordained in the primitiue Church, that euery one should liue of his owne labour, that the Idle and slothfull might not consume vnprofitable the goods of the earth. Which reason brought in that auncient Romane edict, mentioned by *Cicero* in his booke of Lawes, *That no Romane should goe through the streetes of the cittie, vnlesse hee carried about him, the badge of that trade, whereby hee liued.* In somuch that *Marcus Aurelius* (speaking of the diligence of the auncient Romanes, writeth: That all of them followed their labour and trauell so earnestly, that hauing necessary occasion one day to send a letter two or three daies iourney from the towne, hee could not finde one idle body in all the cittie to carrie it. The great Orator and Philosopher *Cicero*, minding to teach vs how we ought to hate Idlenesse, as being against nature, sheweth that men are in deed borne to good wookes whereof our soule may serue for a sufficient and inuincible prooffe, seeing it is neuer still, but in continuall motion and action. And for the same cause hee greatly commendeth *Scipio*, who vsed to say, that hee was neuer lesse quiet than when hee was quiet. Whereby hee giueth vs to vnderstand, that when hee was not busied with weightie affaires of the Common-wealth, yet his owne priuate matters, and the searching after knowledge, were no lesse troublesome vnto him, so that euen then in his solitarinesse hee tooke counsell with himselfe. It seemeth (saith this father of eloquence) that nature doth more require of a man such actions as tend to the profit of men, than shee doth the perfect knowledge of all things: seeing this knowledge and contemplation of the workes of nature should seeme to be maimed and vnperfect, if no action followed it; whereas vertuous deedes are profitable to all men, for which ende nature hath brought vs forth, which sheweth sufficiently that they are better and more excellent. So that vnlesse the knowledge of things bee ioyned with that vertue, which preferueth humane societie, it will seeme to bee dead and vnprofitable. Therefore *Chrysippus* the Philosopher said, that the life of those men that giue themselves to idle studies, differed nothing from that of voluptuous men. So that wee must not studie Philosophy by way of sport, but to the ende wee may profit both our selues and others. Now, if action must of necessity bee ioined to studie and contemplation, to make a happie life, so that otherwise it is as it were dead and idle: what shall we say of that life that is void both of studie and action, but that it is more beast-like than humane? And how many millions of men are there in the world, who liue in this sort, and more in France than in any other nation? Yea, how many are more idle and lesse carefull than brute beasts, neglecting the provision euen of things necessarie for this present life? Amongst the obscure precepts which *Pythagoras* gaue to his Disciples, this was one: *Take good heede that thou sitte not vpon a busshell*: meaning, that Idlenesse and Sloth were especially to be eschewed. Likewise, when wee shall enter into the consideration of those evils that issue from Idlenesse and Sloth, no doubt but wee will flie from them, as from the plague, of our soules. They are greatly to be feared in a Common-wealth, because they open a gate to all iniustice, and kindle the fire of sedition, which setteth afloat all kinde of impietie. Furthermore, they are the cause of the finding out of infinite false and pernicious inuentions, for the releuing of pouertie, which for the most part floweth from the same fountaine of Idlenesse. This moued the wise and auncient kings of Egypt, to imploy their idle people in digging of the earth, and in the drawing forth and building of those Pyramides, the chiefe of which is by the Historiographers placed among the seven wonders of the world. It could not bee perfectly finished before the space of twenty yeares, albeit that three hundred and threescore thousand men wrought about it continually.

The

The Captaines and Heads of the Romane armies fearing the dangerous effects of idlenesse, no lesse in their host, than in their townes, caused their souldiers to trauell in making of trenches, when they were not vrged of their enemies, as *Marius* did alongst the river of Rhone. The Emperour *Claudius* enjoying an assured peace, caused the chanell *Fucinus* to be made, that Rome might haue the commoditie of good waters: about which worke thirtie thousand men were daily imployed for the space of twelue yeares. *Adrianus* seeing a generall peace within his Empire, continually vnderooke new and long iournies, one while into France another while into Germanie, sometimes into Asia, and into other strange countries, causing his men of warre to march with him: saying, that hee did it for feare, least they beeing idle should be corrupted, and forget the discipline of warre, and so be the cause of nouelties. And it seemeth that this was the cause why a wise Romane counselled the Senate not to destroy Carthage, least the Romanes beeing in safety by the vtter subuersion thereof (which onely at that time made head against them) should become idle. But now we may iustly say of them, that through a lazie and cowardlinesse, they haue lost the dignitie and vertue of their forefathers. The Ephories, who were, Governours of the *Iacedemonian* estate, beeing moued with the same reason with which the Romane *Scipio Nasica* was touched, after intelligence had of the taking and sacking of a great towne into which their men were entred, said: that the armie of their youth was lost. Whereupon they sent word to the Captaine of the armie, that hee should not after the same manner destroy another towne, which hee had besieged, writing these words vnto him: Take not away the pricke which stirreth forward the hearts of our yong men. *Gelon* king of Syracuse led his people oftentimes into the fields, as well to labour the ground, and to plant, as to fight, both that the earth might be better, being well dressed, as also because he feared least his people should waxe woorse for want of trauell. So greatly did these ancient wise men feare the pernicious effects of idlenesse and sloth, which bring to nothing and corrupt the goodnesse of nature, whereas diligence and exercise in good education correcteth the naughtinesse thereof. For as close waters (saith *Plutarke*) putrifie quickly, because they are covered, shadowed, and standing: so they that busie not themselves, but remaine idle, albeit they haue some good thing in them, yet if they bring it not forth, neither exercise those naturall faculties that were borne with them, they corrupt and destroy them vtterly. And which is woorse, as concupiscence (saith *Plato*) and luxuriosnesse are quenched with great, sharpe, and continuall labour, so are they kindled through idlenesse. A richlesse and slothfull man can finde out nothing that is easie. But there is nothing (saith *Seneca*) whereunto continuall labour is not able to attaine, and through care and vigilancie men come to the end of most difficult matters. Fortune (saith a Poet) helpeth and fauoureth them that boldly see their hand to the work, but giueth the repulse to fearefull and base minded men. Let vs beleue (saith *Pythagoras*) that laborious and painefull things will sooner leade vs to vertue, than those that are nice and delicate. And (as *Hesiodus* saith) the Gods haue placed sweat before vertue: and the way that leadeth vnto her long, difficult, and craggie. A good Pilot seeing a tempest at hand, calleth vpon the gods, that they would grant him grace to escape it: but in the mean while he taketh the helme into his hand, he veileth the foresaile, and bringing about the maine saile, labourerth to come out of the dark sea. *Hesiodus* commandeth the husbandman to make his vovs to *Iupiter* and to *Ceres*, before he either ploweth or soweth, but he must doe it with his hand vpon the plow taile. *Plato* writing his lawes, forbiddeth a man to fetch water at his neighbours house, before he hath digged and delued in his owne ground even to the claie, and that it be perceived that no water springerth there. In like sort, lawes must provide for necessity, and not fauour sloth and idlenesse. By sloth wee lose that which we haue already gotten, but by diligence we attaine to that which we haue not, and which may be necessary for vs. I passed (saith the wise man) by the field of the slothfull, and by the vineyard of the man destitute of vnderstanding: and lo it was all growne ouer with thornes, and netles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken downe. It is sloth and negligence that causeth a man through want of good vnderstanding and iudgement not to care for the getting of that which is needfull for him, because he feareth least hee should lose it. Whereupon this would follow (which is a very absurd thing) that nothing how deere and precious soeuer it bee, ought to bee sought for or desired, seeing all things are subiect to change, yea knowledge through great diseases, and other inconueniences may bee lessened and lost. Idlenesse and sloth do not hurt the soule onely, but impaire also the health of the body. Yea that rest which a man taketh by negligence, is much more hurtfull vnto him, than painefull exercise. And they which thinke that health needeth necessarily a continuall rest to preferue it well, vsing that goodly pretence because they would not bee troubled with

*Claudius.**Adrianus.*The Ephories
of Lacedaemonia,
*Scipio Nasica.**Gelon.*

A similitude

Sweat is placed before
vertue.*Prou. 24.
30. 31.*Idlenesse decaith the
health of the
body.

moē

No man
ought to hide
his life.

Of gaming
and of the
effects thereof.

Chilon refused to make a
league with
diecers.

The occasion
that moued
the Lydians
to inuent
games.

Alphonfus
decree a-
gainst play.

more matters than needs they must, especially with those which concerne publike commodities, as also because they would not take paines in the studie of wisdom; they cannot be better compared than to such as will not vse their eyes in beholding any thing, that they might keepe them the better, neither will speake at all to preserue their voice well. Every kinde of life hath both sicknesse and health, but a sound man cannot take a better course to preserue his health, than to imploy himselfe in the practise of many good and honest duties of humanitie. Yea, we must yet goe farther, and say with *Socrates*, that diseased men ought not to bee so carefull of their health, that they leaue the studie and exercise of vertue, seeing we are to make but small account of death it selfe. And therefore *Plutarke* is very earnest against this Epicurian sentence, *Hide thy life*: which was set downe by *Neocles* brother to *Epicurus*, meaning thereby to perswade them that would liue happily, not to intermeddle with any publike matter. But contrariwise (saith this Philosopher) it is dishonest to liue so that no man may know any thing. Art thou vicious? shew thy selfe to those that are able to admonish, to correct and to cure thee, that so thou maiest amend and repent. If in the knowledge of nature thou hast learned by songs to praise God, his iustice, and heauenly providence: or in morall knowledge to commend the law, humane societie, the government of the common-wealth, and therein to respect honour, not profit, hide not this talent, but teach it others, and giue thy selfe an example vnto them of well doing, and of profiting everyone. O diuine counsaile proceeding out of the mouth of an Ethnik, as necessary to be practised at this day, as we see it contemned of so many wise worldlings, who say they haue the absolute and sound reformation of our estate of France in their head, but that as yet there is no time to speake of it. Thus some liue idly and like to recluses because they will take no paine, and others doe worke in maintaining the corruption of the estate, and in cleauing wittingly to the destruction thereof. But let vs proceed to looke vpon the fruits of idlenesse. It is of that fountaine whereof cursed ignorance drinketh and maintaineth her selfe, and from thence flow all pleasures followed with bitterness and griefe, which withdraw vs from all vertuous occupations, to imploy our selues about all kindes of trifles, that are neither good, honest nor profitable, but rather hurtfull and very pernicious. Of which number wee may note gaming, which is as common amongst vs, and as blame-worthie, as any other imperfection, seeing her foundation is laid vpon lucre and couetousnesse, or else vpon the losse of time. Those cursed effects which it bringeth forth daily, as quarrells, murders, blasphemies, cogging, overthrow of houses and families, doe sufficiently testifie vnto vs the infamous nature thereof. Likewise it hath beene so abhorred of the ancient Sages, that *Chilon* being sent from *Lacedemonia* to *Corinth*, to intreat of a league betweene those two peoples, and finding the rulers playing at dice, returning backe againe, and would not speake of his commission, saying, that he would not staine the glory of the Spartanes with so great an ignominie as to ioyne them in societie with dice-players: How many happy ages haue our forefathers passed ouer, and yet neuer heard word of so vnhappy an exercise? And some say that the *Lydians* were the first inuentors of games, but it was when their countrie was brought into great necessitie of victuals: to the end that by playing, they might finde some helpe and meane to sustaine and to resist hunger the better, by spending every other day in gaming without any meate. Which they continued for the space of twenty and eight yeares, preseruing their countrie by that meane from a generall famine through the great sparing of their prouision. But now adays we see, that men are so farre from recompencing the fault of so vile an occupation by fasting, that contrariwise it is followed with all kinde of dissolutnesse, gluttonie, riot, and superfluitie. And this is seene too much in these new faculties of careless men, who haue taught vs this goodly prouerbe, *That a man were betrer loose than bee idle*. But if they knew their inestimable losse, not of money which they abuse, but of the richest and most precious thing that may bee spent, and which can neuer be recovered, I meane of time, they would speake cleane contrarie: That to loose is worse then to be idle, because it is ioyned with a naughty action, which of necessitie turneth to the detriment of himselfe or of his neighbour, and oftentimes of both. Among many goodly and holy ordinances, which *Alphonfus* sonne of *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, caused those knights to obserue, which he made of the order of the band, (himselfe and all his children being of the same order) this was straightly kept, that no knight should presume to play for any money at cardes or dice, or giue his consent to any such play in his house, vpon paine of forfeiting his wages for one moneth, and himselfe to be forbidden another moneth and a halfe from entring into the kings pallace. But because the nature of man is not able to abide continuall labour, and occasion of busines is not alwaies offered, it shall be lawfull for vs, according to the precept of *Plato* his Academy,

to

to bestow our leasure vpon some honest pastime and game of moderate pleasure, that is not farre separated from study or vertue, which will not be blame-worthie in vs, so wee vse it as we doe rest or sleepe, after wee haue dispatched and ended graue and serious affaires, according to the gift and facultie of our spirits. Moreouer let vs propound to our selues for example the liues of so many famous and graue men, who both in youth and age laboured to doe good and to profite euery one, esteeming it great honour to end their daies in such a commendable exercise: according to that saying of Erasmus: *That in vaine men follow that which is good, and strue to doe well, if they stand still before the end of their daies.* For that man loseth his time in running swiftly, who fainteth before he come to the end of his race. *Nothing will be vnpossible to thee* (saith the same author) *so that thy heart faint not.* Not to goe forward in the way of the Lord, is all one with turning backward: yea it were better neuer to begin, than not to perseuere vnto the end. This also is that which Cicero teacheth vs, that it is not sufficient to know what ought to be done, but we must abide firme and stedfast in that wherein vpon aduised and good counsell we are once resolved. And though we are out of hope of attaining to perfection, yet we must strue to come vnto it. *Many* (saith he) *that are weakened with despaire, will not undertake that thing which they feare they shall neuer be able to finish: but they that would obtaine great things, and such as are most to be desired, must trie every way.* And if any man hath not this excellencie of spirit and greatnesse of heart by nature, neither yet the knowledge of euery good discipline, let him take that course which he is able to attaine vnto. For it is great praise to him that followeth after the excellentest and best things, to stay in the second and third place, if he can doe no better. Those things are great, which are next to perfection. It is our dutie therefore to abide firme and constant in that good and commendable kinde of life, which we haue chosen from the beginning, so that the end thereof be to liue well. And let vs shunne idlenesse in such sort, as to say with Cato, that this is one thing whereof wee ought to repent vs most; if we know that we haue spent a whole day, wherein wee haue neither done nor learned some good thing. Phocylides minding to instruct vs in this matter, said, that in the euening we ought not to sleepe, before wee haue thrice called to our remembrance whatsoever we haue done the same day, repenting vs of the euill, and reioicing in our well doing. Apelles the best painter that euer was, would not suffer one day to passe without drawing of some line, meaning thereby (as he said) to fight against idlenesse, as with an arrow. Aleas king of Scythia said, that hee seemed to himselfe to differ nothing forme his horsekeeper, when hee was idle. Dionysius the elder beeing demaunded if hee were neuer idle, answered: God keepe me from that: for as a bowe (according to the common prouerbe) is marred and breaketh by beeing too much bent: so is the soule through too much idlenesse. This is that which Masinissa the Aphrican would learnedly teach vs, of whom Polybius writeth that hee died when he was fourescore and ten yeares of age, leauing behind him a sonne that was but foure yeares old. A little before he died, after he had discomfited the Carthaginians in a maine battell, hee was seene the next day eating of course browne bread, saying to some that marvelled thereat, *That as iron is bright and shineth so long as it is used by the hand of man, whereas a house falleth into decay when no man dwelleth therein,* (as Sophocles saith) *so fareth it with this brightnesse and glistering light of the soule,* whereby we discourse, vnderstand, and remember. The same reason moued Xerxes father to say to Darius, that in perilous times and dangerous affaires, hee increased in wisdom. Likewise politicall knowledge, which is such a prudence, settled mind, iustice, and experience, as knoweth full well how to make choice of, and to take fit opportunitie in all things that happen, cannot be maintained but by the practise and managing of affaires, by discoursing and iudging. Now to conclude our present treatise, seeing wee know that we are borne to all vertuous actions, let vs flie from idlenesse and sloth, the wel springs of all iniustice and pouertie, the stirrers vp of infinite passions in the soule, and the procurers of sundry diseases in the body, euen to the vtter destruction of them. And let vs embrace diligence, care, travell, and studie, which are sure guides to leade vs to that ende for which wee ought to liue, that is, in glorifying God, to profite our selues in honest things, and also all those with whom we liue, wherein consisteth all the happinesse and contentation of the life of good men. And let vs not doubt but that all time otherwise spent, is lost time: knowing that all times in respect of themselves are alike, but that which is imploied in vertue is good in regard of vs, and that which is vnprofitable wasted, and in vice is naught. Further, let vs learne neuer to giue over the effecting and finishing of that which we once know to belong to our dutie, seeing that without perseuerance neither he that fighteth can obtaine the victory, neither the conquerour the garland, but hee that continueth to the end, shall be saued. Therefore let

How we may
recreate our
selues.

Of perseue-
rance.

An excellent
precept of
Phocylides.
Examples a-
gainst idlenes.

An excellent
comparison.

How political
knowledge
must be pre-
served.

The fruits of
idlenesse.

The end of
our life.

Math. 10. 12.

vs be carefull to make profite of that talent which is giuen vs to keepe, that we be not found euill and vnprofitable seruants before him, to whom we must yeeld an account euen of euery idle and vaine word.

Math. 12. 36.

Of an Enemy, of Iniurie, and of Reuenge. Chap. 36.

A M A-
N A.

HAuing hitherto in three daies workes discoursed (according to our iudgement) of all the parts of the vertue of Fortitude, and of those commendable effects that issue from it, to the correcting of many vices and imperfections, which abound in mans nature, I thinke that to end this afternoone, we are yet to resume and to continue the speech already begun by vs (as also we then promised) of one principall point concerning true magnanimitie, and greatnesse of courage, which respecteth our enemies, thereby to know more particularly both our dutie towards them, and also what good may come to vs from them, if we sustaine and beare couragiously their iniuries, forsaking all desire and lust of reuenge.

A pretie comparison.

A R A M. As industrious Bees gather the driest and most pearcing hony of bitter Time: so a wise and vertuous man (saith *Xenophon*) knoweth how to draw profite and commoditie from his enemies, vpon whom we must beware of reuenging our selues, least (as *Theophrastus* saith) we hurt our selues more than them.

A C H I T O B. It is the propertie (saith *Cicero*) of famous personages and noble hearts to contemne iniuries offered vnto them by knowne wicked men; whose commendation of a man importeth some dishonesty in him. Now then A S E R, teach vs somewhat of this matter wherein we haue so great need of instruction.

Good friends or sharpe enemies are necessarily required to a happie life.

A S E R. The Cynicke Philosophers said, that if a man would be in safetie and partaker of happinesse, he must of necessitie haue good friends or sharpe enemies, that the first sort by good and wise admonitions, and these by notable iniuries, might withdraw him from doing of euill. And truly if we consider the profite and commoditie which may come vnto vs from him that voluntarily without occasion giuen him, (as it is our dutie not to offend any) is become our enemy, by gouerning our selues therein with the reason of a true Academical prudence, besides that we shall shew forth the effects of that title which we beare, and of the end of our being, wee must bee so farre off from hating an enemy, that wee should rather thinke our selues beholding and bound vnto him for that great good which hee procureth vnto vs.

Why men are beholding to their enemies.

That this is so, is not this one propertie of vice to make us more ashamed before our enemies when wee haue committed a fault, than before our friends? Doe wee not take our enemy for a spie and enuier of our life? If any imperfection reigne in vs, who will more freely giue vs to vnderstand thereof than hee that hateth vs, who will not bee slacke to publish it euery where? For this reason *Plutarke* calleth an enemy a Schoole-master that costeth vs nothing of whom wee learne that which may greatly profite vs, and which we know not. To this effect hee maketh mention in his Apothegmes of an Athenian captaine who complained to *Aristo* cheife captaine of the Lacedæmonians, that his souldiers blazed abroad the manners of the Athenians: If the Athenians (said *Aristo* vnto him) did looke well to their doings, they should not neede to care what the Spartans could say of them. These things being well considered by vs, if we haue enemies, they will be a meane to make vs more fearefull and restrained from offending, and more earnest and diligent to order well our behauiour, to direct our doings, and to correct our imperfections. But let vs marke a little how the noble and couragious youtnes of the world behaue themselves now adaies. The reproofes and iniuries of an enemy, may peradventure bee tolerated in some sort by the skilfullest sort of those that boast themselves to be so curious obseruers and readie defenders of their honour, so that they be not vttered in their presence: because they say that they cannot be offended at that which is spoken of them in their absence, and that they which speake so, will not auouch that slander before their faces, which they raised behinde their backs. According to these weake reasons they would haue other men iudge of reproch and iniurie, either to credit or to discredit them according to their power, and not as the truth of the fact it selfe requireth: whereupon also they passe that ouer with profit & amendment of the life, which they knew was disliked in them. There are others, who vpon a bare report made vnto them, thinke themselves greatly misused and harmed by those that spake ill of them, so that presently they purpose to be auenged of them. But herein they agree all, that if any man voluntarily offereth iniurie to

another,

How men behaue themselves now adaies towards their enemies

they would haue the sworde presently to decide the controuersie, What say I, for an iniury? Nay for a yea or a nay, they forthwith thinke that the lie is given them, and that they are outfaced, so that nothing but the death of the one, or of both together, and oftentimes of their dearest and best friendes, is able (as they thinke) to repaire the preiudicate and supposed offence, and all for this vaine honour of the world. O detestable fury, not to bee found in most cruell beasts, which spare the blood of their sexe! It is not conuenient, that any time should bee lost in reproouing the same, beeing of it selfe so odious, that it cannot so much as be once named but with shame, trembling and horror. For no man is so dull of vnderstanding, but he knoweth that effusion of blood is forbidden by God, and that outrage being in no sort permitted, much lesse may a Christian forget himselfe so farre as to kill another, except it be through necessitie in defending his owne body, or in the seruice of his prince and country in a iust warre. Amongst all the sententious sayings of *Socrates* the wise, and the wonderfull works of *Plato* his scholler, I find none more diuine, or worthy of greater praise than the sentence so often repeated by them, *That reuenge is not in any sort to bee vsed. It is not iust* (saide the same *Socrates*) *to offend any, although hee had offended vs wrong. For a good man neuer ought to do euill: yea it is a great deale better to suffer, than to offer contumely, so bee slaine, than to slay, because the one bringeth no detriment to man, who is the soule, but the other procureth the utter ruine and destruction thereof.* This will sound very ill in many mens eares. But if they will iudge without passion, and had eyes to see, and eares to vnderstand the end of their being & calling, as also the reason of true prudence and generosity taught vs the by study of Philosophy, no doubt but they would subscribe to the opinion of these wise Philosophers, agreeing very well with that which is taught by the spirit of God, who cōdemneth the murderer, and him that offereth wrong and iniurie to another: but calleth himselfe the defender of innocency, and such a one as returneth a double reward and recompence to those that suffer for righteousnes and equitie. Who may therefore doubt but that it is farre better to receiue than to do euil, to be killed than to kill, seeing by the one the good houre of our perpetuall rest and felicitie is hastened forward, and by the other wee are vtterly frustrated thereof, and throwne into a hell of eternall fire? So that if wee endeouour to shew forth the effects of true Magnanimity and greatnesse of heart, there is no doubt but to beare and to endure withall modesty and patience the outrages and wrongs of our enemies, is the marke of that vertue which is most absolute and perfect. That it is so, doth it not appeare in this, that vertue consisteth in difficult things? And that vertue that commeth nearest to the diuine nature, which is hardest to bee obtained, and least familiar with men, it is not more woorthy and vnbeseeeming a noble and valiant man, than all the rest? Vnto which may wee attribute better this marke than to the vertue of patience, whereof we haue already intreated? We see no man vpon earth of so base estate, no woman so feeble and weake, no liuing creature so little, but if they bee stricken they will reuenge themselves very willingly as well as they can. How greatly then ought this vertue to bee accounted of, which forceth this naturall lust of reuenge, bred in all liuing creatures, and how noble must the mind of that man needes be which is able to maister such a violent passion, so common to all men, thereby procuring to it selfe the name of a mild and gracious spirit, and ready to forgive, which is proper and peculiar to the diuine nature? Therefore that great Monarch *Alexander*, said, *That a man wronged had neede of a more noble heart to forgive his enemy, than to be reuenged of him, and to kill him.* Behold the saying of as noble a prince as euer the earth bare. What can the Courtiers of these times say to the contrary? *It is a great vertue* (saith *Epictetus*) *not to hurt him of whom thou art misused. It is a very commendable thing to pardon him whom thou mightest hurt, and it is a praise worthy kinde of reuenge, to lett them goe to peace that are ouercome.* Therefore *Pittacus* the Sage hauing one in his power that had dealt contumeliously with him, hee suffered him to depart vnharmed, saying, *That pardon was better than reuenge, the one beeing proper to the spirit of a man, the other of a cruell beast.* But further, although it were onely in respect of our owne benefite during our life, wee ought to shunne all motions of iniury, and all desire of reuenge: forasmuch as wee cannot either determine or execute the same, but with a thousand perturbations, which causevs to want the rest and tranquillity of our soules, wherein all our happinesse and felicity consisteth. And therefore *Seneca* saith, *If hee that wronged thee bee weaker than thou, forgive him: if hee bee mightier, spare thy selfe.* For who soeuer nourisheth his neighbours anger, who soeuer prouoketh and incenseth him more, when hee seeth him vehement and importunate against him, hee committeth two faulks. First hee hateth himselfe by procuring his owne trouble and grieve: Secondly, his brother, because he maketh him sad, and vexeth him. Moreouer prudent men (as *Theophrastus* saith)

Murder forbidden.

A notable sentence.

Leuit. 24. 17.
Psal. 9. 9. 16.
Mat. 5. 10.

To suffer iniury patiently is a badge of a most absolute vertue.

A commendable kinde of reuenge.

Good counsell of Seneca.

ought

We must do
nothing in
choler.

An apt simi-
litude.

How a man
may profit by
the backbit-
ing of his
enemies.

The best kind
of reuenge.

How many
waies a man
may receiue
iniurie.

Men must
not take the
law into their
owne hands,
although it
be not right-
ly executed.

Of the offence
done to ho-
nor.

ought to doe nothing in choler. For that vnreasonable part of the soule beeing mooued, foreseeeth nothing wisely, but beeing driuen forward with a contentious desire, suffereth it selfe to bee carried hither and thither, as if it were drunken. Also wee must take great heede, that wee doe not alwaies put in execution whatsoeuer wee haue a minde vnto, but onely that which moderate reason commaundeth vs. Wherein wee shall deserue the praise of true Magnanimitie, if I say, wee can commaund our selues and all vehemency of choler, which driueth men forward to be auenged on their enemies, and is in act that saoureth more of a vile and abiect heart drawing neere to brutish fiercenes, than of a noble minde which despi- seth whatsoeuer is earthly, mortall, and fading, that it may thinke of nothing but of heauen and immortality. This is that which the study of our Philosophy teacheth vs; and even as ex- pert Phisitions know how to drawe medicines apt for the preservation of life out of serpents, poisons, and other deadly and venomous things: so we ought to draw from our enemies, not their life, which ought to be onely in the power of God and of his iustice, but profit and com- modity by their backbitings, reproches, and iniuries. Which will easily be done, if we make small account of their intent, and consider narrowly the fact which they speake ill of, to the end that if we be guilty of that which they condemne in vs, wee may purge and correct our selues. And if so be they harme vs wrongfully, their impudencie will cause their reproaches and iniuries to be turned backe, and sent against themselves, together with that shame and dammage, which they thought to procure vnto vs, whereas we shall be no lesse honest and vertuous men than before. So that the best teuenge and most honourable victorie, which wee can carry away from our enemies, will be to surpass them in diligence, bountie, mag- nanimity, good turnes, and in all vertuous actions: whereby they will sooner perceiue and confesse themselves vanquished and constrained to stoppe their mouth, and to repress their tongue, than by any other force, which wee can oppose against them. Then may wee say, that as he who enterprised to kill *Pormetheus* the Thessalian, gaue him so great a blowe with a sword vpon an apostume which put him in danger of death, that by launcing it hee saued his life contrary to his meaning: so the iniurious speeches of our enemies vttered in wrath and of ill will to hurt vs, haue bene the cause of curing many euils in vs whereof we made no account, and of making vs much better than we were before. But because iniurie seemeth so hard and vnease to be tollerated by the imbecility of mans nature, which is so soon offen- ded, and by the heart of man beeing full of reuenge, let vs yet see whether we can finde any remedy, if not to cure that which is incurable, at least wiseto purge and to cleanse the acci- dents of this euill. Iniurie is offered either to the goods, to the honour, or to the person of a man. As touching the first and last, namely, the spoiling of our goods, and violence offered to our person, what other reuenge either by the law of God or of man can wee haue than to repulse force with force, I meane when wee are constrained thereunto, or else by the way of the Prince his iustice, which is open to euery one? If any haue robbed thee, must thou be- come a theefe or satisfie thy selfe by thine owne strength? Much lesse oughtest thou to sette thy selfe against him that is not faultie, as many doe. If thou being the weaker are overtaken hurt and wronged, oughtest thou to vse new force, violence and murder to reuenge thy selfe, and to repaire thy iniurie receiued? The sword is in the hands of the King and of the Ma- gistrate that representeth his person: and it belongeth to him onely to vse it against them that trouble publike tranquillity and ciuill society; to the ende there should be no shew, that any other either would or durst meddle with the soueraigntie, whose greatnesse and preser- uation consisteth in the administration of iustice. Yea the lawes haue alwaies so abhorred vi- olence and priuat force, that they haue restored theeuers and robbers into those places which they vniustly possessed, if they had bin driuen from them by violence. But some man will say, that these things ought indeed to be duly considered of, if iustice were executed, and had not forsaken the earth to dwell in heauen. And how then canst thou execute it, seeing thou art not called to doe, but to demaund iustice? Tarie, and the iust Iudge will returne double that which hath bene vniustly taken from thee, which thou hast suffered, or which hath bene denied thee, even then when you shalt haue greater need than now that thy daies are so short: and then shalt thou liue for euer of that which thou hast reaped in this poore and miserable life. Concerning honour, the iniurie whereof we feare more than of the other let vs know, that it cannot be hurt in a good man, because vertue, which is inuincible, prote- cteth & defendeth it. But now adaiies we fetch it not so far off. For we wil haue our honor ty- ed to the vaine opinion of the world, which reiecteth & contemneth those men as cowards and base minded, that haue but once put vp the least iniurie offered by another, but honoreth

as noble and couragious those that can lustily kill their enemies. This is the cause why many, who would willingly forgette an iniurie receiued, dare not doe it for loue of their friendes: as also because they see, that it would rather bee imputed vnto them as a token of a fainte heart, than of a desire to follow reason. But let all these blood suckers, inclined to reuenge and to murder, couer their beastly cruelty as well as they can, yet haue they no other reason to disguise it but this, that it is an vsuall kinde of behauiour now adaies amongst men, to the ende they may bee welcommed, praised, and fauoured of Kings, Princes, and great Lords, otherwise they must take a Coule, and shutte vp themselves in some cloister, But they must needs affirme this withall, that they had rather vndoe and condemne themselves with the multitude, so they may haue worldly honour, than bee saued with the small number of honest men, except peradventure they will say, that they knowe no other life but this, and that they will liue onely for the world, without beleefe or hope of a second and eternall life. And albeit they confesse a second life with their mouth, yet their deeds declare sufficiently, that they are altogether ignorant of the nature and happinesse of the other life, and that they care not greatly to come vnto it. But let vs that are better instructed imitate *Socrates*, who beeing counselled to reuenge a wrong receiued made this answer, what? If a Maffiue had bitte mee, or an aile giuen mee a blow, would you haue mee serue writtes vpon them? So let vs behaue our writs towards them that are froward and vicious, making a great deale lesse account of their iniuries, than of a blow that burterth, which they cannot doe at all to our honour. As for good men we shall neuer be hurt by them. Now, if wee draw neere, although neuer so little, to the perfection of such a nature, much lesse ought we to bee prouoked and stirred vp through any laughter or gibing which cannot touch or offend any but those that are troubled and carried away with passions. Thus much did *Socrates* wisely giue one to vnderstand, who told him that certain mocked him, *I doe not (quoth he) think that I am mocked.* Hereupon I remember a notable answer made by one *Ptolemæus* king of Egypt, who was counsellor to punish a Gramarian. The king demaunding of him by the way of gibing, who was father to *Peleus*, hee made this answer: that he desired first to know who was *Lagus* his father, noting thereby that the king was borne of base parentage, *If it bee vnseemlie* (quoth *Ptolemæus* to his friends) *for a king to be mocked, it is also vndecent for him to mocke another.* Now although it be our duty to treade vnder foote all desire of reuenge, and to make no account of iniuries and mocks, yet it is lawfull for vs sometime, if wee bee disposed, and no greater offences arise thereof, to stoppe the mouthes of such as are iniurious and impudent, with a little short reply, not in wrath or choler, but with a certaine meekenes and graue smiling, and somewhat nippingly, so that it passe not the boundes of modestly. *Cato* knew well how to behaue himselfe after this sort, who being iniuriously dealt withal by one that had alwaies liued wickedly, saide thus vnto him: *I am not able to deale with thee in this manner by contending with iniuries. For thou hast thoroughly used thy selfe both to utter reproches freely, & to suffer with ease when any man offereth thee wrong or iniury. But as for me, I delight neither in hearing, nor in uttering the same.* Likewise *Demosthenes* answered another in this sort: *I wil not enter into this combat with thee, wherein the vanquished is better than the vanquisher.* *Plato* also being touched with iniurious speeches, saide: *Goe on to speake ill, seeing thou diddest neuer learne to speake well.* *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, being reuiled with many bitter speeches, said to him that offered the iniury: *Spue out boldly my friend, spue out boldly and often, and spare not, so see if thou canst emptie thy soule of that euill and wickednesse wherewith it is replenished.* Shall wee thinke now, that these famous men, making so small account of iniuries and wrongs, had any other bound than right and iustice onely in the hatred of the vices of wicked men, or that they would haue sought by any other way for the satisfying of those wrongs, which they receiued? Let vs consider how *Scaurus* behaued himselfe towards his enemy *Domitius*, against whom he was to put vp a complaint by way of iustice. There was one of *Domitius* his seruants, who before iudgement was giuen of their processe, came to *Scaurus*, and said, that he would disclose vnto him a matter of great importance against his maister, which vndoubtedly would cause him that was his aduerser partie to gaine his sute, But he not minding to heare him any further, tooke order that he should be straightly bound, & so fet him to his maister. The means which *Agefilaus* vsed to make his enemies his friends, in stead of reuenging himselfe vpon them, are worthie of eternall praise, and ought to mooue vs greatly to correct our naturall imperfections, so much inclined to reuenge. For when he could come to the knowledge of them, without any further shew, hee thrust them into publike offices and charges. And if it fell out so that they committed any offence wherebie they were drawne to iudgement, hee holpe them as

The excuse
of quarrellersSocrates void
of reuenge.We must not
be mooued
with mocks.

Ptolemæus.

How a man
may repulse a
mocke.

Cato,

Demosthenes.

Plato.

Lysander.

The limits
that are to be
vsed in hea-
ring the
wicked.

Scaurus.

How Agefi-
laus made his
enemies his
friends.

Augustus.

The Venetia

Pontinus.

The prudēce
of Dyonisius
in punishing
euil speakers.Anti henes
counsaile.

Matth. 5. 44.

Rom. 12. 19.

much as he could, by that meanes winning the friendship of euery one. For although wee commonly say, that as one and the same Sunne softeneth the waxe, and hardeneth the clay, so good deeds winne the hearts of good men, but prouoke the wicked; yet there is no man of so peruerse a nature, whom a man cannot make his friend by plying him often with benefits, and when occasion is offered, by binding him with some notable good turne. For this cause *Augustus*, after the conspiracy of *Cinna* was discovered, notwithstanding that he had him in his power, being convicted by his own letter, yet he did not onely forgive him, but taking him by the hand, sware friendship with him, and bestowed vpon him great estates and dignities, wherein *Cinna* afterward serued him faithfully. And it seemeth that for the same reason the Venetians hauing taken the Duke of Mantua their deadly enemy, in steade of taking his estate from him, they made him their Generall capitaine: so that he euer abode their faithful friend. *Pontinus* also an ancient captain of the Samnites, said, *That they were either fiesly to set at libertie the Romane armie, which was surprised in the streights of the mountaine Apeninus, and so make them loyal friends through the bond of so great a good turne, or else to put them all to death, thereby to take from the enemies a great part of his strength.* Neither may wee here let goe in silence the discretion of *Dyonisius* the elder, king of Syracusa, in punishing an iniury. Which example ought to cause all them to blush: who in surie and choler, after an iniury receiued, or after some report thereof, seeke presently for some cruell reuenge. This king beeing told that two young men as they were drinking together, had spoken many outrageous words of him, he inuited them both to supper. And perceiuing that one of them, after he had taken a little wine into his head, vttered and committed much folly, and that contrariwise the other was very staied, and drunke but a little, hee punished this fellow as one that was malicious, and had beene his enemy of set purpose, but forgave the other, as beeing drunken, and moued by the wine to speake ill of him. Concluding therefore our present discourse, let vs learne that it is the property of a great and noble minde to be milde, gracious, and ready to forgive. and that it is a greater point of Magnanimity to surmount the common nature of men by a wonderfull diuinitie of the soule, than to follow after that which beasts are able to do better than we. For many of them in this earthly generosity, whereof many men make so great account, excell and surpasse the best of them all. In all debates and controuersies with our enemies, let vs retaine (as *Cicero* counelleth vs) grauity and constancy, and chase away all choler: because nothing that is done through perturbation can be done constantly, or be approoued of any. Let vs not be afraid (said *Antisthenes*) to wish all the good in the world to our enemies, except valure, which may make them rash to venture vpon our life: and let vs giue ouer all will to procure them any hurt or displeasure, or any maner of reuenge. Let vs rather desire not to be spared of them in those things which are blame worthy in vs, in that so we may be more ready to amend and correct them. Let vs lone our enemies, blesse them that curse vs, do good to them that hate and persecute vs, overcoming euill with good, and leauing all vengeance to him that hath reserved it to himselfe, who by his power directeth the nets, swords, hatchets, instruments and scourges of his wrath, all which are our enemies for the amendment of our life: and then shall wee shew forth those true effects of the vertue of Fortitude and Magnanimity, with our heauenly Father requireth of vs.

The end of the ninth daies worke.

The tenth daies worke.

Of Justice. Chap. 37.

A S E R,

What true
Philosophy is

Iste Philosophie (saith *Socrates*) is to know and to practise both privately and publicly those things that are honest and iust. This is that prudence which teacheth vs well and nobly to gouerne both domesticall and ciuill affaires, the name whereof is Temperance and iustice. By which speech this wise Philosopher taught vs the straight and vnseparable coniunction and knotte of the foure morall vertues, being neuertheless distinguished by their proper and particular effects. Which hauing hitherto offered vs matter wherein to reioyce our spirits about the three first riuers flowing out of the fountaine of honesty

nelly, thereremaineth now for vs to consider of the last of them, which although it bee but one particular, yet in truth it is the very perfection of all duty, and is called Iustice: the precepts whereof if we keepe diligently, we shall truly become images of God his essence, and be made according to his likenesse. Let vs then begin my Companions, to intreate of this great and heavenly vertue.

AMANA. *Iustice (saith Cicero) is the mistresse of all the other vertues, and as it were their Queene. Shee is the ground-woke of euerlasting glory and renowne, and without her nothing can be praise worthy. Shee putteth a difference betweene the good and the bad, which being taken away (saith Seneca) nothing followeth but confusion. For to reward the wicked and not the good, to afflict the vertuous, and not to chastise the euill man, is to make a gallimaufrey of vice and vertue.*

ARAM. *What is Iustice but godlinesse (saith Lactantius) and what is godlines but the knowledge of God our Father? Notwithstanding in respect of vs, Iustice is commonly taken for an equall distribution of right and of lawes. But of thee (ACHITO) we shall presently vnderstand the greatnesse and riches of this precious vertue, and the vnspcakable fruits which she distributeth liberally for the profit of all men.*

ACHITO. *No kingdome, common wealth, or city (saith Plato) can be either well ruled or instituted in the beginning, or preserved and kept in a happy estate without diuine or humane Iustice, without the counsell of the aged, or without the fauour of the heavenly wisdome. Now that is diuine iustice (as Lactantius saith) whereby we are ioyned to God by deuotion and good will: and humane iustice knitteth vs vnto men by mercie and humanitie. Whereby we see that the foundation of all iustice is grounded vpon that honour and seruice which we owe to God, whereupon wee are induced to be dutifull to our neighbours according to charitie. Therefore wee must aboue all things loue iustice, and apply all our studie thereunto, seeing it is the first and principall point that concerneth the direction of a Christians mans life, yea moe are partakers of the fruite thereof, than of any other vertue. Iustice (saith Seneca) is the law of God, and the bond of humane society. For auoiding therefore of confusion in this matter, we say with Plato, that Iustice obserued and kept towards God, taketh vnto it the name of pietie. But we will enter in to the handling of that iustice onely, which hath respect to our dealing with men, beeing by the same Plato called an equall distribution towards all the world, according to the deserts of every one, and a sure foundation of cities and common-wealths. He saith also, that iustice requireth vpright dealing thoroughout a mans calling and charge, and that nothing is more like to the greatnesse of God, than a man perfectly iust. Aristotle calleth iustice a generall vertue, because hee that hath her perfectly, may boast that he hath within him all the other vertues. For hee could not know what were iust and vniust, nor make choise of the one and shie from the other, if he were not prudent, to which vertue that thing doth properly belong. Neither could he exercise the precepts of iustice, if by temperance hee knew not how to moderate all his passions and priuate affections, not suffering himselfe to bee overcome either with wine, gluttonie, lust, couetousnesse, or with any other desires and motions, which hinder the vse of reason. Besides, he could not practise one principall and diuine point of iustice, which is, to succour with all his might the afflicted and oppressed, and to prouide that no man bee wronged if it lie in his power, notwithstanding any danger whereunto hee may fall, although it be certaine losse of life, and of all earthly and transitory goods, I say hee could not practise this, if through Fortitude and Generosity hee contemne not death, the earth, and whatsoever fauoreth of the world, that he may be (so farre forth as his humane nature will suffer) a follower of the diuinitie. Iustice (saith Cicero) is a constant and perpetuall will and desire to giue to euery one his right. Shee is the proper vertue of a noble minded man, because shee is profitable to others, but to herselfe fruitlesse, laborious, and perilous. Yea that man onely may be called iust, that profiteth as many as he can, but hurteth none, that is alwaies at agreement within himselfe, and is a friend to God, to men, and to himselfe. Iustice (saith Diogenes) worketh great tranquillitie and perfect felicitie in our soules. For to be affraid of none, and not to blush at the sight of any mans person, bringeth with it great contentation, and is as it were the perfection of life, which is proper onely to a iust soule. Iustice (saith Hesiodus) is a chaste and reuerent virgine, not violated or defiled, but lodged alwaies with chastity, and simplicitie. Pindarus calleth her the Queene of all the world. Pythagoras teaching by his riddle-like precepts, how a man ought to beware of transgressing iustice, saith: *Goe not beyond the ballance.* If we purpose (saith Plato) to exercise iustice perfectly, we must make no difference of men in regard either of their friendship, kindred, wealth, pouerty, or dignity. This vertue (saith Cicero) requires of vs the forsaking of our pleasures & priuate commodity,*

The diuision
of Iustice.
The difference
betweene
Commuta-
tiue and Di-
tributiue Iu-
stice.
The ende of
Iustice.
The necessity
of Iustice.

Diuers names
agree to Iu-
stice in diuers
respects.

Jerem. 21. 12.
& 23. 3.

What Iustice
and Iudge-
are.

The Egypti-
ans were ze-
alous of Iustice
How they
painted Iud-
ges.

The Græci-
ans and Ro-
manes.

What city is
best gover-
ned.

modity, that wee may procure the benefit of the Common-wealth, although it bee to our perill and losse. And those men commaund and gouerne very well, who forbid vs to doe any thing whereof wee doubt whether it bee iust or vniust: because equity is so cleare of it selfe, that when we doubt of any thing, we may bee assured that there is some iniustice in it. *Aristotle* and *Cicero* diuide Iustice into these two parts, *Distributiue* and *Commutatiue*. *Distributiue* iustice consisteth in giuing to euery one according to his desert, whether it be honor and dignity, or punishment. *Commutatiue* iustice is in keeping fidelity, and in causing it to be kept in promises and contracts, and in behauing our selues no otherwise to another, than we would be dealt withall. Many parts and particular duties are also attributed by the Philosophers to iustice, as *Liberality* and sundry other, whereof wee will particularly discourse hereafter. But we must heere learne, that the end of all iustice tendeth to the preservation of the common society of men. For the preservation of the lawes (which are the Gardian & Tutor of good men, and a mortall enemy to the wicked) is so necessary for euery estate & condition of life, that (as *Cicero* saith) the very pyrates, theeues & robbers could not liue together without some part therof. If we desire to know more of her vnspeakable fruits, let vs consider that which *Paulus* the Pythagorian hath written, saying: *Iustice among men ought in my opinion to be called the mother & nurse of all the other vertues. For without her no man could be either temperate, valiant or prudent: the profit wherof will be very euident if we consider all her effects. For the providence of God is that iustice which governeth the world, & hath the principallty ouer it. In cities & townes iustice is rightly called Equity and Peace: in particular houses betweene the husband and the wife, Vnity & Concord: in respect of seruants towards their masters, Goodwill: of masters towards their seruants, Humanity and Gentleness: and in mens bodies, Health & Perfection of the members.* Thus you see that iustice is the beginning & perfection of all the vertues. By these short sayings of ancient & graue personages, the excellency of this holy and sacred vertue iustice, appeareth sufficiently vnto vs. Yea it is so earnestly commanded by the spirit of God vnto Magistrates in these words of *exercising* *iudgement and iustice*, so often repeated, that whosoever infringeth and violateth it, cannot auoide the curse and wrath of the Almighty, which will both light vpon their owne heads, and also worke the destruction of them that are committed to their charge. It belongeth to iustice, to receiue the innocent into protection and safegard, to maintaine, defend, sustaine, and deliuer them: and to iudgement, to resist the boldnesse of the wicked, to repress their violence, and to punish their offences: because Magistrates are therefore armed with the sword and with power, that publike peace should not bee disturbed. This also is that which *Solon* meant to teach vs, when hee said: *That the greatnesse and preservation of all Common-wealths consisteth in two things, in the reward of the good, and in the punishment of the wicked: which beeing taken away, the whole discipline of humane society must needs bee dissolued and come to nothing.* For there are many that haue no great care to doe well, if they see not vertue recompenced with some honour: although this becometh not a noble minded man, who ought to doe nothing but onely for the loue of vertue. And againe, the malice of the wicked cannot bee bridleed, if they see not vengeance and punishment prepared for offenders. All these aboue specified considerations did so greatly recommend iustice to the men of old time, and caused them to esteeme so much of it, that whensoever occasion was offered to maintaine and execute it, it was preferred before all things: insomuch that the father did not pardon his owne sonne. The Egyptians were the ancientest Law-makers, as Historiographers report, and were very carefull and diligent obseruers of iustice. In their cities they painted Iudges without hands, and the President or chiefe Iustice with his eyes blind-folded: to teach, that iustice ought not to bee either a briber or respecter of persons, that is, shee must neither take any thing, nor iudge for any fauour. The kings of their countrey obserued this order, to cause Iudges when they were installed by them in their offices, to sweare, that albeit they were commaunded by them to iudge vniustly, yet they should not obey them. Since their time, the auncient Græcians and Romanes shewed themselves great, true, and zealous followers of this vertue of iustice, and that towards their greatest enemies. They iudged it a very noble act to accuse the wicked, so it were not vpon any any private occasion or passion: they delighted greatly to see yong men by way of iustice to pursue transgressors, as gray-hounds well flesht follow after wilde beafts. This caused *Solon* being demanded what city seemed to him to be best gouerned, to answer: *That city wherein they that are not wronged, do as eagerly follow after satisfaction in the behalfe of another man wronged, as if themselves had receiued the iniurie.* For the truth is (quoth he) that they which violate and breake lawes, do not offend one man alone, but the whole city and common-wealth: therefore euery ought to desire and seeke

seeke after iust punishment: Moreouer, the severity which the Lacedæmonians obserued in their iudgements, procured such a publike safety, that for a long time they vsed not to put either locks to cofers, or barres to gates. *Aristotle* maketh mention of a certaine countrey, where the inhabitants were to assure the safety of the waies, and to repay vnto passengers that losse, which they had receiued by theeues and robbers. Neither is it long since the like statute was obserued in many places of Italie. But I stand greatly in doubt, that at this day it is ifsauredlie kept. O happie, yea an hundred times happy was the golden age of those famous men, full of heavenly spirit, because vnder their gouernment Iustice was had in such honour and reuerence. But let vs rub vp the memorie hereof by some notable examples. If any thing causeth Magistrates to commit iniustice, it is chiefly the fauour which they beare, and the bond wherewith they are bound more to some than to others. Therefore *Cleon* the Lacedæmonian minding to deale in publike affaires, gathered all his friends together, and told them that hee renounced and discharged himselfe of all their friendship, because friendship many times caused men to yeeld, and to step aside from their good and right purposes in matters of iudgement. True it is that when we haue none but good men to our friends, who are moued and possessed with the same zeale to vertue that we are, as before was mentioned, we shall neuer fall into these inconueniences. The example of *Aristides* the Athenian his loue vnto iustice, is worthy of speciall remembrance. For calling into the law an enemy of his, after hee had set downe his accusation, the Iudges were so moued against the accused partie, for the impietie of the fact in controuersie, that they would haue condemned him vnheard: so greatly did they trust to the honestie of the accuser, that he had set downe nothing but the very truth. But *Aristides*, who for his great and rare vertue had before deserued the surname of Iust, went with the accused party and cast himselfe at the Iudges feete, beseeching them, that he might bee heard, to iustifie and to defend himselfe, according as the lawes commaunded. Further, one writeth of him, that when hee was vpon a time Iudge betweene two parties that pleaded before him, one said: My aduersary hath done thee great wrong, *Aristides*. But he forthwith interrupting his talke, made this answer, *My friend, declare onely whether hee hath wronged thee. For I am hereto doe thee right, and not my selfe*: shewing thereby, that Iustice ought to bee executed without any priuate passion, reuenge, or choler, wherewithall many at this day are overcome. *Innius Brutus* Consul of Rome, condemned his two sonnes, *Titus* and *Tiberius*, to bee beheaded, beinge conuicted for conspiring the reentrie of *Tarquinius* race vnto the kingdome of Rome, from whence they had benee vanquished for wickednes and whoredome. Truly a notable example, and cleane contrarie to those that are fauourers and accepters of persons. *Phocion* refused to helpe his sonne in law *Charillus* in iudgement, beinge accused for taking certaine money vniustly, saying vnto him: *That hee made him his Ally in all iust and reasonable matters onely*. *Alexander* the Great vsed this commendable custome as hee sate in place of Iustice to heare criminall causes pleaded, that whilest the accuser declared his accusation, hee stopped one of his eares with his hand, to the ende hee might keepe it pure and vpright, not admitting thereinto (as hee gaue them to vnderstand) any preiudicate or false impression, that so hee might heare the accused partiespeake in his owne defence and iustification. Truly an example meete for Kings and Princes, that they should not lightlie beleuee slanderers, nor giue sentence of execution presently vpon their report and perswasion: because they ought not to take pleasure, or to glut themselves as it were, with some pleasant pastime, in the corrections and punishments of men, which is the property of a tyrant. Neither ought they, after the punishment is inflicted, to repent them thereof, which is a token of ignorance, and basenesse of minde: but Iustice must see execution done when reason and iudgement require, and that without either griefe or pleasure. *Augustus Caesar* knowing that *Asprenas* a very familiar friend of his, was accused in iudgement, and fearing that if hee went to the place where the matter was to bee heard, hee should offer wrong to Iustice, as also if he went not, hee should seeme to abandon his friend, as iudging him culpable: hee asked counsell of the Senate, with whom hee resolved to bee present at the iudgement of his friend, but to speake nothing, because in so doing he should neither doe him wrong, nor violate Iustice. *Agessilaus* king of Lacedæmonia deserued likewise great praise for his vertue, albeit hee were a very assured friend to his friend, and of a gentle nature, ready to imploy himselfe in the behalfe of all them that stood in neede of him. Neuerthelesse, when a friend of his contended with him about a matter, which hee desired to obtaine of this Prince, saying, that he had made him a promise thereof: If the thing (quoth he) be iust, I haue promised it; but if it bee vniust, I haue not promised, but onely spoken it. Hee vsed also to say, that hee esteemed Iustice as

Examples of
the loue of
Iustice.

Cleon.

Aristides.

Innius.

Phocion.

Alexander.

Augustus.

Agessilaus.

Prowes without iustice is worth nothing. The difference between a great and little king

Philip.

Traianus.

1. Sam. 8. 5.

What causeth kingdomes to flourish.

God is the author of iustice.

What manner of men magistrates ought to be.

One meane whereby the abuse of iustice may be taken away. The inconuenience that cometh by setting offices to sale. Exod. 18.

chiefe of all the vertues, and that valure was of no value if it were not ioyned therewith, yea would be needlesse if all men were iust. And when certaine men who were sent vnto him to confer about some agreement, said one day vnto him, that the great king would haue it so: wherein (quoth he vnto them) is he greater than I, if he be not more iust? Whereby he iudged very well, that the difference betweene a great and a little king ought to bee taken from iustice, as from a kingly measure and rule, according vnto which they ought to gouerne their subiects, seeing they were at the first established to doe iustice, as *Herodotus* speaking of the Medes, and *Cicero* of the Romanes, make mention. This is that which a poore old woman signified to *Philip* king of Macedonia, when she came to him to haue her complaint heard. To whom when the king made answer, that he had no leifure at that time to heare her, shee cried with a loud and cleare voice, *Bee not then king*. Whereupon this meeke Prince (by which name he said he had rather be called for a long time, than by the name of Lord for a little while) was so touched at the heart with the consideration of his duty, that he returned presently into his pallace, where setting aside all other affaires, he gaue himselfe many daies to heare all their complaints and requests that would come before him, beginning first with the said poore woman. Another time being overtaken with sleepe, and not well hearing the iustification and defence of one *Machetas*, he condemned him in a certaine summe. Whereupon the said party cried out aloud, that he appealed to *Philip* after he should be throughly awake. Which being noted by the said Prince, he would needes heare him againe: and afterward declared him not guilty, paying notwithstanding with his owne money that summe whereia he had before condemned him, that so he might keepe inuiolable the authority of of his sentence. The Emperor *Traian* is iustly commended of Historiographers, because hee alighted from his horse, as he was going to warre, onely to heare the complaint which a poore woman was about to make vnto him. And truely nothing doth so properly belong vnto, or is so well befitting a prince of a good and gentle nature, as the practise and exercise of Iustice. Therefore when the Hebrewes asked a king of *Samuel*, they added this, *To iudge vs like all nations*. Yea these heads which had the soueraignty over them before were onely in the nature of Iudges. It is Iustice onely, which through the grace of God causeth kingdomes and monarchies to flourish: as *Archidamus* did very well signifie to one, who asked of him what were those gouernors of the Lacedaemonian common wealth, by whose meanes it was maintained in such and so great glory as was then to be seene: They (are said he) the lawes first, and next the magistrates observing the lawes. Moreover, the law must be the rule of Iustice, as Iustice is the end of the law. In some other place we shall vnderstand more at large by the grace of God, what the law is, and how we are to obey it, where also we will consider particularly of the duty of Magistrates, and of their dignity. In the meane time let vs marke well for our instruction the notable sayings and examples of ancient men here mentioned of vs, which doe sufficiently testifie vnto vs how greatly they recommended the preservation of this vertue of iustice. Whereof if we beleue (as the truth is) that God is the author, that he doth continually exercise the same amongst vs, by visible testimonies, and that he will bring it to a full period and perfection at the appointed time, which is onely knowne to him, let vs take good heede that we neither contemne nor violate it. Let such as are decked with diademes for the administration of Iustice, who neuertheless commit this duty to others vnder them, make choise of sufficient and able men to beare so heavy a charge, I meane able, both for their learning, and also for their good example of life. Otherwise let them be sure, that this great Iudge will require at their hands the wrong that is offered to innocencie. To meete with which inconuenience, and to take away the cause of so many abuses and naughty dealings which now adays are knowne to such as are most ignorant, to the vtter overthrow of a million of poore families, I thinke that this is one of the best and surest meanes, not to leaue Iustice, which is so pretious a thing, to the licence of any whosoever will take it vpon him, whereby it is set to open sale, as it were some merchandise of small account. Which dealing (that I may speake my minde freely) giueth occasion, yea constraineth those men to take bribes, and to be couetous, who (according to the counsell of *Iethro* giuen to *Moses*) ought to be farthest from it. For so long as the places of iudgement shall be vendible, and bestowed vpon him that offereth most, we shall alwaies see that for money, such as are most ignorant worst liuers & vnworthiest, will be the first and chiefest. Now what iustice can be hoped for of such men? For after they are once placed therein, the chiefest respect is to reape gaine, profit and aduantage, according to that value and rate of money which they laid out vpon it. Did my office cost me so much? then it must be thus much worth vnto me. For if I had imployed my money elsewhere

elsewhere, I might have had thus much of reuenues and inheritance. Truly this saying full of impiety neuer caused them to blush that haue vttered it sundry times, although it hath wrought the same effect in many that haue heard it. The Emperour *Alexander*, and after him *Lewes* the 12. vsed this speech long since by way of prophecy, *That buyers of offices would sell by retaile as deare as they could, that which they brought in grasse.* And for this cause a wise Politician of our time hath written very learnedly, that they which set to sale estates, offices and benefices, sell withall the most sacred thing in the world, which is Iustice. They sell the common-wealth, they sell the blood of the subiects, they sell the lawes: and taking away the reward of honour, of vertue, of knowledge, of godlinesse, of religion, they open a gate to thefts, to bribes, to couetousnesse, to iniustice, to ignorance, to impietie: in a word, to all kinde of vice and filthinesse. Neither doe I doubt but that they which buy them are as greatly to be reprobated, and blamed, as those that sell them: because they minister life and nourishment, as much as in them lieth, to this monstrous Hydra of couetousnesse and lucre, which sucketh vp and deuoureth the substance of the poore. But they will say, if we lay not out our money hereupon, others will doe it that are as well provided with coine, and yet peradventure are not so zealous of iustice as we are. What? wilt thou doe euill for feare least another should doe it before thee? Besides, if thou considerest thy selfe well, what leadeth thee hereunto but ambition or couetousnesse? And if peradventure some one among a hundred is touched with a good desire to profit and to serue his countrey, what can hee doe alone amongst ten that are corrupted? But let this be spoken without offence to good men, who for the most part bewaile their estate and condition beeing in such company. And let not such buyers of offices thinke, that because of their bought estates they deserue any honour, (if for other respects they are not worthy) which is the reward of vertue onely: but rather let them know, that they deceive themselves no lesse than those men did, who thought to flie with the golden wings, of *Euripides*: making that thing of the heauiest matter that could bee, which ought to be most light. The Emperour *Aurelianus* was so fearefull of placing an vnworthy man in the seate of iudgement, that he neuer preferred any to the dignity of a Senator, but with the consent of the whole Senate. But to end our speech, we will hold this, that nothing is more necessarie to guide and to order the life of man to her proper and happy end, than the vertue of Iustice: which beeing taken from amongst vs, all other vertues, sequester themselves farre from vs, giuing place to the perturbations of our soules, which draw vs into ruine and confusion. And when as the greater sort being well instructed in their dutie, bestow the administration of Iustice vpon those men onely that deserue it, opening that gate vnto them onely for their vertue, then doe they put in vnto the first point requisite for the preservation of their estates, namely, the recompensing of good men. This will cause every one to seeke out the way that leadeth to vertue, whose property it is to bring men to honour. And from this good beginning will proceede the other point no lesse necessary, beeing the entire ornament and preservation of Iustice, namely, the punishment of the wicked: so that all things shall bee maintained in good order, to the benefit, rest, profit and greatnes of this French Monarchie.

The saying
of Alexander
and Lewes
the 12.

Against buy-
ers of offices.

Aurelianus.

A meane to
preserve poli-
cies.

Of Iniustice, and of Seueritie. Chap. 38.

ACHI-TOB. **A**S there is but one only way to hit the white, and many to misse it, by shooting either higher or lower than is requisite: so fareth it with our actions, which cannot be good but after one sort, but are euill many waies. This is that which we noted before in discoursing of three principall vertues, called Morall, which consist in the midst of two vices, namely: *too little and too much.* And this may also be noted in the fourth of those vertues, whereof we intreated euen now, whose defect and contrary vice is *Iniustice*, and her excelsse and counterfeit follower is *Seueritie*. Of which vices, according to the order begun by vs, we are now to discourse. This matter therefore I leaue to you my Companions.

A SER. They make themselves guilty of great Iniustice, who beeing appointed of God to persecute the wicked with the sword drawne, will (forsooth) keepe their hands cleane from blood, whereas the wicked in the meane while commit murder, and offer violence vntroubled. But it is no lesse crueltie to punish no offence, than not to forgive any in whomsoever it be: the one being an abuse of clemency, the true ornament of a Soueraigne: and the other, to turne authoritie into tyranny. Neuertheless Magistrates in the execution of Iustice ought to take great heed, least by ouer-great seuerity they hurt more than they heale.

A pretty com-
parison.

Every vertue
is in the midst
of two vices.

A M A N A.

How the
throne of
kings may be
established in
iustice.

All men haue
some know-
ledge of good
and euill, and
some inward
sense of a di-
uine nature.

The fruits of
Iniustice in
the wicked.

Virtue is to
be preferred
before all
worldly
things.
Iniustice is a
generall vice.

How many
waies a man
may be vn-
iust.

A M A N A. As a Goldsmith can make what vessel he will, when the drosse is taken from the silver: so when the froward man is taken away from the kings presence, his throne shall be established in Iustice. Notwithstanding the seat of a Iudge that is too seuerer, seemeth to be a Gibbet already erected. But we shall vnderstand of thee A R A M, the nature and effects of these vices, *Iniustice*, and *Seueritie*.

A R A M. None are so peruerse, nor giuen ouer so much to the desires and concupiscences of their flesh, that they can vtterly deface through obliuion the knowledge of good & euill, or the inward apprehension of some diuine nature, both which are ioyned together in all men. In somuch that by reason of that which vrgeth them within their soules, they are constrained to confesse themselves culpable for their vniust deeds before the iudiciall throne of this Deity. Therefore with what impudency soeuer the wicked outwardly gloze their corrupt dealings, as if they gloried in them, yet seeing they haue, as well by the testimony of their conscience, as by prooffe and experience, this knowledge euen against their wils, that Iniustice is vnfruitfull, barren, and vngratefull, bringing forth nothing worthy of any account; after many great labours and trauels which it affoordeth them, the remembrance of their vnpure deedes abateth their courage, and maketh it full of trouble and confusion. So that although a corrupt and naughty man, doring the sway of his vicious passion, perswadeth himselfe, that by committing a wicked and execrable deede, hee shall enioy some great and assured contentation, yet the heate, thirst, and furie of his passion being ouerpasse, nothing remaineth but vile and perillous perturbations of Iniustice, nothing that is either profitable, necessarie, or delectable. Moreouer, this troubleth his minde, that through his dishonest desires he hath filled his life with shame, danger, distrust, and terror of the iust iudgement of God. For these causes the Philosophers speaking of iniustice, said very well, that there was no vice whereof a man ought to be more ashamed than of that, because it is a malice and naughtinesse that hath no excuse. For seeing men haue this inward sence and feeling, that their very thoughts doe accuse or absolue them before God, they ought to make account thereof, as of a watchman that watcheth and prieth into them to discouer all those things which they would gladly hide if they could. This caused Cicero to say, that it is more against nature to spoile another man, and to see one man to increase his riches by the hurt of another, than either death, or pouerty, or griefe, or any losse of goods, belonging either to the bodie or to fortune. And if a good man neither may nor ought for profit sake, to slander, deceiue, lie, or execute any such like things: it is certaine, that there is nothing in this world of so great value, no treasure so precious, which should moue vs to forgoe the brightnesse and name of vertuous and iust. Now as we learned before, that Iustice was a generall vertue, so Iniustice also comprehendeth all those vices whereinto men commonly fall. For this is Iniustice, not to giue to euery one that which belongeth vnto him. In respect of God it taketh the name of *Impiety*, in regard of men, of *deniall of rights and lawes*. Our discourse is of this latter, which bringeth forth pernicious effects after diuerse manners, destroying all duties of honesty. But not to stay ouer long in the kindes of Iniustice we will note this, that we are so many waies guilty of Iniustice, as we denie to our neighbours those duties which we owe vnto them, and which our vocation requireth of vs: as also when we seeke to enrich our selues by their hinderance, whether it be openly, or by sinister and subtile meanes against Christian sinceritie, which ought to shine in all our dealings. Let vs see how the Auncients hated this vice, and spake of the pernicious effects thereof. No man (saith Socrates) ought to commit any vniust act, how small soeuer it be, for any treasure, wealth, or profit, which he may hope to reape thereby: because all the treasures of the earth are not to be compared to the least vertue of the soule. For this cause all men ioyntly ought to haue this one end and intent, that when they profit themselves, they should also be beneficiall to euery one. For if all men should haue respect but to their owne, their vniety would soone be dissolued. And although it were so (said Cato) that Iniustice did procure no perill to him that doth practise it, yet would it be to all others. Plato calleth it a corruption of the soule, and a ciuill sedition which neuer looseth strength, no not in those that haue it onely within themselves. For it causeth a wicked man to be at variance within himselfe: it vrgeth, troubleth, and turmoileth him continually, vntill it haue plunged him in the gulfes of all vices: whereupon after ward he easily ouerfloweth in all impiety, not caring for any thing but to satisfie his vnbrideled desires. And if it fall out that they who haue the sword in hand to correct Iniustice, doe either authorize or practise it themselves, then is the gate of all miseries opened vpon euery one, through the vnruely licence of the wicked, who wallow in all kinde of cruelty: from whence all disorder and confusion proceedeth to the vtter ruine and final subuersion

subuersion of most flourishing townes and cities, and in the end, of Empires, Kingdomes, and Monarchies. Thus doth Iniustice disanell the force of lawes, which are the foundation of every estate: it is an enemy to good men, and the gardian and tutor to the wicked. Briefly, it bringeth forth all effects contrary to those which wee mentioned to bee the fruits of Iustice, and is the wellspring of the other vices that hinder duty. Is it not Iniustice that giueth authoritie to murders, robberies, violent dealings, and to other damnable vices; which at this day are unpunished, and are the cause that of many great, goodly, and wealthy families, poore widdowes onely and orphans, quite vndone, doe remaine, crying for vengeance, and expecting it from above, for the wrong that is offered to their innocency? How many such are set before our eyes by histories, which are the light of truth? But alas the unhappinesse of our age is growne to greater measure. How many of the greater sort, I meane of the gouernours and magistrates of this desolate kingdome, may iustly challenge that praise whereby *Pericles* captaine and gouernour of the Athenians, thought himselfe more honoured, than by all his braue exploits done in his life time, either in warre, or in politike gouernment, wherein hee was the chiefe of his time, and which his friends laid before his eyes, beeing readie to die, thereby to assure him, and to cause him to reioice in a true immortalitie of glorie? *O my friends* (said he vnto them) *Fortune hath had her part in those exploits: but I make greater account of this, that I neuer caused any of my Countrey men to lament, or to weare a mourning gowne, which onely thing ought to be attributed to my vertue.* O excellent and honourable praise, which every good man ought to seeke after, and to desire: namely, to be no cause of bringing sorrow and griefe to the common wealth through any act of Iniustice. Moreover this vertuous Athenian died willingly and without repining, taking delight in an acceptable remembrance of those good turnes, which he had done to his Countrey men. But contrariwise, it will be a very hard matter for others, who haue beene the cause of many euils to their countrey, and for all those that delight in committing Iniustice, not to die in great feare, horror, and trembling, tormented with remorse of conscience for their life past. The whole course whereof cannot be much more unhappy, seeing euery wicked act ingendring it owne torment from the very instant wherein it is committed, through the continuall remembrance thereof filleth the soule of the malefactor with shame and confusion, with frights and perturbations, with repining and terrible disquietnesse of spirit. This is that which *Plutarke* saith, *That euery wicked man committing a trespassse, is the prisoner of Iustice as soone as he hath done it.* This life is his prison, out of which he hath no meane to depart, or to flie, but is to receiue the execution of that sentence which is giuen against him by the soueraigne Iudge. And it in the meane time he feast it out, send presents and gifts, yea if he solace himselfe with sundry sports, delights, and pleasures, it is all one as if condemned men that were prisoners should play at dice and cardes, and vse other pastime, with the halter ouer their heads wherewith they must be strangled. But there are many men that cannot be better compared than to little children, who seeing men worth nothing, to dance and play vpon a Theater, apparelled with cloth of golde and silver, or with other rich garments, and crowned with precious ornaments, haue them in great estimation and admiration, and thinke them happy, vntill in the end they see them pearced through with great thrusts of a speare, or hewen in pieces with swords, or behold fire comming out of those goodly precious robes of gold, which consumeth them. The selfe same thing is by them, who when they see many wicked men, either placed in great authority and dignity, or descending of good and famous houses, they honour, admire, and esteeme them the happiest men and most at ease in the world: neuer considering that they are chastised and punished for their offences, before they see them either put to death, or else quite fallen from the height of their fortune. Now seeing it is a thing flatly confessed of those that haue any knowledge of our Philosophy, and prooued sufficiently by our former discourse, that nothing can bee called honourable or profitable which proceedeth of Iniustice or of malice; that excuse which men giuen ouer to vice do commonly alledge to cloke their impiety withall, namely, that Iniustice bringeth with it very ripe and ready fruit, and that the punishment if there bee any, commeth very late and long time after the delight taken by the offence, hath no more any shew of reason in it. For, as we haue already learned, the punishment of any sin is equall with it both for age and time. Furthermore God permitteth oftentimes his diuine iudgement to bee publickly knowne and shewed vpon the vniust: yea hee declareth himselfe so much the more openly, by how much the lesse men exercise Iustice and vpriight dealing. And yet in respect of his maiestie, we must not looke vnto time, which is alwaies one and the same to him, and not future or past: yea the whole continuance of mans life is as nothing vnto him,

The effects of
Iniustice.

Pericles.

A notable ex-
ample for eu-
ery ciuill
Magistrate.

Why the life
of the wicked
cannot be
happy.

A compari-
son.

A comparison.

The wrong
conceit which
men haue of
the wicked
that prosper.

The punish-
ment of sinne
is equall with
it both for
age & time.
All things are
present with
God.

A sure token
of a desperate
common
wealth.

The miserable
estate of
France.

The deniall
of Iustice is
dangerous,
Philip.

Demetrius.

Henry King
of Sweath-
land.

A notable hi-
storie of the
death of Fer-
dinando the
fourth.

8 Notable In-
iustice com-
mitted by a
Prouost of
Paris.

him, and lesse than the present instant. But if according to our carnall senses, we desire exam-
ples of the greatnesse and swiftnes of his wrath, iustly kindled ouer our heads for our execra-
ble impieties, contrary to the nature of his gentlenesse and benignitie, which moued him
to waite for vs along time; who can be ignorant of them in the vnspeakeable affliction of
this poore France, wherein it were very hard in mans iudgement to discerne, whether is most
lamentable, either iniustice, or the miserie and calamitie, which by the vengeance of God fol-
loweth it, the horrible punishment whereof the fautors of iniquitie both haue and daily doe
feele vpon their heads? Those common-wealths (saith *Cicero*) which are ready to bee ouer-
throwne, and haue all things forlorne and desperate in them, fall into this miserable issue,
that they whom the lawes condemne are restored, and iudgements giuen are recovered and
broken. And when such things come to passe, let none be ignorant of this, that destruction
is at hand, neither can any man iustly conceiue hope of safetie. What other thing can I say of
France (I would to God I were deceiued) seeing that all Iustice is turned to plie turuie there-
in, the wicked are placed in authoritie, and good men driven away: suits in law are commen-
ced against every one more vpon knauerie than equity, corruption than integritie, fauour
than vprightnes? But to the end that the greater sort, and every particular man may open
his eies and behold this shipwracke that threatneth vs, let vs consider in our Ancestors, tho-
rough the reading of histories, the like causes of the ruine, alteration, and subuersion of many
very flourishing estates, proceeding from the reigne of Iniustice, which being the daughter of
tyranny (as *Dionysius* the elder said) must needs be of the same nature: namely, that by vsurping
an vniust and intollerable dominion, it must of necessity fall speedily into a miserable and
wretched ende. Wee haue in all our former discourses alleadged sundry examples of vices,
which (as we said euen now) take their beginning, or at least wise are inseparably ioyned with
Iniustice, and hereafter we will make mention of others, when wee handle certaine points,
which properly depend of this selfe same originall. In the meane while we will here note, that
the deniall of Iustice hath procured to many their death or vndoing. *Philip* the first, king of
Macedonia, was slaie by *Pausanias* a meane gentleman, because hee would not let him haue
Iustice against *Antipater*, who had offered him wrong. *Demetrius* the besieger, hauing receiued
many requests and supplications of his subiects, threw them all into the water, as he went o-
uer the bridge of a river: wherupon his subiects conceived such hatred against him, that with-
in a while after his armie forsooke him, and yeelded themselves to *Pyrhus* his enemy, who
draue him out of his kingdome without battell. In our time, *Henrie* king of Sweathland, stri-
king with a dagger a Gentle-man that asked Iustice of him, stirred vp the Nobility and peo-
ple in such sort against him, that putting him into prison, where he is at this present, they ele-
cted his yonger brother to bee their king, who now reigneth. But for a more woonderfull
matter, wee might here rehearse, how God, to shew vnto vs his detestation of Iniustice, hath
sometimes suffered his iudgement to fall out in that very howre and time, which such as
were vniustly condemned did assigne to their vniust Iudges. In the liues of the kings of Ca-
stile, wee finde that *Ferdinando* the fourth of that name, putting two knights to death more
through anger than iustly, one of them cried aloud in this sort: O vniust king, we cite thee
to appeare within thirty daies before the tribunall seate of Iesus Christ to receiue iudgement
for thy Iniustice, seeing there is no other Iudge in earth to whom wee can appeale from thy
vniust sentence. Vpon the last of which daies he died likewise. True it is, some man may say,
that death is so naturall, and the houre thereof so vncertaine, although determined, that no
other cause thereof ought to bee supposed, but onely necessity. But yet when it followeth so
neerely some notable wickednesse committed, and some disquietnesse and torment of minde
is mingled therewith in the soule, as it commonly falleth out, we may take such a death for a
testimony and beginning of the iustice of God, who will not suffer the vniust man to rule any
longer, but exerciseth his iudgements diuersly in due time and season, vpon those that are
not to giue an account of their doings to men like themselves. And as for such as are of mea-
ner estate, and lower in degree, God suffereth also many times their punishment to bee noto-
rious, and that sometime by such as are not much better than themselves. Hereupon *Apollonius*
that great Philosopher said, that in his peregrination ouer three parts of the world, hee
maruelled most at two things, whereof the first was, that hee alwaies saw the greater theeu-
es hang the lesse, and oftentimes the innocent. And thus it fell out in the time of king *Philip* the
long, wherein a Prouost of Paris, named *Henry Lapperell*, caused a poore man that was priso-
ner in the Castelet to be executed, by giuing him the name of a rich man, who being guiltie
and condemned, was set at liberty by him. But this reward followed him hard at the heeles:
being

being for the same accused, conuicted, hanged, and strangled. Not long after, a president of the Parliament, named *Hugues* of Crecy, met with the same fortune, for a certaine corrupt iudgement given by him. Therefore let every one of vs learne to flie from this pernicious vice of iniustice: namely, from every action repugnant to the duty of Chrillian charity, & destroying the bond of humane society, through the vtter spoiling of the riuers that flow from the fountaine of honesty. And let vs be afraid through such impiety to fall into the indignation and wrath of the Almighty, to whom onely (as to the author of iustice, and to whom all time is as nothing) it belongeth to define and to determine thereof, when, after what sort, and how farre it standeth with reason, all which things are vnknowne to vs. If he defer sometime the punishment of Iniustice, let vs know that it is for their greater and more grievous condemnation, who multiply and heape daily vpon their heads iniquity vpon iniquity. And for an example, which great men ought to follow, and not suffer iniustice to be practised according to every mans fancie, or vnder any other pretence whatsoever, we will propound vnto them the fact of a Pagan king, who shall rise vp in iudgement against them, if they doe otherwise. The prince I meane is *Artaxerxes*, surnamed Longhand, and king of the Persians, who being requested by a Chamberlaine of his whom he greatly fauoured, to doe some vniust thing, and hauing by his diligence found out, that he vnderooke this suite for another, who had promised him thirtie thousand crownes, called of them *Dariques*, he commanded his treasurer to bring the like sum vnto him, and then said vnto his chamberlaine, Take this money which I giue thee. For in giuing it vnto thee, I shall bee neuer the poorer, whereas if I had done that which thou requirest of me, I should haue bin more vniust. *Alexander Seuerus* the Emperour handeled after another fashon, yea more iustly, a seruant of his, who vsed like a horse-leach of the court to sucke their blood that had to deale with his master, by thrusting himselfe forward, & proffering his meanes to fulfill their request for a good reward, by reason of the fauour which hee bare him: which turned to the great dishonor of his imperiall Maiestie, because a Prince ought not to make greater account of any thing, than of the grace and fauour of his gifts and benefits. This monarch caused him to be tyed to a post and choked with smoke, making this proclamation by sound of trumpet, *That they which sell smoke, should so perish with smoke.* Now to enter into the last point of the matter which is here propounded vnto vs, wee must diligently note, that as it is the duty of all magistrates, and of such as haue authoritie ouer others to chastice and to punish every malefactor, so likewise they must beware least vnder pretence of exercising iustice they fall into another kinde of iniustice through ouermuch rigor, which is as hurtfull or rather more than that vice wherof we discoursed euen now, namely, into *Seuerity*, which caused them to be misliked for cruelty, and belongeth rather to a beastly & sauage nature, than to the nature of man. Forclemency, and compassion neuer ought to be separated from a good and iust sentence, which is to hold small faults excused, or but lightly to punish them, provided alwaies that iustice be not violated. *Clemency* (saith the wise man) *is the true preservation of the royall throne.* And therefore one of the Ancients said, that it was ill to be subiect to a prince vnder whom nothing was tolerated, but worse when all things were left at random. We may alledge here for an example of ouer great seuerity the fact of *Manlius Torquatus* a Consul of Rome, who caused his sonnes head to be cut off, because hee fought against his enemy body to body contrary to the Edicts, & out of his ranke, albeit he came away victor. The act of *Aufidius* the Romane was more cruell & barbarous than iust, when he slue his sonne for withdrawing himselfe to take part with *Catiline*: vttering this speech vnto him: *I did not, wretch as thou art, beget thee for Catiline, but for thy countrey.* Such murders and cruelties defaced all the commendation of iustice, whose waies ought to be ordinary and vsuall, ruling rigour with gentlenes, as the rigour of discipline ought to be moderate gentlenes, that the one may be commended by the other. *Seneca* rehearseth a crueller fact than any of the former, committed by *Piso* the Proconsul, who seeing a soldier returne alone to the campe, condemned him to death, thinking that he had slaine his companion, notwithstanding he affirmed that his fellow came after him. At the very instant of the execution his companion came: whereupon the Captaine that had charge to see the condemned party executed, returned to the Proconsul with both the souldiers. But *Piso* being offended therewith, put them all three to death: the first, because he was condemned: the second, because he was the cause of the condemnation: and the Captaine, because he obeyed not: so that he put three to death for the innocency of one man, abusing his authority & power in most cruell manner, whatsoever rigour was vsed in those times in the ordinance of warlike discipline. Now to take from vs all taste of such barbarousnesse, let vs call to minde an act of *Augustus Caesar* worthy of eternall praise, who would not condemne one that was accused of seeking his death, because the arguments & profes were insufficient, but left him to the iudgment of God. Let vs learne therefore for the conclusion of our discourse to bate all kinde of Iniustice in such sort,

Hugues of
Crecy.

Artaxerxes.

Alexander
Seuerus.

The punish-
ment of one
who sold his
masters fa-
uour.

Of Seueritie.

Clemency
preserue
prince his
throne.
Prou. 20. 28.
M. Torquatus.
Aufidius.

Most cruell
seueritie of
Piso.

Augustus
Caesar.

that every one of vs seeke to profite his neighbor, rating at an high price (as *Euripides* saith) the violating of right, which is holy and sacred. And thus through the good order of magistrats, and reformation of euery one by himselfe, the wicked shall haue no meansto rob, to spoile by force, to take bribes and to decieue others, when breakers of iust laws shall be punished. Then will the effect of those two sentences take place, which are taken out of the holy Scriptures, and written in a table in the great chamber of the palace belonging to the head cite of this kingdome, and which ought to bee well engrauen in the hearts of all iudges: the first sentence is contained in these words. *Execute iudgement and righteousnesse: or otherwise I haue sworne by my selfe* (saith the Lord) *that this house shall be wast.* The other sentence is this: *O ye iudges, take heed what ye do: for ye execute not the iudgement of man, but of the Lord: & With what iudgement ye iudge, ye shall be iudged.* For truly the crowne of praise & immortal glory is kept & prepared for them that walke in truth and righteousness, but thame and dishonor, with eternall fire for those that perseuere in ynrighteousnes.

Ier. 22. 3.

1. Cor. 2. 9. 6.

Mat. 17. 2.

Of Fidelitie, forswearing and of Treason. Chap. 39.

Of the corruption of our age. When vertue seemeth to be out of season.

A R A M. Such is the corruption of our age, wherein impietie and malice are come in the place of ancient innocency, that vertue seemeth very vnfit to be receiued and employed in affaires, seeing the gate is quite shut vp against her. So that a man might aptly say, that whosoever should thinke to bring backe againe, amidst the peruerseliues and corrupt manners of this present time, the vprightness and integritie of ancient behauiour, he did as much as if he offered fruits out of season, which being faire in sight, were notwithstanding vnfit to be vsed. Neuerthelesse wee must not doubt to bring her in sight, and to maintaine her with all our power, who knoweth how to cause her enemy Vice, both to reuerence and feare her, and in the end also to triumph ouer him, mauger all the power and vnderpropping, which he receiueth from the wicked. In the midst therefore of so many trecheries and treasons, wherof men glory now adades, let vs not be afraid to paint them out in their colours, thereby giuing honour to fidelity, which is a part of iustice, or rather Iustice it selfe: which I leaue to you my copanions to make plain vnto vs.

A C H I T O B. It is the impietie to violate faith. For God who is truth, I detesteth all lying: and is a terrible reuenger of the contempt of his name. *To loue or to hate openly* (saith *Cicero* doth better be-
seeme a noble heart, than for a man to hide and to dissemble his will and affection.

A S E R. *Guile and fraud* (saith *Seneca*) are meete weapons for a cowardly and base minded man. Therefore we must take good heed (as *Pittacus* said) *That same speake not euill of vs to them vnto whom we haue giuen our faith.* But it belongeth to thee **A M A N A** to handle this matter.

What faith & fidelity is.

A M A N A. Amongst the famous and great personages of old time, no vertue was more commended, or straightlier kept and obserued than Faith and Fidelity, which they affirmed to be the foundation of iustice, the indissoluble bond of friendship, & the sure supporter of humane society. Of this faith we mind now to speake, not touching at all that religious & sacred faith, concerning the holy misteries of true piety, which is a singular gift of God his Spirit, and peculiar to those that appertaineto his eternall election. This therefore which respecteth the mutuall conuersation and promises of men, hath bin alwaies kept vniuolable of honorable men, and ought to be so amongst vs: because he that giueth his faith, laieth to pawne whatsoeuer is most pretious & diuine in his soule. So that if he forget himself so much as to break & violate the same, he committeth manifest impiety, shewing that he careh not, to offend God by abusing his name to colour his lying. It were a great deale better neuer to take God to witnes, than to forswear him in mockery, seeing the Scripture so oftē forbiddeth vs to take his name in vain, to sweare falsely by it, or in any sort to defile the same. It is true that this question hath alwaies bin, & is at this day more thā ever in cotrouersie: namely, whether a man is bound to performe that which he hath promised and sworne to by compulsion, or no? And this sentence is receiued & approued of many, that nothing but our wil bindeth vs to performe those things, which necessity forceth vs to promise. But to speake according to truth, & without any particular passion, we say, that true & perfect magnanimity suffereth vs not to promise any thing, & to pawn our faith therunto, except we were willing to performe it, because no vertuous & wise mā ought to forget himselfe so far, as to do or to promise any thing contrary to his duty for any necessity, no not for death it self. Neither is there any thing wherby a foole is soner discerned frō a wise mā, thā by promises: forasmuch as an vndiscret man lightly promiseth whatsoeuer you wil, & oftētimes more than is required of him: but a man of good iudgmēt weigheth his spech with sēce & reason, before he gage it to any body, and hauing once giue his word, he reuoketh it not, what losse or dāmage soeuer may insue therof; as he that esteemeth a great deale more of the honor of truth & fidelity, thā of his own life beeing touched with vntruth & periury. If it were lawfull for euery one to alleadge necessity or constraint,

Of the violating of faith.
Leuit. 19. 12.
Deut. 5. 11.
Mat. 5. 34.

Whether a forced promise is to be kept.

A wise man must neuer promise any thing against duty.

Psal. 15. 4.

thereby

thereby to cloake the breach of faith, to whom might a man trust in any matter? Who doubteth but that all agreements made betweene men, whether in time of warre or of peace, or in any particular affaires betweene party and party, are grounded vpon a benefite, which euery one supposeth to bee necessary and profitable for himselfe; and so consequently that they ought not to be kept? Who doubteth but that the breach of them may easily bee coloured with the like necessity, and so vnder this goodly pretence of falleright and equity, should be allowed? But what? May we be iudges of our selues, and in our owne cause? First our aduerser parties, to whom we are bound must be called, and must agree of iudges to determine of our promises, whether they were lawfull or vnlawfull, forced and necessary or no: according to the law, which releaseth a man of his promise if it be vniust or vnrasonable, or if it bee too burthen some vnto him, or if hee were circumvented by deceit, fraud, error, force, iust feare, or grievous hurt. But when we are both iudge and party and in steade of iustice seeke after force and violence, it is soone seene, that all shew of excusing the breach of faith giuen, is onely grounded vpon malice and subtilty. This did *Lyfander* Admirall of the Lacedæmonians usually practise, who made no reckoning of iustice but when it was profitable accounting onely profite to be honesty, and saying, that children must be deceived with the play of cocke all, and men with oathes. Which kind of dealing argueth a man to bee in truth, woorse in behauiour towards God than towards his enemies: because he that beguileth his enemy through the meanes of fidelity sworn vnto him, doth sufficiently testifie, that he feareth him, and dares not discouer vnto him that which lieth hid in his heart: and in the meane time he hath no reuerence or feare of the diuine Maiesty from which nothing is hid, but vseth that for a covering and maske of his wickednesse. *Wee must* (saith *Cicero*) *keepe that promise inuolable, which we haue made to our enemy, albeit the mischances of war haue constrained vs to yeeld vnto it.* How much lesse therefore ought we to breake our faith giuen to our friends, and to those of whom we neuer receiued any thing but profite and pleasure? Through this neglect of faith we fill our soules with lying, nourishing and delighting them therein, and separating them far from the truth (the fountaine of all goodnes) to lie vnto our neighbours, to deceive and beguile them in those things which we are able to performe, thereby destroying the bond of humane society, yea of nature it selfe, which bindeth vs both to will and to procure their good. This is that which *Epenetus* the Lacedæmonian would teach vs, when hee said, that liars were the cause of all the siones and crimes in the world. And therefore *Plutarke* also saith, *That to lie is a seruile vice worthy to be hated of all, and not to be pardoned in any, no not in slanes themselves. All they (saith Cicero) that speake one thing, and meane another, ought to be taken for faithlesse, wicked and malicious men: whereas a good man will neither faine nor dissemble in any sort, either to buy better cheape or to sell dearer. It is not the point of a plaine, open, and sincere man or of him that is iust and vertuous, to conceale from the buyer the fault of that thing which he selleth, but rather of a malicious, deceitfull, crafty, subtle, and wicked man. And if this bee a vice & sin, not to declare the fault of that thing which is sold, how shall they be termed, who vse a thousand words and lies to set forth their merchandice? Whereas good men haue alwaies bin very scrupulous & precise in keeping the truth from all kind of pollution, as that which ought to be as well in the heart as in the mouth, in the works as in the words of euery honest man. But if lying procure blame and dishonor to all men, it doth much more to kings & princes. For seeing they are placed in such authority, that they may do what pleaseth them, what need they to lie? If *Machiauell* and his followers fauourers of tyranny, had well weighed that which we read in infinite places of Scripture, that God wil overthrow dissemblers & liars with al their lies & subtilties, hardly could they commend dissimulatione, deceits, trecheries, and suchlike pranks, wherewith they seeke to poison the noble minds of good princes, to cause them to degenerate both from their naturall disposition, & from the steps of such vertuous men as haue gone before them. And to this purpose I remember a decision of right concerning princes, which deserueth to be grauen in letters of gold within their lodgings & palaces: namely, *That if the prince go against his promise, it ought to be reckoned amongst the cases that fall out by chance, neither may any man suppose the contrary.* For the obligation is double: the one in respect of naturall equity, which will haue couenants & promises kept: the other in regard of the Prince his faith, which he must obserue inuolable, although he receiue losse thereby, because he is the formal Warranty vnto all his subiects, of that fidelitie which is amongst them selues: so that no fault is more detestable in a prince then periury. For if he that is debtor and pledge for iustice be disloiall, there is no more trust to be giuen to him in all his othes: but if he be vpriight, his bare word ought to be vnto him for a law, & his faith for an oracle, God him*

*Lyfander a
forsworne &
deceitful man*

*We must keep
promise with
our enemy.*

*Of the neg-
lect of fidelity
cometh a cu-
stom of lying*

*It is wicked-
nesse to conceale
the fault of
that which a
man selleth.*

*Lying in a
prince is most
odious.*

*The promise
of a nutrice is
tyed with a
double hand.*

Of the word
& faith of a
prince.

Of Treason.

Notable ex-
amples.

A. Regulus.

Demaratus.

Augustus.

Ca.

selfe (saith the master of the Sentences) is bound by his promise. Gather together, (saith hee) all the nations of the earth, that they may iudge betweene me and my people, if there be any thing which I ought to haue done, and haue not performed it. What is he then that will call into question, whether a prince is bound to that which he hath sworne to and promised, seeing all soueraigne power is no lesse bound to the lawes of God & of nature, than the simplest that is subiect thereunto? If faith ought not to be kept with enemies, it is not to be given vnto them: and if it be lawfull to capitulate with them, it is as necessary to keepe promise. Yea we may furt her adde, that periury is not to be reuenged or called in question, after that peace and agreement together is made: otherwise there would neuer bee any assurance of peace or end of periury. From the selfe same fountaine of the profanation of faith, & custome in lying, (it being the property of vice to ingender another vice for a punishment of it selfe) proceedeth that pernicious plague of kingdomes and common wealths, I meane Treason, hated of God and men, wherewith periured persons being bewitched, feare not to betray themselues, so they may betray others also, and their countrey. Whereupon they become odious to every one, euen to those who vsed them to serue their own turnes in disloyall and wicked actions, and in the end they receiue the reward due to their execrable impieties. For this is the common affection that men beare towards such people, to seeke them out (which notwithstanding is not the property of a noble heart) when they stand in neede of them, as they that want gall, or the poyson of some venomous beast: afterward to giue them over and reiect them because of their wickednesse. If a man be called slothfull he may become diligent: If talkatiue holde his peace: if a glutton temperate himselfe: if an adulterer, abstaine: if furious, dissemble, if ambitious, stay himselfe: if a sinner, amend: but he that is once called a traytor, there is no water to wash him cleane, nor meane to excuse himselfe. Now let vs come to the examples of the auncients, and know what zeale they bare to fidelity, and hatred to periurie and treason, as also what recompence commonly followed and accompanied such things, and with what reward noble minded men did requite those that were disloyall and traiterous. *Attilius Regulus* a Romane of great credite, being taken prisoner in the Carthaginian warre, and sent to Rome vpon his faith to intreat about a peace and the exchange of captives, so soone as he arriued, gaue cleane contrary aduice in the Senate: shewing that it was not for the profit of the Common wealth to make such an agreement. Afterward, hauing resolved with himselfe to keepe faith with the enemy, hee returned to Carthage, where hee was put to death very cruelly. For his eie lids being cut off, and himselfe bound to an engine, hee died with the force of waking. *Demaratus* king of Sparta, being in Persia with the king, against whom a great man of Persia had rebelled, was the meanes of their reconciliation. Afterward this barbarian king hauing his saide vassall in his power, would haue bene reuenged of him, thinking to put him to death. But the vertuous Lacedemonian turned him from it, declaring vnto him that it would redound to his great shame, not to know, how to punish him for his rebellion when he was his enemy, and now to put him to death being his seruant and friend. A reason truly well worthy to be marked, but very slenderly put in vre at this day. *Augustus* hauing made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that hee would giue 25000 Crownes to him that should take *Crocosas*, ringleader of the theeues in Spaine, hee offered himselfe to the Emperour, and required the sum promised by him, which hee caused to bee paid him, and pardoned him withall, to the end no man should thinke that hee would take his life from him, thereby to frustrate him of the promised recompence: as also because hee would haue publike faith and safety kept to every one that came according to order of Iustice: although in truth he might haue proceeded and given out processe against him, *Cato* the elder being in war against the Spaniards, was in great danger by reason of the multitude of enemies who sought to inclose him round about. And not being then in possibility to bee succoured of any but of the Celtiberians, who demanded of him 200. Talents (which are 120000. crownes) in hand for their wages, the Councell tolde him, that it was not by any means to be gotten presently, but yet promised to furnish them with such a sum, & that within any time which they would appoint: otherwise that it was more expedient not to meddle with them. But this wise and well aduised captaine vsed this occasion to very good purpose, by resolving with himselfe and with his souldiess, either to overcome their enemies, or else to die (after they had agreed with the Celtiberians) that the Romane glory should not be stained by the fallhood of their promises. For (quoth he to his souldiers) if we get the battle wee will pay them, not of our owne, but at the charges of our enemies: but if wee loose the victory, none will bee left alive either to pay, or to demand any payment. There was no talk among the councel of these noble Romanes

Romanes, how they might deceiue their enemies, or those whose seruice they were vrged to vse, but they determined rather to die, than to be wanting in their promise. Likewise we may note, that as their enterprises thus grounded had good successe, so periurie and violating of right were through the vengeance of God pursued for the most part with vnhappy effects, contrary to the platformes and desires of periured and faithlesse men: or at the leastwise that themselues were speedily punished for their wickednesse. And therefore when *Tissaphernes*, lieutenant to the king of Persia had broken a truce, which he had made with the Grecians, they gaue him thanks by his owne Herald, because he had placed the Gods, in whose name the truce was sworne, on their side. And indeed he smally prospered after that in his enterprises. *Cleomenes* king of Lacedemonia, hauing taken a truce for seauen daies with the Argians, assaulted them the third night after, knowing that they were in a sound sleepe, and discomfited them: which he did vnder this crafty subtletie, because (forsooth) in the foresaid truce mention was made of the day only, and not of the night. Whereupon the Grecians noted this as a iust iudgement of his periurie and breach of faith, in that he was myraculouly frustrated of his principall intent, which was, by the meanes of that overthrow to haue suddenly taken the citie of Argos. For the women being full of wrath and iust griefe for the losse of their husbands, by the cowardly treacherie of this Lacedemonian, tooke those weapons that were in the said Towne, & droue him from the wals, not without great murder & losse of the greatest part of his armie. Whereupon within a while after he became furious, and taking a knife he ript his body in smiling manner, and so died. *Carcalla* the Emperor traue-
ling with his armie towards the Parthians, vnder pretence of marrying the daughter of *Artabanus* their King, who came for the same purpose to meete him, he set vpon him contrary to his faith, and put him to flight with an incredible murder of his men. But within a while after being come downe from his horse to make water, he was slaine of his owne men: which was noted as a iust punishment sent from God for his vnfaithfulnessse. The Corinthians saw before their eyes their cities rased to the ground, because they had offered violence to the Roman Embassadors, contrary to the law of nations. The Emperor *Iustinian* receiued infinite losses and dammages for breaking his faith with the Barbarians, and for violating the peace which he had made with the Bulgarians. Which thing procured him so great hatred of his owne subiects, by reason of the vnluckie exploits of warre which followed after, that being returned to Constantinople, *Leontius* vsurped the kingdome vpon him, sending him into banishment after he had cut off his nosethrills. *Rastrix* Duke of Cleueland, hauing falsified his faith with *Lewes* king of Germanie, was put to the worst and vanquished: and being prisoner, his eies were put out for a marke of his faithlesse dealing. But what neede wee search in antiquitie for testimonies of the fruites which commonly proceede from the breach of faith, seeing examples are dayly before our eies to our cost? What doe wee behold at this day but a doubling, yea a heape of all miseries, because faith, which is so precious and exquisite a thing that it admitteth no comparison, hath so often beene valued at so small a price? The history hereof is but to common, and the truth too apparant (to the great hurt of euery one) to stand vpon the prooffe thereof, whereas it ought rather to bee buried from all memorie, if it were possible, as well to deface all spots of infamy, for which we are blamed of nations farthest off, as to take away the distrust that one hath of another, which is so great amongst vs, that it hath beene one principall cause of kindling the fire of diuision so often in this desolate kingdome. But to leaue such a pittifull matter subiect, let vs consider what honour and entertainment men in oldetime gaue to traitors, who are now adaies so welcometo the greatest. *Lasthenes* hauing holpen *Philip* king of Macedonia to become master of the citie of Olynthum, whereof hee was an inhabitant, and complaining to the king that certaine called him traitor, he receiued this onely answer, that the Macedonians were naturally rude and grosse, calling a spade a spade, and all things else by their proper name. When *Caesar Augustus* heard *Rymetalces* king of Thracia (who had forsaken *Antonius* to ioine with him) boast of his fact, the monarch drinking to others, said with a loud voice: *I loue treason well, but I loue no traitors*. And in truth what man of any good iudgement will trust him? Hee that betraierth his Prince, his benefactor, his citie, his country, his kinsfolke and friends into their hands to whom he is nothing so much bound, how may not he betray them also another time? This did *Agis*, sonne of *Archdamus* king of Sparta very well signifie to the Ephories, who had commanded him to take the yong men of the citie with him, and to goe to the countrey of one whom they would make knowne vnto him, who had promised to guide & bring them within the castel of his city. What (quoth he vnto them) is it a reasonable

Periured and
faithlesse per-
sons haue
alwaies had
ill successe.
Tissaphernes.

Cleomenes.

Carcalla.

The Corin-
thians.

Iustinianus
the Emperor.

Rastrix Duke
of Cleue-
land.

The cause of
the present
miserie of
France.

Examples of
the entertain-
ment which
the Ancients
gaue to tra-
itors.

Lasthenes.

Rymetalces.

Agis.

Pausanias.

Ariobarzanes.

Iustinian of Genua cause of the taking of Constantinople.

A famous & heroicall fact of Sultan Solymán.

Cato commended for his truth.

Eph. 4. 25.
Luk. 10. 37.

matter to commit the safety and life of so many valiant yong men to one that betraieth his country? *Pausanias*, captaine of the Lacedæmonians, having receiued five hundred talents of gold of king *Xerxes*, promised to betray the city of Sparta vnto him. But his enterprise being discovered, *Agésilas* his father pursued him into a temple where hee thought to haue saued himselfe, and causing the gates thereof to bee walled vp, suffered him to die there of hunger: and afterward his mother cast his body to the dogs, and would not bury it. The like befell to *Cassius Brutus*, who would haue sold Rome: his father handling him after the same sort. *Darius* king of Persia, caused the head of his sonne *Ariobarzanes* to be cut off because he sought to betray his army to *Alexander*. *Brutus* did the like to his children, who had conspired against their country, that king *Tarquinius* might reenter into Rome. *Mahomet* having taken Constantinople through the cowardinesse and treason of *Iohn Iustinian* of Genua, after he had made him king according to promise, he cut off his head within three daies. A meete recompence for such a wretch, who was the cause of so great a plague to christendome, whereby the Emperor *Constantinus*, the Patriarke, and all the Christians were slaine. The Empres with her daughters, and with the noblest damfels she had, were led before *Mahomet*, and after a thousand villanies offered vnto them, their bodies were cut in peeces. True it is that histories are diuerse touching this fact of *Iustinian*. For some say, that perceiuing himselfe to be hurt in fight, he fled: whereupon most of all the men of war were discouraged: and that after he had saued himselfe in the Ile of Chios he died, either of his wound, or for grieffe and sorrow, because he was the chiefe cause of so great a mischief to Christendome. Neither may we passe ouer in silence the heroicall fact of *Sultan Solymán* the last that died, but propound it to princes as a patterne of the hatred and punishment of periury and treason. For sending a Bascha of his into Valona to passe into Italy both by sea and land, this Generall landed at the hauen of Castro, whereat the inhabitants being astonished, yeelded themselves vnto him vnder his oath and fidelitie, whereby hee promised that they should depart, their liues saued, with bag and baggage. Neuerthelesse this Barbarian slue them all, except those whom he saw were fit to serue for slaues. But after his returne to Constantinople, the great Seignior being aduertised of his disloyaltie, caused him to be strangled, and sent backe all his prisoners with their goods into Italy. Truly an act worthy such a Prince, who, if he had beene endued with the true knowledge of God and of his Church, deserued the first place amongst the great ones of his time. Now to end our discourse, let vs learne to know the excellency of faith, which is such a thing, that whosoever laieth it in pawne, bindeth his safety, his honour, and his soule to him, vnto whom he giueth it, and committeth manifest impiety against God, when he breaketh and violateth the same: vnlesse he had vowed it for the performance of some wicked deede, with which both diuine and humane law dispence. Let vs know also, that it is the beginning and foundation of a great and notable vertue to bee giuen to truth, that it was of such credit amongst the Ancients, that in *Cato* his time, when any man rehearsed a strange thing and hard to beleueed, this prouerbe went of him, (because he was knowne throughout the whole course of his life to be a louer of truth) *This is not credible, although Cato himselfe should speake it.* And thus by the examples of so many famous men, let vs in such sort be stirred to hate lying, whereof Satan is the father and author, that following the counsell of *Saint Paul*, we speake the truth every one to his neighbour, who is every one that needeth our helpe, and let all faining and dissimulation be banished from vs, and all roundnesse and integrity of heart and manners appeare in all our actions: let vs hate periurie and treason, perjured and traiterous persons, knowing that faith being taken away, the whole foundation of Iustice is ouerthrowne, all bonds of friendship broken, and all humane society confounded.

Of Ingratitude. Chap. 40.

The memory of euill things is fruitfull, but of good things barren.

A M A N A S the remembrance of an euill is kept a long time, because that which offendeth is very hardly forgotten: so we commonly see, that the memorie of benefits receiued is as suddenly vanished and lost, as the fruite of the good turne is perceiued. Which thing doth so ill beleeue a man well brought vp and instructed in vertue, that there is no kinde of Iniustice, which he ought more to eschue. And therefore my companions, I thinke that according to the order of our discourse we are now to speake of the vice of Ingratitude, that knowing the ignominie thereof, and the pernicious effects which flow from it, we may beware of spotting our life therewithall.

A R A M.

ARAM. An vngratefull person cannot be of a noble minde, nor yet iust. And therefore (as *Sophocles* said) a man is to remember him often of whom he hath receiued courtesie and pleasure. For one good turne begetteth another, and euery gentle heart easily pardoneth all iniuries, except vnthankfulnesse, which it hardly forgetteth.

ACHITOB. Ingratitude maketh men impudent, so that they dare ioyue together to hurt those that haue bene their friends, and them to whom they are bound both by blood and nature. Let vs then heare **A SER** discourse more amply of this pernicious vice.

A SER. If man had not shewed himselfe vnthankfull for the vnspeakeable benefits which he had receiued of his Creator, by eating of the fruite of the tree of life, at the perswasion of Satan, contrary to his expresse commandement to whom he owed all obedience, it is certaine that neither sinne nor death, neither through them any kinde of miserie and calamity should haue had any power ouer him. But as by his Ingratitude hee neglected his obedience to his Lord and Creator, so it seemeth also that his punishment was according to the manner of his offence. For his owne members, which before were in subiection to the will of his spirit, rebelled against it, and that with such force, that they led him often captiue into the bondage of sin. Now although we are necessarily and iustly made inheritors of the same curse both of sinne and death, yet how become we so dull of vnderstanding, as to desire with cheerefulnesse of heart, and without constraint, to succede him in the cause thereof, I meane Ingratitude, which we ought to hate in greater measure, and to flie from it more than from death it selfe, by reason of the euils which it hath brought vpon vs? Notwithstanding if we looke narrowly into the iustest mans life that is, it will be a hard matter, yea altogether vnpossible, to finde it purged and exempted from this detestable vice, as well towards God as towards his neighbours. But this is farre woofse, to behold the greatest part of men to nourish and feede their soules with Ingratitude, as if they tooke singular delight therein, by accustoming their minds to keepe very diligently the memory of the aduersities and iniuries which they suffer, and to let the remembrance of those graces and benefits which they receiue, slip away incontinently, euen as soone as the pleasure of them is past. Whereas dutie bindeth all persons to esteeme as a great benefite, all fauour, how little soeuer it be, which the heavens or men impart vnto them, and to preferue it in perpetuall memory as in a most safe treasure, wherein they may keepe and lay vp those good things which they receiue. But contrariwise vnthankfull men suffer the remembrance of their greatest felicities to slide away suddenly: which is the cause that they are alwaies voide of happinesse, of rest, and tranquillity, and full of vnquietnes and vncertaine desires, which is an argument of the imperfection of their reason, and of their ignorance of that which is good. This is that which *Seneca* saith, that the life of the ignorant is vnthankfull, wauering, and vnstaied in things present, through the desire of things to come. And as it is the property of an ignorant man to be alwaies troublesome to himselfe, so from Ingratitude and the forgetfulnesse of our prosperitie, proceede cares and melancholy passions to no purpose, which consume men, and pull on age vpon them more than yeares. For it is vnthankfulnesse that causeth vs to bee neuer contented with our present estate, but to complaine and murmure, in stead of giuing praise (as it becommeth vs) to him that sendeth vs farre better things than we desire. Vpon the least touch of affliction, the Ingratitude for a million of graces receiued before, causeth vs to cry out that wee had neuer any thing but mishap: whereas rather we ought to take aduersity for a blessing and testimonie of the loue of God towards vs, being assured that by iustice rightly ordained, he dispenseth pouerty and riches, health and sicknesse, honour and contempt, according as he seeth it expedient for euery one of vs. Yea, it is necessary by reason of the intemperancy of our flesh, which is ready to cast off the yoke of the Lord when he handleth vs ouer gently, that hee should reaine vs in hard with the bridle, and keepe vs within the compasse of some discipline, least we wholly giue ouer that seruice and obedience which we owe vnto him. But to vex our selues vpon euery occasion, and as often as things fall out contrary to our inconstant and rebellious will, which for the most part is ignorant of that which belongeth vnto it, is that which *Pythagoras* said, *To eate our heart*, or to offend and wound our soule and spirit, by consuming them with cares and griefes: as also not to know that one cause which most of all troubleth this miserable life, is the suddaine entrance of sorrowes and irkesomnesse in the heart, which afterward will not depart out of it but by little and little. These are melancholy passions voide of reason, which (as *Plato* saith) proceede from naughty fumes and bitter vapours gathered together within vs, and which ascend and mingle themselves amidst the passages of the soule. Euen as our strange and vnwoonted dreames testifie and signifie, that there is within vs

Ingratitude
the cause of
the sinne and
death of man.

No mans life
voide of In-
gratitude.

The life of
the ignorant
is vnthankful.

God dispos-
eth al things
by iustice.

The vapours
wherewith
the eyes of the
minde are
dimmed.

Of the ingra-
titude of great
men.

Reward and
honor nour-
isheth vertue
and Artes.
Impudencie
and Ingrati-
tude are com-
panions.
The descrip-
tion of Impu-
dencie.

Dutie and
profit are two
distinct
things.

A law against
vnthankfull
persons.

The Storke a
gratefull bird.

repletion of grosse and gluish humors, and perturbations of the vitall spirits: so are those euill vapors which darken our senses, and dimme the eyes of our soule: namely, ignorance, rebellion, arrogancie, murmuring, vnassatiable desires, and other inward corruptions which ingratitude stirreth vp and nourisheth, and which hinder vs from acknowledging the benefits that God bestoweth vpon vs, either towards him by thanksgiuing, or towards his creatures by good deedes, which he accepteth as done to himselfe. For onely God needeth nothing, neither asketh any thing for himselfe, but onely willet vs not to be vnthankfull for that which it pleaseth him to giue vs. And through the selfe same fountaine of the corruptions of our soule we are bewitched with vnthankfull forgetfulness of those good turnes which we receiue from our like: yea vpon the least dislike of them, which either with, or without reason wee forge in our braines, we say, That neuer did any of vs good. The vnsatfull, for the least deniall or hard countenance which hee receiueth of his Lord, forgetteth all the good turnes, furtherances and fauours, which before that time he had done vnto him. The son complaineth of the father, the brother of the brother, the friend of the friend, the seruant of the master. Alas we see but too many such vngratefull wretches in France, who euen betray & sell daily them, of whom they hold all their aduancement and greatnes. And if vnthankfulness be familiar with the meane sort, let vs not thinke that it is farther off from those of high calling. For vpon euery light occasion, especially if a man frame not himselfe to that vice which they haue in greatest recommendation, they easily forget all the seruice that hath bin done vnto them, by reason of some new come guest, who will shew himselfe a seruiceable minister of their pleasures. This cometh to passe soonest, when they grow vp and encrease in calling and greatnesse, because commonly as they mount vp in calling (not beeing well instructed in vertue) they waxe worse and worse in behauiour. But let them boldly take this for an infallible rule, that an vnthankfull prince cannot long retaine a good man in his seruice. For the hope of reward (saith *Plutarke*) is one of the elements and grounds of vertue, and of that honour, bounty, and humanity, wherewith the prince recompenceth vertuous men, thereby prouoking and alluring them to seeke the welfare of his estate. This also is that which procureth the proceeding of Arts and Sciences, and that which bringeth forth notable wits: as contrariwise, all those things languish that are extinguished by little and little through the ingratitude and couetousnes of those that rule. The Ancients said not without cause, that impudency was the companion of ingratitude. For if no beast (as they say) is so shamelesse as an impudent, who is he that may be said to haue lesse shame, than an vnthankfull body? *Impudencie* (saith *Theophrastus*) is a contempt of glory, wrought in a man through the desire of vile and filthy gaine: and that man is impudent that borroweth some thing of him whom hee purposeth to deceiue. Are not these the proper effects of the vice of Ingratitude, which seeketh nothing else but to draw away the commodity and profit of euery one, being vnwilling to do good to any, or to requite a pleasure receiued, neither caring for true glory and immortall honor, which followeth euery vertuous action grounded vpon duty and honesty? And truly it is a very hard matter for them to be answerable to their honor, who seeke their owne profit as much as may be. For we must know that in equity and reason there is a difference betweene duty, and that which we commonly call profit: yea they are distinct things, and separated one from the other, as honesty is from such earthly commodity. This latter maketh men voide of feare to breake asunder and to dissolue whatsoever was ordained and ioyned together both by the law of God, and man, so that they may gaine thereby. But the other cleane contrary, causeth them to imploy liberally their goods, trauell, industry, and whatsoever else is in their power, that they may profit euery one, and that without hope of recompence: albeit they that receiue good turnes are bound to returne againe the like to their benefactors according to their ability, and to acknowledge their kindnesse. For this cause amongst the lawes of *Draco* established among the Athenians, there was a commandement, that if any man had receiued a benefit of his neighbour, and it were prooued against him long time after, that he had bin vnthankfull for it, and had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued, I say, that such a one should be put to death. And although no histories are able to shew vnto vs any kings or princes which surmounted, yea which matched *Alexander* the Great in munificence and liberality, or *Iulius Caesar* in pardoning iniuries; yet wee reade of them, that when they had knowledge of an vngratefull person, *Alexander* neuer gaue vnto him, nor *Caesar* euer forgave him: so greatly haue vertuous men alwaies hated ingratitude. It is reported of the Storke, that as often as shee hath yong shee casteth one out of her nest for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged her. O barbarous ingratitude, to behold him that hath bene lodged, serued, and brought

vp

vp in a house, and that with the sweate and labour of another, to seeke and to in deauour the spoile of all that is therein, even to the honour, and oftentimes the life of his host! Is it not the same vice of vnthankfulnesse that soweth dissentions and quarels, betweene the children and the father, betweene brethren, kinsfolks, and friends, and all for want of acknowledging one towards another, that bond of nature wherewith we ought to be tyed, and that secondary supply of good turnes, which knit vs vnseparably, and make vs daily beholding vnto them, if we consider exactly the nature of our estate, which cannot stand without the succour and aide of many, how great soeuer wee be? But what? Wee see by daily experience that which one of the Auncients said, *That all humane things grow to bee olde, and come to the ende of their time, except Ingratitude. For the greater the increase of mortall men is, the more doth vnthankfulnesse augment.* And yet we may note many examples in histories against this vice, which ought to awaken vs in our duty. *Pyrrhus* is exceedingly commended by Historiographers, because he was gentle, and familiar with his friends, ready to pardon them when they had angered him, and very earnest and forward in requiting and recompencing those good turnes which he had receiued. Which caused him to be grieved aboue measure at the death of a friend of his: not (as he said) because he saw that befall which is common and necessarily incident to the nature of man, but because he had lost all meanes of acknowledging vnto him those benefits which he had receiued: whereupon he reprooued and blamed himselfe for delaying and deferring it overlong. For truly money lent may well be restored to his heires that did lend it: but it goeth to the heart of a man that is of a good, noble, and excellent nature, if he cannot make the selfe same man that benefited him, to feele the recompence of those pleasures which he receiued. This caused the Ancients not onely to feare the note of Ingratitude towards their friends, but also to contend with their enemies, which of them should doe most good, and shew greatest curtesie to his companion, as the same *Pyrrhus* did behaue himselfe towards the Romanes, who had giuen him intelligence of a treason that was in hand against him. For he to acknowledge this good turne, sent backe vnto them a great number of prisoners taken in warre, which were then in his custody, and would not let them pay any ranfome. But the Romanes being vnwilling that he should excell them in any kind of beneficence, as also because they would not giue occasion that any should thinke they meant to receiue a reward for not consenting vnto a wicked act, sent him as many prisoners of his for a counter change. *Cicerius* who had beene Secretarie to the Great *Scipio*, when he perceiued that he was a competitor, and ioint-suitor for the Pretorship with the sonne of the same *Scipio*, he feared so greatly least he should be noted with ingratitude towards his sonne, vnto whom he was so greatly bound, and of whom he had receiued his advancement, that putting off the white garment which they vsed to weare that sued for offices, he became a solicitor for *Scipio*, and procured him that honourable estate wherewith himselfe might haue beene furnished, preferring immortal renowne before that, as one that would not shew himselfe vnthankfull towards them vnto whom hee was beholding. Wee reade of a barbarous Turke, by countrey an Arabian, and Admirall of the Infidels in their war against *Baldwin* king of Ierusalem, who not willing to suffer himselfe to be overcome in beneficence, much lesse to beare the name of an vnthankfull body towards the said Prince, who had once set him & his wife at liberty when they were his prisoners, went by night vnto him into a towne whither he was retired after the losse of a battell, and declared vnto him the purpose of his companions: whereupon he led him out of the towne, and conducted him vntill he had brought him out of all danger. Moreouer as concerning that which we haue already touched, that great men ought to haue speciall regard to this, that they be not vnthankfull, but reward liberally men of desert, forasmuch as this point belongeth principally to the vertue of liberality, which subiect is sufficient for a feuerall discourse, we will content our selues without any further addition, with the propounding of a notable example of *Baiazer*, Emperour of the Turkes touching this matter. This man being aduertised at the taking of the towne of *Modona* from the Venetians, of the valure of a yong lanitsarie of the age of 22. yeares, who was the first that mounted vpon the wall, whereupon 30000. lanitsaries moe being moued therewith were imboldened to doe the like, gaue him presently an office of *Sargeant*, which is one of the greatest and richest estates next to the *Baschas*, and is valued at 10000. duckats in yearly reuenues. Now if wee desire to follow to the vttermost of our power, the noble courage of those famous personages, that so we may not fall into the shameful vice of ingratitude, this will helpe vs greatly, if we alwaies esteeme the benefite which we receiue of another, greater then it is: and contrariwise repute that lesse than it is which we giue. For thereby

The fruits of
ingratitude.

Examples a-
gainst Ingra-
titude.
Pyrrhus.

Cicerius.

A notable hi-
storie of an
Arabian
Turke.

Baiazer.

A meane to
keepe vs from
ingratitude.

we

Another
meane for
the same.

Artaxerxes
thankfully
accepted a
little water.

Vertue is a
sufficient re-
compence to
it selfe.

The sleepe of
the spirit is
worse than
death.

we shall feele our selues vrged, and as it were bound voluntarily to continue to doe good to our like, and so preserve the bond of humane societie inuiolable. Neither let vs (as proud and vaine-glorious men doe, who vaunt that they stand in need of none) disdain to receive a pleasure of our friends, although they be of lesse calling than we, when they desire our friendship. For if it be an honest thing to do good to all, it cannot be dishonest to receive likewise of all, because a receiver is as needfull as a giver for the accomplishing of a good turne. Furthermore, this will be another great occasion of preserving the common and mutuall bond, whereby we stand bound one to another, and of banishing all ingratitude from amongst men, if we observe this point alwaies, to requite double if we can, that good turne which we receive of another. *Artaxerxes* king of Persia disdained not the water which a poore handicrafts-man, as he saw him passe by, brought from a river in his hands and gave him, but received it with a smiling and cheerefull countenance, measuring the grace of the gift, not according to the value of the present, but according to his good wil that offered it. He thought it no lesse an act of magnanimitie and kingly bountie to take small presents in good part, and to receive them with a good countenance, than to give greater. Againe, we are to know, that a good man must neuer give over to do good to all, notwithstanding any pretence of Ingratitude wherewith they may be noted, whom he hath already bound unto him. For (as *Plato* saith) that is true vertue, which setteth it selfe on worke, in respect of no other end than of it selfe: yea, vertue is a very sufficient recompence unto it selfe. So although a man have occasion to bee grieved at an vnthankfull person, yet hee hath no libertie to repent him of the good turne which hee hath done him. Yea, the vnworthier hee is that receiveth a benefite, the more is hee to bee commended from whom it cometh. And wee may assure our selues that that thing only is given, which is given without any respect. For if there be hope of recompence, the benefactor deserueth not at all the name of a liberall man, but of one that giueth out to vsurie. Therefore *Cicero* misliketh the rehearsing of duties done one to another, saying: that those men are odious which vpbraide the good turnes they haue done, the remembrance of which the receiver ought to retaine, and the giver must passe them over in silence: seeing the greatest contentation, which an excellent and noble minded man can take in his glorious deeds and actions, is to see himselfe adorned with that vertue which is profitable to others, but to it selfe is fruitlesse, painefull, and perillous. To the end therefore that we may reape profit by all that hath beene heere discoursed, seeing wee know by ouer-many experiences unto what mischief Ingratitude hath made vs subiect, let vs awaken our spirits out of the deepe sleepe of ignorance, which hath so long time possessed them, considering that (as *Pythagoras* said) the sleepe of the spirit is worse than death. Therefore let vs watch in spirit, that both with heart and voice we may sing and set forth the unspeakable benefites that are daily offered unto vs by the goodnesse of God, wherof we shall be made partakers through his grace, if our frowardnesse be no let unto vs. Let our ioy, contentation and pleasure be in them that destroy and drive farre from vs all irksomnesse and sad melancholy, and let vs take singular delight in profiting one another by good turnes and benefites: yea let vs shew that we haue such noble mindes, that no Ingratitude can turne vs aside from the desire of doing good to all. Lastly, let vs recompence double, and reward without reckoning those good turnes, which wee receive of others, rather fearing least wee should bee overcome in beneficence, than in worldly reputation and glorie.

The end of the tenth daies worke.

The eleuenth daies worke.

Of Liberalitie, and of the vse of Riches. Chap. 41.

A SER.



Luine Plato handling good and euill things, saith: That *Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, and Iustice, are good things; and that their contraries are euill, namely, want of Prudence: Intemperance, Cowardlines, and iniustice.* As for the goods of Fortune, & of the body, as riches, glory, friends, and honour, beauty, health, strength, and dexteritie, he calleth them meane or indifferent things, which of themselves are neither good nor bad, but become either the one or the other

other, as they are vsed with Prudence, or abused by Imprudence and want of discretion. Now seeing we entred yesterday into these points that depend of Iustice, I thinke the sequell of our matter requireth vs the handling of Liberalitie, which is nothing else but an excellent vse of those means which God putteth into our hands for the succoring of many: which vertue (as *Cicero* saith) is altogether ioyned to iustice, and ought to be guided by moderation and reason. Now my Companions, I leaue the discourse of this matter to you.

What Liberalitie is.

A M A N A. The vnsstable riches of earthly treasure (as *Agapetus* wrote to *Iustinianus*) imitate the course of the floating water. They abound for a little while to such as thinke they haue them, and suddenly they returne back againe and goe to others: but the treasure of Liberalitie and largesse, only abideth still with him that possesseth it.

Riches resemble the waters

A R A M. The habit of Liberalitie is a garment that neuer waxeth old, and charitie towards the poore is an incorruptible ornament. Diligence is sufficient to make a man rich when meanes are offered, but nobilitie of minde is requisite in the bestowing of great riches vpon commendable things. To this purpose *Plato* saith, that a niggard sometime is not wicked, but neuer good. Now then **A C H I T O B.** instruct vs sufficiently in this goodly matter.

A C H I T O B. Seeing Liberalitie is a vertue betweene these two vices, *Conetousnesse* and *Prodigality*, and seeing the iudgement of reason ought to be the director and master of giuing, and of free Libertie, that it be not abused in delights, or fauour of the wicked, but vsed with a prudent and ripe deliberation; *Where, When,* and *As much* as ought to be: I am of opinion that we may not vnjustly appropriate the effects of this vertue of Liberalitie, to the good vse of Riches, which of themselves are not able to make a man better, or more happy, as we were before sufficiently taught: but if they be ioyned with the knowledge of true honestie, and perfect goodnesse, they offer meanes vnto him whereby he may the better execute his good and honest inclinations, to the profit and releefe of all them that stand in neede. Hereupon we must bestow only whatsoeuer we haue more than necessary: first vpon them that are of our blood and kindred, then vpon all indifferently that want our helpe. And this is such an excellent and commendable deed, that *Aristotle* and all the Peripatetians maintained this opinion, that a happy life which consisteth in the perfect vse of vertue, could not be in all respects absolute, if it wanted the assistance of bodily and external goods, which are as instruments to further a man in the good and vertuous execution of his honest desires. But we shewed heretofore by good reason, and according to the opinion of the Academicks and Stoicks, that vertue only is sufficient of it selfe to make a man liue happily, and that his vertue cannot be either more honoured, or disgraced through the abundant hauiing or not hauiing of the goods of fortune, and of the body, seeing all other things receiue their glory from vertue, and are not able to adde any thereunto. And therefore a poore vertuous man is not kept from any perfect vse of vertue, nor of Liberalitie, which consisteth not in wasting much wealth, but in succoring the afflicted willingly, and in helping euery one according to abilitie. For this cause the poore womans mite was esteemed of God for a greater gift, then were all the presents of the rich, because they gaue of their abundance, and shee of that little which shee had. In this manner then euery good man may iustly deserue the name of liberall, neither may any man excuse himselfe for not practising liberalitie according to his abilitie. But chiefly rich and mighty men are bound thereunto by that commandement giuen vnto them in the Scripture, to make them friends with the riches of iniquity.

How riches may be well vsed.

Aristotles opinion concerning a happy life destitute of bodily and outward goods.

A poore man may be liberal.

Luke 16.9.

They must take good heede that they passe not the bounds of this vertue of Liberalitie, but strictly obserue those three points already touched by me, namely: that they bee liberall, *Where, When,* and *As much* as is requisite: For when Princes bestow estates, offices, or money, vpon vnworthy persons, they giue where, and more than they ought. And if in time of war, or calamities of their people, they giue to flatterers, dancers, and ministers of their pleasures, and consume much vpon feasts, Plaies, Turneis, and Maskes, they spend *Where* and *When* they ought not, deseruing thereby the name of prodigall men, and louers of riot and superfluity, howsoeuer flattering Courtiers labour to disguise such wastfull spendings with the name of Largesse and Liberality. But such superfluous expences bring forth effects contrary to the vertue and duty of a king, causing princes to leuie extraordinary taxes and tributes vpon no iust necessity, which is wholly to overthrow the vse of Liberality. And this is done also by men of meaner calling, when in their actions and expences they propound to themselves another end than good workes grounded vpon the loue of their neighbours according to charity. *Cicero* giueth vs a very good precept against the opinion of many in our

How princes passe the limits of liberalitie.

When the inferior sort passe the bounds of liberalitie.

time;

About what
we are to be-
stow the ouer-
plus of our
wealth.

A notable law
amongst the
Romanes.

How Epami-
nondas com-
pelled a rich
man to be
liberall.

Cimon a no-
table patterne
of the true
vse of riches.

Liberality
most necessa-
ry for princes
& great men.

time, who giue out in speech, that they are borne to doe great things, namely, to practise Liberalitie, and being poore of worldly goods, seeke to enrich themselues by vnlawfull and vniust meanes, that they may bring to passe their lofty desires: thinking afterwards through good deedes and great Liberality to make amends for that fault which they haue committed. But (as that father of Philosophy saith) our goods and patrimony must be iustly gotten, not by dishonest and hatefull gaine: secondly, wee must profite as many as wee can, so that they be worthy thereof. Moreover, a man may and ought to increase it by reason, diligence, and sparing, but to maintaine Liberality rather then to minister vnto lust, voluptuousnesse, or heaping vp of treasures. And yet now adaies these are the principall occasions for which riches are desired, which as they encrease, so we will haue our traine augmented, and our table to be answerable thereunto. Then although ouer great abundance remaine, yet we exercise very coldly the true workes of Liberality, which are to succour the needy. But this is to be farre separated from the commendable end, and good vse of riches, wherof all that we haue ouer and aboue our necessity ought to be imployed in the seruice of the common wealth, in releeuing the poore, diseased, afflicted, and prisoners, in procuring the good bringing vp of youth, and generally in exercising all other deedes of piety: accounting it great gaine to helpe the poore, seeing God is the rewarder thereof. Amongst the ancient Romanes there was a law kept inuolably, *That no man should presume to make a publike feast, except before he had provided for all the poore of his quarter.* And they accounted it a great shame and offence to the common wealth to see any man begge in the streetes. Therefore Plato saide that where there are beggers in a towne, there are also theeues and church robbers. Now if wee that beare the name of Christians, and acknowledge the poore to be the members of Iesus Christ, are not ashamed to banquet and feast, when in the meane time the needy cry at our gates, and almost die of hunger, doe wee not thinke that these Heathen men shall rise in iudgement before that great and iust iudge, to accuse and condemne vs as theeues and church robbers, and chiefly them that maintaine their delights and pleasure with the goods of the poore, towards whom the liberall distribution of our owne wealth especially ought to be extended both by the law of God and man? Wee must feede the poore, and not kill them: but to deny them nourishment, or to driue them from vs, is to kill them. For this cause Epaminondas capitaine generall of the Thebans, hauing knowledge of a very rich man that had no care of the poore in the towne, sent a poore needy fellow vnto him, and commaunded him vnder a great penalty to giue presently without faile 600. crownes to that poore man. The citizen hearing this commandement, came vnto him to know the occasion and cause thereof: *It is* (quoth Epaminondas) *because this man being honest is poore, and thou which hast robbed greatly the Common wealth, art rich:* compelling him thereupon to be liberall in despite of his teeth. So carefull were the Ancients to helpe them that had neede, and to shew themselves enemies vnto them that made no account of the poore. But if wee should diligently search all histories and deedes of famous men, yet could we not find a more notable example or worthy to be followed than that of Cimon the Athenian, who hauing gotten great wealth honourably, both for himselfe and his country, by the taking and ouerthrow of manie Barbarians and townes belonging vnto them, knew neuerthelesse how to bestow it liberally with greater glory and honor, by releeuing all his poore country men to whom his house was as an hospitall, wherein they were all nourished and fedde at an ordinary that was common to so many as would come thither; which was furnished not with dainty and delicate fare, thereby to occasion rich folkes to seeke it out, but with many common sorts of victuals in all plenty and abundance, and that for a great number of persons. This he did chiefly, as he said, to the end that poore honest men might haue the more leisure to imploy themselves about the affaires and seruice of the common wealth, and not be diuerted from that through trauell and care to get their liuing by the exercise of handicrafts. Besides, he caused all the inclosures, hedges and ditches of his lands and inheritance to bee taken away, that strangers which passed by, and his owne country men that wanted, might take of the fruits that were there according to their necessity. Now if this vertue of Liberality bee prayse-worthy in all persons that vse it well according to their ability, it is most of all necessarie, honourable and profitable for kings and princes, heads and capitaines of armies, gouenours of estates and common wealths, as that which procureth vnto them more then any other thing, the good will of euery one, wherein the chiefe strength and stay of their greatnesse consisteth. But withall they haue great neede of prudence and iustice, especially soveraigne princes, to distribute liberally and according to harmonically proportion their giftes, graces, and

and good turnes, whether they be estates, offices, benefices, knight-hoods, exemptions, freedoms, and other recompences due as rewards to their subiects, according as every one deserueth. It belongeth principally to them to keepe religiously and from point to point the lawes of Liberality, marking well to whome they giue, how much is giuen, at what time, in what place, to what end, and their owne ability that giue. Moreover, a Soueraigne must looke that recompence goe before gift, by rewarding first those that haue deserued, before he giue to them that haue deserued nothing: and aboue all things he must measure his largesse at the foote of his power. But when the iust rewards of subiects and honest men are distributed among the vicious, strangers, and vnworthy persons, this is that which oftentimes setteth flourishing estates on fire. There is neuer any want of flatterers and of impudent crauers about kings, whose onely drift is to suppe vp the blood, gnaw the bones, and sucke the marrow of princes and their subiects, to latisfie their foolish and vnprofitable expences; which are such and so great, that a man is well at ease to giue them any thing, they are alwaies so needy and money lesse, and sticke not to say that they neuer receiue good of their masters. In the mean while, they that haue deserued of the common wealth, are commonly remooued furthest from their maiesties: which cometh to passe both by the ignorance of the greater sort, who make but a bad choice of seruants worthy their fauor, as also because the honor and credite of good men forbiddeth them by flattery and begging to seeke after the rewards of vertue, which should be offered vnto them. But not to wander from our matter subiect, let us now consider of some notable examples of the Ancients concerning this whereof wee haue here discoursed. It was by his magnificall and incomparable Liberality, that *Alexander* the Great made a way for his noble platforms, whereby he became Monarch of the three parts of the world, distributing liberally all his deamins amongst the Macedonians, as before we mentioned. But what a notable testimony of this his Liberality did he giue a fresh, when during the war he caused this to be published in his army, That all they that were indebted vpon any occasion whatsoeuer, should bring their creditors vnto him, and he would discharge all their debts? Which thing he likewise performed. Moreover, who wil not admire the Liberality which al his life time he exercised towards the learned men of his time? Wee readeth that he gaue at one time to his master *Aristotle*, 800. Talents, which amount to 480000. crowns, as a reward for his pains, trauelles, and expence which he had bin at in describing the nature and property of liuing creatures. He sent to *Anaxarchus* the Philosopher 50. Talents, which are 30000. crowns, but he refused them, saying: that he knew not what to do with so great a sum. What (said *Alexander* then) hath he no friends to pleasure, seeing all king *Darius* wealth will not suffice mee to distribute amongst mine owne? *Perillus* besought him to giue him some mony towards the marriage of his daughters, wherupon he gaue to him also 50. Talents. And when he told him that it was too much by halfe, he replied thus: *If halfe be enough for thee to take, yet it is not enough for me to giue.* Likewise he gaue to a poore Egyptian asking his alms, a rich & populous citie, & when the other all astonished supposed that he mocked him: *Take* (quoth he to him) *that which I giue thee: for if thou art Biaz that demandest, I am Alexander that giueth.* The first Monarch of the *Cassars*, is hee not also exceedingly praised of Historiographers for the liberallest Prince of his time, & for such a one as shewed indeed, that he loved not riches in warre, that afterward he might at his pleasure liue in delight, or abuse them about his owne pleasures, but that they were the common price & reward of vertue, which he laid vp to recompence valiant and honest men withall? Of which reward, he said, he would haue no part, but onely distribute it to every one according to his desert. *Antonius* one of his succellours, sought to imitate him in his bountifull Liberality. For prooffe hereof may serue that commandement, which he gaue to his Treasorer to double the halfe of 2500. crownes, which hee had giuen to one of his favorites, whereas his Treasorer that brought him the saide summe, when he beheld it, thought that he should haue diminished the gift. But he staine this vertue with a perpetuall blot and infamy, which caused his destruction, in that he applied it to the seruice, and maintenance of his delights and pleasures, and abused it in the fauor and behalfe of the wicked, which is all one in great men as if they themselues were authors of vice and iniquity, *Archelaus* king of Macedonia, may serue vnto them for a notable example, whereby they may learn to keepe themselues in their estates from such a pernicious euil. This king being requested by a Minion of his Court to giue him a cup of gold wherein hee dranke, deliuered it to his Page, commanding him to beare and giue the same to *Enripides*, who was there present, and the said to the other: As for thee, thou art worthy to aske, & to be denied also: but *Enripides* is worthy

The lawes of liberality.

A common mischief which followeth the greater sort.

The liberality of Alexander.

To the Macedonians.

To all debtors in his army.

To Aristotle.

To Anaxarchus.

To Perillus.

To an Egyptian.

Cesar a liberal Prince.

Antonius a magnificent Prince, but voluptuous.

Archelaus gaue not to the unworthy.

How Antigonus denied one that was importunate.

Titus a good and liberall prince.

A notable precept of Phocylides.

Ptolemæus the Theban.

Denys the elder.

Cyrus.

Pertinax.

Math. 25.

worthy of gifts, although he aske not. *Antigonus* the elder being importunately desired by one that was good for nothing, and that counterfeited the Cynicke Philosopher, to give him a drachma, which might be in value about foure pence halfe penny, made answer: that it was no meete gift for a king. And when the other replied, that hee should then give him a Talent, he answered: It is no present for a Cynick. *Titus* the Emperour was so greatly in loue with Liberalitie all his life time, that remembring one euening with himselfe, that hee had given nothing the same day, he cried out: O my friends, we haue lost this day! He vsed to blesse those daies wherein the poore came vnto him; or when he sought after them to doe them good, putting in practise that precept of *Phocylides*, which saith: *Sleepe not at night before thou hast thrise called to minde thy workes that day, and repent thee of the euill, but reioyce in that which was well done.* For this great good nature *Titus* was loued whilest he liued, and bewailed after his death, and vpon his Tombe, was written this Epitaph: *The delights of mankind are ended.* *Ptolemæus* the Theban, captaine ouer a great army, had so acquainted himselfe not to denie any that stood in neede of his Liberality, that when a poore souldier demanded his almes of him, he hauing at that present nothing to bestow vpon him, gaue him his shooes, saying: *My friend, make thy profit of this, seeing I haue no better thing to give thee. For I had rather goe bare-foot, than see thee suffer so much.* *Denys* the elder, entring into his sonnes lodging, and beholding there great store of richiewels of gold and siluer, and of incredible treasure, said vnto him: *My sonne, I did not give thee these riches to vse in this sort, but to impart of them vnto thy friends. For thou must know, that no man in all the world is so rich as he that is liberall, who with his liberality preserveth his friends, and mollifieth his enemies.* This is that which *Cyrus* by experience shewed vnto *Craesus*, and how smally those gifts which he had bestowed vpon worthy persons had impouerished him. For sending to euery one of them to succour him with money, they sent him altogether as much as they had receiued by gift from him, bestowing moreouer great rewards vpon the bearer of his message. So that the wealth which proceedeth from liberalitie is vnconsumable, as that which is gotten by giving, and by scattering abroad, is gathered together. *Pertinax*, who succeeded *Commodus* in the Empire, surpassed all the Emperours that euer were for exceeding liberality, which hee vsed to the benefit and profit of all his subiects. For first hee gaue freely all the waste and desolate ground in Italy, and in other his prouinces, to them that could and would till them, and to the labourers thereof he gaue freedome and exemption from all taxes and subsidies for ten yeares, with perpetuall assurance that they should not be troubled in their possession. Hee forbade also that his name should be set in any castell or place within his dominion, saying: *That his lands were not proper to him onely, but common to all the people of Rome.* He abolished all customes, tributes, and tolles laid vpon the hauens of riuers, at the entries into townes, waies and passages; which hee called inuentions of tyranny to get money, and placed all such things in their ancient liberties. Which actions befeemed rather a father of the countrey, than a lord and master: and there are few princes that vse to doe so, but many to whom their owne will seemeth to be a most iust law. But contrariwise let them know, that they ought to be subiect to the eternall Law, namely, to right, reason, truth, and iustice, which are the proper will of God onely, whose people they must rule with right and equity, by comforting them through beneficence, and continuall good turnes. Let vs learne then by our present discourse to decke our selues with this vertue of Liberality, euery one according to those meanes that are given vnto him from aboue, and are iustly gotten by him: taking good heede, that we abuse it not in any kinde of voluptuousnesse or vice, neither yet vpon the wicked, as though we purposed to nourish and maintaine their impieties. For this is vtterly to destroy iustice, and consequently the bond and preseruatiue of humane society. But if we, being well instructed by the Spirit of wisdom, feede the hungry, give drinke to the thirstie, lodge them that want harbour, and clothe the naked, sowing in this manner by the workes of pietie that talent which is committed to our keeping, we shall reape abundantly in heauen the permanent riches and treasures of eternall life.

Of Conetousnesse, and of Prodigalitie. Chap. 42.

No wicked thing ought to be iudged profitable.

A CHI-TOB.

IF that diuine rule of *Cicero* were as well written in our heart, as hee desired to haue it setled in his sonne, *That onely that thing is to bee iudged profitable which is not wicked, and that nothing of that nature should seeme profitable,* we should not behold amongst vs so many cursed acts, as are daily committed through the vnbrideled desire of the goods

goods of this world. For that which most of all troubleth men, is when they thinke that the sin which they purpose to practise is but small in respect of the gaine, thereby craftily separating profit from honesty, & so suffering themselves to be overcome of couetousnes, which is the defect of liberality, whereof we discoursed euen now, whose excess also is *Prodigality*, of which two vices we are now to intreate.

A SER. Every one that coueteth treasures (said *Anacharsis*, one of the wise men of *Græcia*) is hardly capable of good counsell and instruction. For the couetous man commonly murmureth at that which God permitteth and nature doth, so that he will sooner take vpon him to correct God, than to amend his life.

AMANA It is a hard matter (said *Socrates*) for a man to bridle his desire, but he that addeth riches thereunto, is mad. For couetousnes neither for shame of the world, nor feare of death, will not repress or moderate it selfe. But it belongeth to thee, **ARAM**, to instruct vs in that which is here pronounced.

ARAM. Since the greedie desire of heaping vp golde and siluer entred in amongst men, with the possession of riches, couetousnesse followed, and with the vse of them pleasures and delights: whereupon they began to faile in a dangerous sea of all vices, which hath so ouerflowne in this age of ours, that there are very few towers how high soeuer seated, but it hath gone vp a great deale about them. For this cause I see no reason why men should esteeme so much, or iudge it such a happy thing to haue much goodly land, many great houses, and huge summes of ready money, seeing all this doth not teach them, not to be carried away with passions for riches, and seeing the possession of them in that manner procureth not a contentation voide of the desire of them, but rather inflameth vs to desire them more through an insatiable couetousnes, which is such a pouerty of the soule, that no worldly goods can remedy the same. For it is the nature of this vice to make a man poore all his life time that he may finde himselfe rich onely at his death. Moreover it is a desire that hath this thing proper and peculiar to it selfe, to resist and to refuse to be satisfied, whereas all other desires helpe forward the same, and seeke to content those that serue them. *Couetousnes* (saith *Aristotle*) is a vice of the soule, whereby a man desireth to haue from all parts without reason, and vniustly with holdeth that which belongeth to another. It is sparing and skanty in giuing, but excessive in receiuing. The Poet *Lucretius* calleth it a blinde desire of goods. And it mightily hindreth the light of the soule, causing the couetous man to be neuer contented, but the more hee hath, the more to desire and wish for. The medicine which he seeketh, namely, golde and siluer, increaseth his disease, as water doth the dropsie: and the obtaining thereof is alwaies vnto him the beginning of the desire of hauing. He is a *Tantalus* in hell, who betweene water and meate dieth of hunger. Now it is very sure, that to such as are wise and sound of iudgement, nature hath limited certaine bounds of wealth, which are traced out vpon a certaine Center, and vpon the circumference of their necessity. But couetousnes working cleane contrary effects in the spirits of fooles, carrieth away the naturall desire of necessary things, to a disordinate appetite of such things as are full of danger, rare, and hard to be gotten. And which is woofse, compelling the auaritious to procure them with great paine and trauell, it forbiddeth him to enioy them, and stirreth vp his desire, depriueth him of the pleasure. *Stratonicus* mocked in old time the superfluity of the *Rhodians*, saying, that they builded as if they were immortal, and rushed into the kitchen as if they had but a little while to liue. But couetous men scrape together like great and mighty men, and spend like mechanickall and handicrafts men. They endure labour in procuring, but want the pleasure of enioying. They are like Mules that carry great burthens of golde and siluer on their backs, and yet eate but hay. They enioy neither rest nor liberty which are most precious, and most desired of a wiseman, but liue alwaies in disquietnes, being seruants and slaues to their riches. Their greatest miserie is, that to encrease and keepe their wealth, they care neither for equity or iustice, they contemne all lawes both diuine and humane, and all threatnings and punishments annexed vnto them: they liue without friendship and charitie, and lay holde of nothing but gaine. When they are placed in authority and power aboue others, they condemne the innocent, iustifie the guilty, and finde alwaies some cleanly cloke and colour of taking, and of excusing (as they thinke) their corruption & libertie, making no difference between duty and profite. Wherefore we may well say in a word, That couetousnes is the root of all euil. For, what mischiefs are not procured through this vice? From whence proceede quarrels, strifes, suites, hatred and enuie, thefts, pollings, sackings, warres, murders and poisonings, but from hence God is forgotten, our neighbour hated, & many times the son forgueth not his father, neither the

Couetousnes hath ouerflowne all.

Couetousnes will neuer be satisfied.

Couetousnes like to a dropsie.

Stratonicus derided the superfluity of the *Rhodians*

Couetous men compared to mules.

The miserable life of couetous men.

1 Tim. 6. 10. The fruits of couetousnes.

How prodigality & couetousnes may in some sort be linked together in one subject.

Couetous men compared to hogs.

Couetous men compared to rats & cundit pipes.

It is better to be the sheepe than the son of a couetous man.

brother his brother. nor the subject his Lord, for the desire of gaine. In a word, there is no kinde of cruelty that couetousnesse putteth not in practise. It causeth hired and wilfull murders (O execrable impietie) to be well thought of amongst vs, It causeth men to breake their faith giuen, to violate all friendship, to betray their countrey. It causeth subjects to rebell against their princes, gouernours, and magistrates, when, not able to beare their insatiable desires, nor their exactions and intollerable subsidies, they breake forth into publike and open sedition, which troubleth common tranquillitie, whereupon the body politike is changed, or for the most part vtterly ouerthrowne. Moreover, the excesse of the vertue of liberalitie, which is prodigality, may bee ioyned to couetousnes, and then there is no kinde of vice but reigneth with all licence in that soule that hath these two guests lodged together. And because it is a thing that may seeme hard to conceiue, how two vices so disagreeing by nature, may bee found to agree in the same subject, we will soone beleue it, if we say with the Ancients, that is is the point of couetousnes, to gripe, and to take *Where & When* it ought not: and that this dealing is put in practise necessarily vpon one of these two occasions, either of niggardlines and sparing, or for prodigality, as they doe that vniustly seeke for meanes to satisfie their fond desires, and their vnprofitable and superfluous expences. The common opinion is, that they who put to no vse the riches that they get so couetously, are more miserable than those that abuse them after they haue obtained them by ill meanes: because many may reape profite by these, but of the other none, no not their onely heires receive more benefite than they doe of hogges, which is after their death. But it falleth not so out altogether with Kings and Princes, whose couetousnesse ioyned with prodigality is more hurtfull to their subjects than that which is ioyned with sparing. For this latter, although it maketh them commit much iniustice, and polling of their people to fill their treasuries, yet when any neede happeneth to the Common wealth, either of forraine warre, or any other calamity, a good ground worke is laide in the bottome of their cofers for to redresse the same. But the other maintained with the like iniustice, leaueth nothing behinde for prodigall princes, wherewith to helpe themselves in time of necessity. Whereupon oftentimes proceedeth the finall subersion of their estate, weakened by exactions, to the ouerthrowe and vndoing of many who would haue beene the sinewes of their strength: and all to enrich a few who then will stand them in small steade; or else because they wasted it vpon riot and superfluities, whereby the warlike vertues both of themselves and of other subjects become degenerate and bastardlike. Of this we note, that after a prince groweth to bee prodigall and desirous of superfluity and foolish expences, no riches he hath will euer suffice him: so that to satisfie his spending, hee must needs become couetous and vniust. The like happeneth many times to the meaner sort, and to men of all estates, that they are couetous and prodigall both together, namely, when they gather wealth by vnlawfull meanes, and spare to spend it in the workes of pietie, that they may sowe it plentifully vpon delights and pleasures. But the humour niggardlinesse and neerenes, is most common in couetous wen, whom *Plutarke* compareth to rats and mice that are in gold mines, which eate the golden oare, and yet nothing can bee gotten from them but after their death. Likewise he compareth them to pipes through which, water beeing conueied into a cesterne, nothing remaineth for them. So couetous men heape vp treasures to leaue them to their heires, that they also may afterward leaue them to their heires as their predecessors did: and so neither one nor the other reape any good or benefite by them, vntill in the end either some tyrant take all away by violence from that hold fast, or else some one that is the worst of the race succeedeth, spending all dissolutely vpon pleasure. This caused *Diogenes*, iesting at couetous men, to say that he had rather bee their sheepe than their sonne, because they were very carefull to giue their cattell meete pasture, but in steade of feeding their youth with conuenient and profitable nourishment, through good and vertuous education, they marre, spill, and corrupt them, by grafting couetousnes in the soules of their children, as if they meant to build within them a strong fort wherein to keepe their succession safely. Whereas contrariwise they should learne of *Cicero*, that the glory of vertue, and of praise woorthy and honorable deeds, is the greatest riches which fathers can leaue to their children, and more excellent then any other patrimony whatsoever. *Socrates* called a young man brought vp in ignorance, and rich withall, a golden slave. And that seruant answered not vnfitly, when, being demanded what his maister did (who was a couetous man, and one that hauing great quantity of good wine, sold it to others, and sought for fowre wine in Tanerns for his owne drinking) he said: Albeit hee hath great store of good, yet he seeketh for euill. But let vs now consider of some notable examples:

shewing

shewing forth the pernicious effects, which, as we said, proceede from these two vices, *Couetousnesse*, and *Prodigalitie*. *Muleasses* king of Thunes, had his eies put out by his sonne, that hee might seaze vpon his treasures. *Priamus* king of Troy, fearing the taking of his citie, sent *Polydorus* his yongest sonne to his sonne in law *Polymnestor*, with a great quantity of gold and siluer: but he being desirous to possesse the same, slue the childe his brother in law, for which afterward he receiued his deserued hire. For *Queene Hecuba* comming vnto him, and taking him aside into a chamber, not shewing countenance of any discontentment, with the helpe of her woman put out his eies. The Emperour *Caligula* was so much touched with couetousnesse, that there was no kinde of lucre: or meane to get money by, how vnlawfull and wicked soeuer it were, which he sought not out: insomuch that he laid a tribute vpon vrine, and sold his sisters gownes, whom he had violated and sent into banishment. And yet in one yeare of his reigne he spent prodigally 67. Millions of gold, which *Tiberius* his predeceffor had gathered together. *Nero* vsing great cruelty, polling, exaction, and confiscation towards his subiects, gaue to the ministers of his tyranny in those fiftene yeares wherein he reigned, the value of 55. Millions of Crownes. He caused a very stately guilt pallace to be built, which tooke in compasse a great part of Rome, but it was ouerthrowne after his death, that the memory of such a cruell tyrant might bee rooted out of the earth. A notable example for such as thinke to get a vaine glory by buildings that are more stately than necessary, and yet leave behind them a notorious marke of their tyranny, and perpetuall testimony to posterity, that they haue raised their houses with the blood of their subiects. *Henrie* the seauenth Emperour, a Prince indued with most excellent vertues, was poisoned with an Host, which an Italian Monke corrupted with money caused him to take. But what neede wee seeke for such examples of auncient men to know the fruits of couetousnesse, when as the unhappines of our age daily affoordeth vs new before our eies, wherein we heare nothing almost spoken of, but poisonings and murders hired with money, and all committed to this ende, that the authors of them may haue their goods whom they kill, for the satisfying of their insatiable couetousnesse? Amongst many other, who hath not heard of the cruell wilfull murder of a Gentlewoman of a good house, and of her men and maides, by her owne brethren in law, done a few daies past? A cruelty exceeding that of the Cannibals, who yet spare domesticall blood. But God the iust iudge would not that such an execrable wickednesse should belong concealed and vnpunished. For when it could not be found out by any inquiry of man, one of the murderers touched with the hand of God, and taken with an extreame sicknesse, being as it were mad, and as *Caine* was in times past, disclosed his sinne of himselfe, the hainousnesse whereof so troubled him, that hee could hope for no mercy. Afterward recovering his health, hee was taken vpon his owne confession, and being convicted of the fact, accused all the authors thereof, of whom some are executed, and the rest expect no better event. That couetousnesse causeth subiects to rebell against their couetous Princes, and that oftentimes to their overthrow: we haue an example in *Mauritius* the Emperour, who was depriued of the Empire, and had his head cut off, besides the death of his five children, and of his wife, by reason of the ill will of his people and men of warre, which hee had purchased, who could beare no longer his couetousnesse, whereby hee was moued to winke at spoiles, and murders, and to keepe backe the pay of his souldiers. In the time of *S. Lewes* the king, the people of five cities and five villages of high Almaine, which at this day we call Switserland, raised such a great tumult and sedition, that they put to the edge of the sword all their Princes, Lords, and Noble men; the chiefe cause thereof was their couetousnesse, which made them oppresse their subiects with vniust exactions. The niggardly sparing of king *Lewes* the eleuenth, moued strangers greatly to contemne him, and was in part the cause of the rebellion of his subiects. For hauing put away in a manner all the Gentlemen of his household, hee vsed his Tailor alwaies for his Herald of Armes, his Barber for Embassadour, and his Physitian for his Chancellor: and in derision of other kings, hee wore a greasie hat of the coursell wooll. We finde in the chamber of accounts a bill of his expences, wherein is set downe 20. soules for two new sleeues to his old doublet, and another claufe of 15. deniers for grease to grease his boots. And yet he increased the charges of his people three millions more than his predeceffors had done, and alienated a great part of his Demaine. Sparing may well be vsed (which at this day is more necessary than euer) and yet the maiesty of a King nothing diminished, neither the dignity of his house, and without the abusing of his greatnesse. Likewise those men, who after ther they haue hoorded much treasure, and are so besotted and blinded with a couetous loue of their wealth, that they will not vpon any necessity employ

Examples of the fruits of couetousnesse and of prodigalitie. *Muleasses*. *Polymnestor*.

Caligula.

Nero.

Against the superfluitie of sumptuous buildings.

An Italian Monke.

A cruell murder of a Gentlewoman and of her household.

Mauritius depriued of the Empire for his couetousnesse.

The Nobility of Switserland destroyed for the same cause. *Lewes*. 11.

Calipha.

How Dionysius punished a couetous wretch.

How Darius his couetousnesse was beguiled.

Cassius Licinius strangled himselfe to leaue his goods to his children.

Hermocrates bequeathed his goods to himselfe. A Ratte sold for 200. pence. Couetousnesse caused Crassus to play on both sides.

it, can no more auoide their destruction, than the other before mentioned. This doth the history of *Calipha* king of Persia teach vs, who hauing filled a Tower with gold, silver, iewels, and pretious stones, and being in warre against *Allan* king of the Tartarians, was so ill succored of his owne people, because he would not giue them their pay, that he was taken in his towne, and by *Allan* committed prisoner in the said Tower, with these words: If thou hadst not kept this treasure so couetously, but distributed it amongst thy soldiers, thou mightest haue preferred thy selfe, and thy city. Now therefore enioy it at thine ease, and eate and drinke thereof, seeing thou hast loued it so much. And so he suffered him to die there of hunger, in the midst of his riches. The punishment which *Dionysius* the elder, king of Syracuse, laide vpon a rich couetous subiect of his, was more gentle, but worthy to be well noted, being full of instruction. For being aduertised that he had hid great store of treasure in the ground, hee commanded him vpon paine of life to bring it vnto him: which hee did, although not all of it, but retained part, which hee tooke with him, and went to dwell in another city, where he bestowed his money vpon inheritance: When *Dionysius* vnderstood thereof, hee sent for him, and restored all his golde and silver: saying vnto him: Forasmuch as thou knowest now how to vse riches, not making that vnprofitable, which was appointed for the vse of man, take that, which before thou wast vnworthy to enioy. And to speake the truth, there is no reason wherewith the couetousnesse of such men may be coloured. For if they say, that they spend not because they care nor for spending, it is a point of great folly in them to labour to gather more wealth than they want. But if they desire to spend, and yet dare not for niggardlinesse doe so, nor enioy the fruite of their labour, they are a great deale more miserable. Whereby it appeareth vnto vs what a goodly and commendable thing it is to be content and satisfied with a little, which freeth vs from the desire of vnnecessarie things. Now if wee are to take those things for superfluous, which we will not vse, we ought, for the reasons already set downe, to make no lesse account of those which wee would abuse in riot and superfluity. The couetousnesse of *Darius*, king of the Persians, was beguiled and laughed to scorne through the subtil inuention of *Nitocris* Queene of Babylon (some attribute it to *Semiramis*) who being desirous to welcome her successors that were touched with auarice, which shee abhorred aboue all things, caused a high sepulcher to be erected ouer those gates of the city through which there was most passage, with these words ingrauen therein: If any king of Babylon that shall come after me finde want in his treasure, let him open this tombe, and take as much as he will. Otherwise let him not open it, for it will not be best for him. After many ages were past, and none of the kings of Babylon had touched the said sepulcher, *Darius* conquering the kingdome causing the coffin to be opened, thinking to finde there that which was promised. Neuerthelesse he found there nothing but a dead body, with this writing: If thou wert not insatiable and very couetous, thou wouldest not haue opened the tombe of the dead. Moreover that couetousnesse oftentimes blindeth men so far, as that it causeth them to take away their owne life without feare of condemning their soules, many examples thereof are left in memory: of whom some through griefe for some great losse of goods, others to leaue their children rich, haue voluntarily procured their owne death. *Cassius Licinius* was of this number, who being accused, attainted, and convicted of many thefts and briberies, and beholding *Cicero* President at that time, about to put on the purple gowne to pronounce sentence of confiscation of goods, and of banishment, hee sent word to *Cicero* that he was dead during the processe and before condemnation: and presently in the field he smothered himselfe with a napkin, hauing no other meaning therein but to saue his goods for his children: For then the lawes concerning the punishment of such as had robbed the common-wealth, or such as being prevented slue themselves, were not made: so that they that were accused might saue their liues by forsaking their goods, yea by paying so much onely as their accusers demanded. But there are some of a cleane contrary disposition to *Licinius*, who being ready to giue vp the ghost, would gladly carry their wealth with them, as wee reade of *Hermocrates*, who by his will made himselfe heire of his owne goods. *Athenens* maketh mention of another, who at the houre of his death deuoured many peeces of his gold, & sewed the rest in his coate, commanding that they should be all buried with him. *Valerius Maximus* telleth of one, who being besieged within the towne of Cassilina by *Hannibal*, preferred the hope of gaine before his owne life. For he chose rather to sell a Ratte, which he had taken, for 200. Romane pence, than to satisfie his hunger, whereof hee died quickly after: and the buier being the wiser man, saued his life by that deare meate. *Crassus* Consul of Rome is likewise noted by Historiographers to be extreme couetous, which caused him to swimme betweene

two factions divided for *Cesar* and *Pompey*, seruing his owne turne by them both, and changing many times from one side to another in the administration of the Common wealth. Hee shewed himselfe neither a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemy, but soone forsooke both amity and enmity, when hee saw it would bee profitable to him, whereof the encrease of his substance gaue great prooffe. For when he first began to intermeddle in affaires, his riches amounted but to 300. Talents, which according to our money came to about 180000. crownes: but after when he purposed to go from Rome to war with the Parthians, he would needes know how much all his wealth came to. And first hee offered to *Hercules* the tenth of all his goods: secondly, he made a publike feast for al the people of Rome of a thousand tables: and thirdly, he gaue to euery citizen as much wheate as would finde him three moneths. Notwithstanding all this, he found that he was woorth 7100 talents, which amounted to foure millions, two hundred and threescore thousand crownes. He vsed to say, that he accounted no man rich, except he were able of his own charges to hire and maintaine an army: because as no man can set downe a ready reckoning of the expences of warre: as king *Archidamus* said, so the riches that is to sustaine it, may not be limited. But in the end his couetousnes and ambition, which commonly are not farre separated one from another, led him to a violent death, as we declared else where. Now as *Craesus* was blamed for couetousnes, so *Pompey* was as much commended & wel thought of, because he abhorred and condemned it. Whereof hee gaue good prooffe, as also of great piety at the taking of the city of *Ierusalem* from the Iewes. For when he entred into the temple, and beheld the great riches thereof, the table of gold, the golden candlesticke, a great number of vessels of gold, with great abundance of good and exquisite spice for smels, and knew moreouer that there was in the treasure about two thousand talents of sacred siluer, yet he would not touch it in any wise, nor suffer any thing to be taken from it. Wee that say we are Christians, follow a farre off the piety of these heathen men, when as both great and small watch for nothing more than how to intrappe the goods of the Church, to make them serue our delights and pleasures. Moreouer wee see that this cursed plant of couetousnes groweth as much in the house of praier, as in the courts of kings and princes. The corruption also that hath followed the same, is knowne sufficiently in those men, who to satisfie their vnstatiable desires call themselves protectors of this Hydra Ignorance, to the destruction and perdition of their owne soules, and of tenne thousand mo for whom they are to answer. *Ionian Pontanus* rehearseth a pleasant historie of a cardinal named *Angelot*, who was well punished for his couetousnes. This cardinal vsed when his horse keepers had in the evening giuen oates to his horses, to come downe all alone without a light by a trap dore into the stable, and so steale their oates, and carry it into his garner whereof he kept the key himselfe. He continued his goings and commings so often, that one one of his horse keepers not knowing who was this theefe, hid himselfe in the stable, and taking him at the deed doing (being ignorant who it was) bestowed so many blows on him with a pitchfork, that he left himself dead so that he was faine to be caried by foure men into his chāber. *John Maria* Duke of Millan, chastised very iustly, but ouer seuerely, the couetousnes of a Curat, who denied the seruice of his office in the burying of a dead body, because his widow had not wherewith to pay him the charges of the buriall. For the Duke himselfe going to the funerals of the dead, caused the priest to be taken and bound to the coarfe, & so cast the both into one pit. A cruelty no lesse detestable thā the vice of those wretches that sel the gifts of God, & make merchandise of that, which they ought to giue freely to the people. Now to end our matter, we maintaine this, that couetousnes and vnlawfull desire of riches, is the root of all euill, misery and calamity. Moreouer it is more to bee misliked in great men when it followeth riot and prodigality, than if it bee ioyned with niggardlines, as well for the reason before touched, as also because niggardly and couetous princes vse more carefully in their estates and dignities to provide such men as are prudent & staied, for the preferuation of their subiects, knowing that their owne ruine dependeth of their vndoing. Which thing voluptuous princes neglect, because they dreame of nothing but of their pleasures, and so provide none but such as will serpe their numortherein, and flatterers, or else such as wil giue them most money wherewith to maintaine their delights. And let vs further know, that all couetous men go astray from the right way of truth, & in fold themselves in many griefes & miseries, & become odious to euery one. Besides, not being content with their dayly bread, when contrariwise their desire is infinite, they evidently mocke God as often as they make that petition: because they labor to conceale and to dissemble before him that knoweth all things

Wonderfull
riches.

Pompey ab-
horred coue-
tousnes.

The great co-
uetousnes of
a cardinall.

The cruel pu-
nishment of a
couetous ca-
rate.

1. Tim. 6. 10.

What magi-
strates are best
liked of coue-
tous princes.

1. Tim. 6. 6.
Matth. 6. 19.
We must re-
nounce vn-
iust riches.

things, their covetous and greedie affection, whereas true praier ought to declare and to open the inward meaning of the heart. Let vs therefore that are better instructed learne, that god-
lineſſe with contentation is great gaine: and let vs not wearie our ſelues in the heaping vp
of treaſure, which the ruſt and moth may conſume and eate, and the theefe ſteale, but let vs
renounce riches and the world, ouer which Satan beareth rule, leaſt in that terrible day hee
accuſe vs before the great Iudge, and conuince vs of taking ſomething of his; and then the
Iudge being vpriſt and iuſt, deliuer vs into his hands to throw vs into darkneſſe, where there
ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth for euermore.

Of Enuie, Hatred, and Backbiting. Chap. 43.

Nothing
more vnwor-
thie the ſpirit
of man than
enuie.

The nature
of Enuie.

Hatred and
ill will are
the compan-
ions of en-
uie.

What exe-
crable fruits
enuie hath
brought forth

What enuie
is.
Malignitie is
defined of
ſome to be
the effect of
that malice
which one
man beareth
to another.
The differ-
ence between
hatred and
enuie.

A R A M. **T**He minde of man, which of it owne nature is created ſociable, gracious, and ready to helpe every one, yea, which by the force of charitie working together, with it, feeleth it ſelfe as it were conſtrained to mourne with thoſe that weepe, and to reioyce with them that laugh, is able to ſhew nothing more vnworthy it ſelfe, than to be overcome of Enuie, which is a wilde plant in the ſoule, bringing forth cleane contrary effects to that good will which we owe to our neighbour, and comprehending in it all iniuſtice generally, and all wickedneſſe of men: as we may ſee if you thinke good (my companions) to ſearch more narrowly into the nature of this vice.

A C H I T O B. Enuie proceedeth of a naughty diſpoſition, and prouoketh light braines (as *Pindarus* ſaith) to reioyce in beholding the aduerſity of ſome, and to be vexed at the happy ſucceſſe of others: cauſing men alſo to delight in backbiting honeſt men, eſpecially ſuch as are praiſed. But take heede (ſaith *Putacius*) leaſt, ſeeking to auoide enuie, thou becommelt miſerable.

A S E R. *Glory and vertue (ſaith Virgil) are alwaies enuied: which vice is commonly accompanied with hatred and ill will, whereby men are drinen forward to detract and ſlander others. But he that keepeth his mouth (ſaith the wiſe man) keepeth his ſoule.* Let vs then heare **A M A N A**, who will inſtruct vs more at large in this which is here propounded vnto vs.

A M A N A. That wicked and ſubtle enemy of mankind, not being able to abide the glory whereunto God hath called men, of which he deſtroyed himſelfe through his pride, was drinen with enuie to tempt our firſt parents: whoſe ingratitude conceiuing ſinne in the ſoule of man, the firſt fruit brought forth by this curſed plant, ſeemeth likewiſe to haue bene enuie, with which *Adams* eldeſt ſonne being moued, ſlew his onely brother. O curſed and furious enuie, oh ſlothfull branch of execrable euils, ſeeing by thee man was firſt beguiled, and induced afterward to admit murder into his heart, and to water the earth, being yet virgine-like, with his brothers blood: whereby hee began his chiefe worke vpon innocency, to the end that wicked men might from father to ſonne haue this prerogative to oppreſſe the good! Is there any vice then amongſt vs which wee ought to hate and ſie from more than from enuy, which hauing nothing of her firſt euill nature diminiſhed, leadeth men to moſt vniuſt and deteſtable actions? Neuertheleſſe to what paſſion are wee more inclined, or doe we nourish more willingly than this? Let every one enter into himſelfe and vndoubtedly he ſhall finde there a thouſand enuies, which are neuer without hatred and rancor, grafted in the ſecretteſt place of his ſoule. True it is, that enuie according to the ſubjects which it meeteth withall, bringeth forth more pernitiouſ effects in ſome, and leſſe hurtfull in others. But howſoeuer it be, this paſſion is alwaies blame-worthy, and ought to be eſchued of every good and vertuous man, whoſe deſire is, not to wander out of the path of duty, and honeſty. We ſay therefore that Enuie is a grieſe ariſing of another mans proſperitie, and that malignity is commonly ioyned with it, whether it bee the fountaine thereof, as ſome ſay, or one part thereof, as others will haue it. This malignity is a delight and pleaſure taken in another mans harme, although wee receiue no profite thereby: and it ſeemeth to bee accidentall, that is, procured by hatred or ill will, ariſing of ſome euill affection that one man beareth to another. For this cauſe *Plutarke* diſtinguiſheth hatred from enuy, ſaying: that hatred is bred in our hearts through an imagination and conceite which we haue, that hee whom wee hate behaue himſelfe wickedly, either towards all men generally, or particularly towards vs: but that men enuie onely thoſe whom they know to bee in proſperity. And ſo it ſeemeth, that enuie is indefinite and not limited, much like to ſore eies, that are offended at every cleareneſſe and light, but that hatred is limited, being alwaies grounded and ſtaied vpon ſome

some certaine objects in regard of it selfe. Moreover, no man hath iust cause to enuie another mans prosperity. For he doth no man wrong, because he is happy: whereas one the contrary side many are iustly hated for their vices and impieties, and ought to be shunned of good men: which hatred of the wicked is a property that belongeth to good men. But the hatred that is borne towards good men, is a passion not much separated from enuie. And thus may these two passions resembling two plants, be said to be nourished, preserved, and increased by the selfe same meanes, albeit they succede one another. The same *Plutark* being desirous to teach vs, how wee ought to abhorre enuie: calleth it forcery: because through the poison thereof, it doth not onely fill the enuious body with a naughty and hurtfull disposition, but the infection disperseth it selfe also through the eies, euen vpon them that behold it, so that they are touched therewith, as it were by some poisonfull influence. Likewise hee compareth it to the flies called *Cantharides*. For as they alight especially vpon the fairest wheate, and most blown roses: so enuie commonly setteth it selfe against the honestest men, and such as haue most glorie and vertue. Power, honour, strength, riches, are but brands to kindle the fire thereof. Therefore *Thucydides* saith, that a wise man desireth to be enuied, to the end hee may doe great things. *Bias* said, that enuie and an old house oftentimes light vpon a man, and neuer knocke at his gates. But if enuie be hurtfull to others, it is much more noisome to him that possesseth her, tormenting him within continually with a thousand turbulent passions, which shorten his daies, diminish the powers of his bodie, and are a great deale more pernicious to his soule. For it will not suffer him to taste or conceiue any good speech, or sound instruction, from whomsoever it commeth: but causeth him to reiect and speake against it, as if he were iealous and enuious of his owne good. The occasion whereof is the ill will which naturally hee beareth against all them that deserue more than himselfe, whereupon hee striueth rather to blame, or to wrest in ill part whatsoever was well meant, than to reape any profite thereby. And if he heare a man commend other mens deuices, or any of his owne doings contrarie to his minde, hee thinketh that hee had so many blowes given him with a cudgell. Thus we see, that enuie wishing well to none, doth no lesse torment and hurt the soule that is infected therewith. And to speake in a word, it comprehendeth the generall iniustice, which is all kinde of wickednesse, and destroyeth all duties of humanity, causing men to hurt those whom they ought to loue and succour. Of this wilde plant of enuie, backbiting is a branch, which delighteth and feedeth it selfe with slandering and lying, whereupon good men commonly receiue great plagues, when they ouerlightly giue credit to backbiters. Therefore *Diogenes* the Cynicke being demanded what biting of beasts was most dangerous, answered: *Of furious and wilde beasts, the backbiters: and of tame beasts, the flatterers.* To the same purpose *Themistocles* the Thebane said, that *It was the greatest grieve in the world, to see the honour of a good man in the mercy of a venomous tongue, and wronged with slanderous speeches.* For seeing good fame and credite is more precious than any treasure, a man hath no lesse iniurie offered him when his good name is taken away, than when he is spoiled of his substance. But backbiting and slandering doe then bring forth most pernicious effects, when princes are readie to heare slanderers, of whom they themselues are in the end corrupted. For the enuious and backbiting person doth as a naughty painter did, who hauing ill-fauoredly painted certaine cocks, commanded his boy to driue the naturall cocks farre from his picture: so he laboureth as much as may be to withdraw good men from those whom he would governe. But because he cannot doe it openly, fearing their vertue whom he hateth from his heart, hee will seeme to welcome, to honour, and to admire them, and yet vnder hand, and behind their backs he will cast abroad and sow his slanders. And if so be that his priue and secrets reports, which pricke behinde, doe not presently bring forth the end of his intent, yet he keepeth in memorie that which *Medius* vttered long since, who was as it were the master and captaine of the whole flocke of flatterers, banded together about *Alexander* against all the honest men in the court. This fellow taught, that they should not spare to nip boldly, and to bite with store of slanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten should be cured of the wound, yet the skar as the least will still remaine. And by such skars of lies and false accusations, or rather to giue them a better name with *Plutarke*, by such fistuloes and cankers *Alexander* being gnawen, vniustly put to death *Calisthenes*, *Parmenion* and *Philotas*, giuing himselfe ouer to the will and possession of three or foure flatterers, of whom hee was clothed, decked, set forth and adored as it were a barbarian image. Such is the force and efficacy, of lying ioyned with flatterie, ouer that soule which hath no sound iudgement of reason to discern truth from falshood, or a good nature from a malicious. True it is, that this com-

To hate the wicked is a property of good men.

Enuie compared to forcery.

To Cantharides.

The fire-brands of enuie. Enuie most of all hurtfull to the enuious.

Of backbiting.

What biting of beasts is most dangerous.

When backbiting hurteth most.

A pestilent precept of Medius giuen to backbiters.

fort

The comfort
which can-
not be taken
away from
good men.

Good coun-
sell for prin-
ces against
flatterers.
We must not
lend our eares
to slanderers.

Who delight
most in rea-
ding of fables.

A subtil pra-
ctise of enui-
ous men.

A meane to
resist enuy
and hatred.

Equitie and
Iustice are the
onely bounds
of a good
mans hatred.

What scoffing
is and how it
is to be auoi-
ded.

fort cannot bee taken away from good men, namely, to bee perswaded that the sleights of backbiters and slanderers are able to preuaile but little against the inuincible tower of sacred vertue, and of an assured hope well grounded, which, whatsoeuer commeth to passe, triumph alwaies, and victoriously hold enuy and backbiting vnder their feete. And although these vices by reason of their force cause them to suffer sometimes, yet patience keepeth them from being overcome, so that they neuer sinke downe vnder aduersities, but even then lay hands vpon the haue of their deliuerance. So that if princes would not fall into those inconueniences, nor be deceiued as this great Macedonian Monarch was, they must, vpon the reports of backbiters, throughly and with reason weigh all things, and not suffer themselves to bee perswaded by slanderers, but discern their words with a sound iudgement. Further let vs note, that they which lend their eares to their lies and detractions, are no lesse to be blamed and reprehended, than the slanderers themselves, because they are both touched with the same imperfection, I meane, of taking delight in the euill report of another. And as the slanderer hurteth by accusing those that are not present, so doth he that suffereth himselfe to bee perswaded before he hath learned the truth of things. Moreouer, they that accustomethem- selves to heare willingly reports and lies, commonly also take more pleasure in reading and learning fables and dreames, faults and vices noted in peoples and nations, than in true narra- tions and goodly sentences made and written with good iudgement and diligent study, or in perusing the honours, heroicall facts, and commendations giuen to vertuous & famous men, which doth touch and grieue them no lesse than it doth the enuious and backbiter: whereas they ought to accept of those things as of spurres to driue them forward vnto ver- tue. Therefore who soeuer considereth well all those pernicious effects that are procured tho- rough backbiting, he shall know that it is a great point of modestie, and most necessary for him that hath profited well in Morall Philosophie, not to suffer any man to be blamed, and euill spoken of in his presence, although hee were his capitall enemy. Wee see also that this craftie and subtil kinde of wickednesse is vsually practised of backbiters and enuious per- sons, when they perceiue that they cannot cause themselves to bee accounted as honest men as they are whom they purpose to slander, then they labour to prooue that these men are not so honest, as some others whom they commend and preferre, seeking by that meanes to co- uer their hatred and ill-will, and to get credit to their slander by that praise, which they giue indirectly to others. They spare not the dead many times, neither is there any let in them why through their enuie they draw them not out of that rest wherein they are, which is dete- stable impietie. Now seeing we know what euill proceedeth from these wilde and naughty plants of enuy, hatred and backbiting, and that naturally, as inheritors of the vice and sinne of our first parents, we carry in our hearts, I know not what enuie, ielousie, and emulation a- gainst some one or other, let vs beware that we nourish not such vicious passions, but weaken their force, and make them altogether vnable to cause vs to depart from dutie: let vs accu- stome our selues not to enuy the prosperitie of our enemies, neither to backbite them in any sort. And if it be possible, let vs not be sparing in giuing vnto them their praise and honour, whensoever they doe any thing that deserueth iustly to bee commended: because that also bringeth greater praise to him that giueth it. For then if it fall out so that he reprocueth some- what in his enemy, his accusation carrieth more credite and force with it, as that which pro- ceedeth not from the hatred of his person, but from a dislike of his doings, thereby declaring that equity and iustice onely are the bounds of his hatred. Besides, we shall reape a greater be- nefite than is hitherto rehearsed. For when wee accustom our selues to praise our enemies for well doing, and are not grieued when any prosperity befalleth them, we shall vtterly driue from vs the vice of enuy, and ielousie ouer the good successe of our friends and acquain- tance, when they attaine to honour. Whereas on the contrary side if we acquaint our selues and take delight in enuying the welfare of our enemies, we shall doe the like many times to our friends: as we see the experience therof in many at this day, who are so touched with this vice, that they reioyce at the euill which happeneth to their well willers, and to such as are the occasion of their good and preferment. But if wee bee desirous to discharge our dutie to- wards our neighbours for whose profite we are borne, let vs seeke to practise that sentence of Cicero, *That an honest man and good citizen neuer ought to be moued with hatred or enuie vpon supposed crimes, no not towards his enemy, wishing to die rather then to offend against iustice, which is an utter enemy to that vice.* This also will be a good helpe and meane to keepe vs from backbiting, if we eschue all kinde of scoffing, which (as *Theophrastus* saith) is nothing else but a close and colou- red reproofe of some fault, which by little and little inureth him that mocketh, to backbite another

another openly and vntreuly. This great imperfection of gybing is very familiar amongst vs, although it be as vnseemly for an honourable personage as some other more infamous vice. But to the end wee may haue better occasion to keepe vs from it, let vs know that many times a man is more moued with a gybing gird, than with an iniurie: because this latter proceedeth commonly from the vehemencie of sudden choler, euen against his will that vttereth it, but the other is more taken to heart, as that which seemeth to come from a settled will and purpose to offer wrong, and from a voluntarie maliciousnes without any necessitie. If we be disposed to be merrie, as sometimes opportunity, place, and persons inuite vs thereunto, let it be done with a good grace, and without offence to any. Now although enuy and backbiting, by reason of their pernicious effects are so odious to all honorable and vertuous personages, yet no other reuenge is to be sought or desired, than that punishment which followeth and groweth with the vice it selfe, which neuer suffereth him that is touched therewith, to enioy any rest in his soule, as wee haue already learned. Neither is there any great care to be had for the matter, seeing enuious persons and backbiters are no waies able to bite the deserts of good men. But if we would haue their punishment augmented and doubled, there is no better way, than to study so much the more to do well, as we see them labour more earnestly to enuie and to condemne our dealings. For as the Sun being directly ouer the top of any thing whatsoever, if it leaue any shadow at all, yet it is but short and little, because the light therof is disperfed round about the same: so the excellency of vertue, glory & honour, in the end constraineth the venemous tongue to drinke and to swallow downe her owne poison, not daring to bring it againe in sight, whereby enuy and blame are as it were wholly extinguished, and vnable to hurt good men any more. This reason caused *Philip* king of Macedonia to make this answer to certain, who told him, that the Græcians spake ill of him behind his backe, notwithstanding hee did them much good, and therefore willed him to chastise them: What would they doe then (quoth this noble and gentle Prince) if we should doe them any harime? But they make me become a better man. For I strue daily both by my wordes and deedes to prooue them liars. And another time, as his friendes counselled him to put to death: or to banish a Gentleman of Macedonia, who continued in slandering him, hee would not do either of both, saying: that it was no sufficient cause to condemne him to death: and as for banishing him, he saide: that it was a great deale better if he stirred not out of Macedonia, where all men knew that he lied, than if he went amongst strangers to speake ill of him, who because they knew him not well, might peradventure admit his slander as true. Whereby this vertuous Prince at one time shewed forth the effects of three excellent vertues: first, of *Clemency*, in that he would not put him to death, of whom he had receiued great iniurie: then of *Magnanimittie*, in contemning iniurie: and lastly, of wonderfull *Prudence*, in that he did not banish him. And indeede he was of such a gentle nature, that hee would neuer punish them that gaue him an euill report, but rather tooke away the occasion thereof, as heretofore we haue in part mentioned it. And for a greater testimony of the goodnesse of this Monarch, the answer he made to them that counselled him to destroy the citie of Athens, deserueth well to be heere set downe, *I doe all things* (quoth he to them) *for glorie, how then should I destroy Athens, which by reason of learning, is the Theater of glory?* The examples of *Demetrius Phalerius*, a Prince of immortall renowne, serueth fitly to teach vs what small account we are to make of the dealings of enuious men; so farre ought we to be from caring either for their doings or sayings. When word was brought to this Prince, that the Athenians: moued with enuy against him, had broken downe those three hundred images, which were before erected in their streete of *Areopagus* to his honour, and thereupon was prouoked by his Councell to be reuenged of them, hee saide: The Athenians way well throw downe my images, but they are not able to abase my vertues, for whose sake my images were heretofore erected for a publike spectacle. And truly those acts of Princes, which, being done in their life time, are worthy of memory, may serue them for an euerlasting monument, and not Images and Tombes made with mens hands, which length of time, besides a thousand other accidents may bring to powder. Neither are they deprived of the same glory that liue vnder the gouernment of great men, when, according to their places and callings, they direct their actions to the benefit and safety of the common wealth. For whensoever enuy laboreth to hurt them with supposed crimes, their innocency (as *Horace* saith) will be vnto them in place of an inexpugnable tower of brasle: so that being assured of that, they need not stand in any feare of the cruel teeth of slāderers. Therefore *Socrates* being reprooued by *Hermogenes*, because he did not once dreame of defending

A scoffe is many times worse ken than any other suspicious speech.

How mirth is comendable.

A notable way how to be reuenged vpon the enuious.

Philip tooke occasion through backbiting to do better.

Athen the Theater of glory.

The best monument for a prince.

Innocency is a tower of brasle against slanderers.

fending himselfe when he was accused, made this answer: I haue dreamed of that all my life time, by strining to liue well. To conclude then our present discourse, let vs learne to vnclouth our hearts of all enuie and hatred, which procure so many turbulent and hurtfull passions in the soule, and ouerthrow all that charity and loue, which we ought to beare towards every one. Let vs feare this sentence pronounced by the holy Spirit. *That whosoener hateth his brother is a man slaier.* And if wee see that vice and imperfections reigne in our life, let vs hate their euill manners, and loue the welfare of their soules, by endeououring to bring them backe againe into the path way of vertue, vntill we see that all hope of remedy is taken away, by reason of their long settled habite and continuance in vice: for then wee are to shunne altogether the hurtfull conuersation of such forlorne men. Let vs take heede that we please not our selues in detracting and backbiting, or in speaking rashly of any without aduise ment taken, of whom, to whom, and what we speake. Let vs not be giuen to lying, or to harken to slanderers, but following the counsell of the Scripture, let vs lay aside all maliciousnesse, and all guile, and dissimulation, and enuy, and all euill speaking, and as new borne babes desire the milke of vnderstanding, which we may as it were boast that wee haue in the true and right knowledge of iustice, which is to render to God that which is due to him, according to piety, and to our neighbours whatsoever belongeth to them, according to the duty of charity, which is gentle, not easily prouoked to anger, nor enuious, nor reioycing in iniquitie, but alwaies in the truth.

1. Ioh. 3. 15.

1. Pet. 2. 11.

1. Cor. 13. 4.

Of Fortune. Chap. 44.

A M A. IF I bee not deceiued (my companions) we haue hitherto sufficiently discoursed of the foure Morall vertues, beeing riuers that flow from the fountaine of duty and honesty, as also of all the parts that belong vnto them, and of their contrary vices. Therefore from henceforth wee are to make choise of some other matter, and to apply that which we might haue learned in the discourses of our Morall Philosophie, vnto estates, charges, and conditions of life, wherunto euery one of vs may be called during this life: yea, let vs allsaie to giue aduice and counsell to superiours, according to the measure of our iudgement. But because, as I thinke, the entry to so high a matter, requireth some leisure to thinke vpon it, I am of opinion, that we were best to deferre this point vntill the next daies worke: and in the meane time, for the spending of the rest of this afternoone, looke out some matter subiect, apt, and fit to recreate our spirits withall: which, because naturally they delight in variety and diuersitie of things, cannot haue a more conuenient matter, than to make sport with the diuers and sundry effects of *Fortune*, which according to the saying of the Ancients, is very constant in her inconstancie. Further, let vs consider how we may vse this word of *Fortune*, which is so common amongst vs, and not abuse it.

Fortune is
constant in
her inconstancie.

A R A M. To him (saith *Cicero*) whose helpe, reason, and cogitation dependeth of *Fortune*, nothing can be so certaine or assured vnto him, that he may perswade himselfe it will abide by him, no not one day. But he is most happie that is of himselfe sufficient in euery respect, and that placeth the hope of all his affaires in himselfe, in regard of men.

A C H I T O B. I am she (saith *Vertue*, speaking in *Mantuan*) that surmounteth *Fortune*, and the scourge that punisheth sinnes. Vice and *Vertue* (saith *Plutarke*) haue no masters, to rule ouer them: and they are very blinde, who, calling *Fortune* blinde, suffer themselves to be guided and led by her. But we must learne of thee (**A S E R**) what we are to thinke of this counterfeite Goddesse.

Psal. 107. 40.
41.

What Fortune is.
God ordereth
casuall things
necessarily.

A S E R. If we are perswaded, that he who is Iustice it selfe, and the essentiall truth, maketh Princes contemptible (as it is said in the Scripture) and causeth them to erre in desert places out of the way, raising vp the poore out of miserie, and making him families like a flocke of sheepe, there is no doubt but that *Fortune*, being an Epicurian word, rather than an Heathenish, is nothing else but a fained deuce of mans spirit, and an imagination without truth: vpon which (as *Plutarke* saith) a man cannot settle his iudgement, nor yet comprehend it by the discourse of reason. So that wee must confesse, that all things are guided and governed by the providence of God, who knoweth and ordereth casuall things necessarily. Which albeit we easily confesse with the mouth, as also that prosperity and aduersity depend onely of the will of God, yet wee may daily note in many of vs, effects cleane contrary to the word, in that, when wee deliberate about our affaires, we presently cast our eye vpon humane meanes, to

Humane
means are
but second
causes.

to come to the ende of them, although they are but second causes, casting behinde our
backes that helpe, which is from aboue. And when wee want the blessings of God,
through his anger and iust indignation, (which wee care not to appeale) and so for the most
part stumble vpon the cleane contrary of all our platformes and goodly enterprises; then
wee accuse, not our ignorance und ingratitude towards his Maiesty, but the vnfortunat
mishap and chance of humane things, which through the common error of men, we at-
tribute to *Fortune*. Now, knowing that we liue, and mooue, and haue our being in God one-
ly, that his mysteries are great and wonderfull, and such, that if we should go about to found
the bottome of them, it were all one as if wee sought to pearce the heauens, after the man-
ner of the Giants, set forth vnto vs by the Poets: that our way is not in our power, and
that of our selues we cannot direct our steppes: that it is the Lord that offereth a man into
his handes, who vvwittingly killeth him with the head of his axe slipt from the helue: that
lottes cast at aduenture, fall out according to his iudgement, and that generally all things
are done by the ordinance of God: I say, knowing all these things, yet because the order,
reason, end, and necessity of those things which are so strange, vncertaine, and mutable in
the world, are for the most part hidden in the counsell of God, and cannot bee comprehen-
ded by the opinion and reach of man, we may well call them casuall & changing, in respect
of our selues. The like we may both conceiue of all future euent, holding them in suspence,
because they may fall out either of the one or the other side, (and yet being resolued of this,
that nothing shall come to passe which God hath not ordained,) and also note them out by
this word *Fortune*, not attributing thereunto any power ouer their inconstancy and conti-
nuall alteration of humane things: especially seeing they are so changeable, that it would bee
a very hard matter speaking after the manner of men) to comprehend them vnder a more
proper and fit word. The definition also, which the Auncients gaue of *Fortune*, is verie
agreable to the effect of the thing signified, and of that whereof we haue daily experience:
namely, that there is no other finall end of change, and alteration in man, than that of his be-
ing. *Plato* saith, that *Fortune* is an accidentall cause, and a consequence in those things which
proceed from the counsell of man. *Aristotle* saith, that *Fortune* is a casuall & accidentall cause
in things, which being purposely done for some certaine end, haue no apparant cause of their
falling out otherwise: so that a man may well say, that such a thing came to him by *Fortune*,
which falleth out besides his thought, when he vndertaketh any worke with deliberation.
Epicurus said, that *Fortune* was such a cause, as agreed neither to persons, times, or manners.
Theophrastus speaking of *Fortune*, saith that shee looketh not whereat shee shooteth; that
oftentimes shee delighteth in taking away that which is gotten with very great paine, but
especially in ouerturning those felicities, which, as men thinke, are best staied and assured.
Iuuenal saith, that when it pleaseth her, she maketh a Consul of a Rhetoritian: and likewise
cleane contrary, hauing this property in her to reioyce greatly in the variety of chances,
and to deride all the deuices of men, oftener lifting vp into the place of soueraigne autho-
rity such as are unworthy thereof, than those that deserue the same. Amongst the Ancients,
the Romanes honoured *Fortune* more than all the rest, esteeming of her (saith *Pindarus*)
as of the patron, nurse, and vpholder of the city of Rome. They builded for her many sump-
tuous Temples, wherein shee was adored vnder sundry names, and honorable titles for a
Goddesse of singular power: insomuch that they thought themselves more beholding to
her for the greatnes and prosperity of their Empire than to vertue. *Sylla* hauing attained to
the soueraigne authority of a Monarch, and of Dictator, yeelded himselfe and all his acti-
ons to the fauor of *Fortune*, saying, that he reputed himselfe to be *Fortunes* child, and there-
vpon tooke vnto him the surname of *Happy*. Which opinion seemeth to haue preuailed
greatly with him, in causing him, after he had committed infinite proscriptions, murders,
and cruelties, voluntarily and without feare to giue ouer the Dictatorship, to leade the rest of
his yeeres in all assurance and quietnes, and as a priuate man to passe and repasse through all
Italy without any gard, even in the midst of them whom he had so much offended. We read
also, that when *Mithridates* king of Pontus wrot vnto him concerning the war which he had
vndertaken against him, saying, that he marvelled how *Sylla* durst buckle with his great for-
tun, especially knowing that she had not deceiued him at any time, wheras she neuer knew *Sylla*
Consul, he returned this answer: For this selfe same reason thou shalt now see, how *Fortune*
doing her duty, will take her leaue of thee to come to mee. *Iulius Caesar* gaue a certaine
argument of the assurance he had in *Fortune*, when, entring vpon the sea in a little Fregate
in a very tempestuous weather, and the Pilot making some doubt of waighing vp the
Anchor,

Act. 17. 28.
Rom. 11. 33.

Ier. 10. 13.
Exod. 21. 13.
Deut. 19. 4. 5.
Prou. 16. 33.

How we may
vse these
words of For-
tune & chace

The opinion
of ancient
Philosophers
touching
Fortune.

The Romanes
gaue great ho-
nor to For-
tune.

Sylla surna-
med him-
selfe happy.

I. Caesar.

*Augustus.*A true fore-
sight of a
soothsayer.*P. A. Emilius.*The descrip-
tion of For-
tune.What is
meant by For-
tunes wheele.Examples of
the contrary
effects of
Fortune.
*Hannibal.**Flaminius ora-
tion against
Hannibal.*What speech
Hannibal vled
before he
poisoned
himselfe.*Eumenes.*

Anchor, hee said thus vnto him: Bee not afraide my friend, for thou carriest *Cesar* and his Fortune. *Augustus* his successor sending his nephew to the warre, wished that he might bee as valiant as *Scipio*, as well beloued as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himselfe: attributing to Fortune, as a principall worke, the honour of making him so great as hee was. To this purpose also it is reported, that great acquaintance and familiarity growing betweene *Augustus* and *Antonius* his Companion in the Empire, they often passed away the time together with sundry sorts of plaies and pastimes, wherein *Antonius* alwaies went away vanquished. Whereupon one of his familiar friends well seene in the art of Diuination, tooke occasion many times to vtter his minde vnto him in these or the like speeches: Sir, what doe you so neare this young man? Separate your selfe farre from him. Your fame is greater than his, you are elder than hee, you command more men than hee, you are better exercised in feates of Armes, you haue greater experience: but your familiar spirit faileth his, and your Fortune, which of it selfe is great, flattereth his, and if you sequester not your selfe farre from him, shee will forsake you and goe to him. Thus we see what great estimation the Romans had of Fortune, yea they stood in so great awe of her power, that *Paulus Aemilius* that great Captaine said, that amongst humane things, hee neuer feared any one of them, but amongst diuine things hee alwaies stood in great feare of Fortune, as of her in whom there was small trust to bee placed, because of her inconstancie and mutable variety, whereby shee neuer vseth to gratifie men so liberally, or to bestow such absolute prosperitie vpon them, but that some enuie is mingled withall. O deceitfull Fortune (said *Demetrius*) thou art easily found, but hardly auoided. They that haue laboured most in painting out this fained Goddesse, say, that shee hath a swift pace, a loftie minde, and a hawtie hope. They giue her light wings, a globe vnder her feete, and in her hand a horne of abundance, full of all such heavenly and earthly things as are exquisite and pretious, which shee powreth forth liberally, when and where shee pleaseth. Some put a wheele into her hands, which shee turneth about continually, whereby that part which is aboue is presently turned downward: thereby giuing vs to vnderstand, that from the highest preferment shee throweth downe in one instant such as are most happie, into the gulfie of misery. In a word, wee may well compare her to glasse, which, the brighter it is, the sooner it is broken and dasht in peeces. Histories the treasure of antiquitie, set before our eyes innumerable examples of common and contrary effects, which are wrought by this vnconstant Fortune, and those oftentimes practised vpon the same persons, whom of small shee hath made very great, and after taken them downe lower, yea made them more miserable (if I may so speake) than they were at the beginning. *Hannibal*, that renowned Capraine of the Carthaginians, that redoubted enemy of the Romans, after notable victories obtained sundry times against them, was in the ende vtterly ouerthrowne and compelled to flie hither and thither, and to haue recourse to forraigne princes, into whose armes hee cast himselfe for the safety of his person: and after long wandring, beeing olde and spent, hee settled himselfe with the king of Bythinia. But *Titus Flaminius* whom the Romans had sent Embassadour to that king, required to haue him, that he might put him to death. For (quoth hee) as long as hee liueth hee will bee a fire for the Roman Empire, which wanteth but some one or other to kindle it. When hee was in the vigour and strength of his age, neither his hand nor his body had procured so great dammage to the Romans, as his good vnderstanding and sufficiencie in the art of warre had done, being ioyned with the hatred hee bare them. Which is nothing diminished through olde age, neither yet through the alteration of his estate and fortune: because the nature and quality of manners continueth alwaies. *Hannibal* being aduertised of this request of *Titus*, stieped poison in a cup of drinke which he had kept a long time against an extremity. But before he dranke therof, he vttered these words. Go to, let vs deliuer the people of Rome from this great care, seeing it lieth so heavy vpon them, and the time seemeth vnto them ouerlong to stay for the naturall death of this poore old man, whom they hate so extremely. And yet *Titus* shall not obtaine a victory greatly honourable, or worthy the praise of the auncient Romans, who, euen then when *Pyrrhus* their enemy warred against them, and had won battels of them, sent him word to beware of poison that was prepared for him. Thus did this great and vertuous captaine finish his daies, being vtterly ouerthrowne, and trode vnder foote by Fortune, which for a time had placed him in the highest degree of honour that could bee. *Eumenes* a Thracian, one of *Alexanders* lieutenants, and one that after *Alexanders* death had great warres, and made his partie good against *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, came to that greatnesse and authority from a poore Potters sonne: and afterwards being overcome and taken prisoner,

he died of hunger. But such preferments of Fortune will not seeme very strange vnto vs if wee consider how *Pertinax* came to the Empire, ascending from a simple souldier to the degree of a Captaine, and afterward of Gouvernour of Rome, being borne of a poore countrey woman. And hauing reigned onely two moneths, he was slaine by the souldiers of his guard; *Aurelianus* from the same place obtained the selfe same dignitie. *Probus* was the sonne of a Gardiner, and *Maximianus* of a backsmith. *Iustinus*, for his vertue surnamed the Great, from a hogheard in Thracia, attained to the Empire. Will you haue a worthy example agreeable to that saying of *Iuvenall* which welledged euen now? *Gregory* the 7. from a poore monke was lift vp to the dignity of chiefe bishop of Rome: and *Henry* the 4. Emperor, was brought to that extreame miserie by war, that he asked the said *Gregory* forgiuenes, and cast himselfe downe at his feete. And yet before this miserable Monarch could speake with him, he stode three daies fasting and barefoot at the Popes palace gate; as a poore suppliant waiting when he might haue entrance and access to his Holines. *Lewes* the mecke Emperour, and king of France, was constrained to giue ouer his estate, and to shut himselfe vp in a monasterie, through the conspiracie of his owne children. *Valerianus* had a harder change of his estate, ending his daies whilest he was prisoner in the hands of *Sapor* king of the Parthians, who vsed the throat of this miserable Emperour whensoever he mounted vpon his horse. But was not that a wonderfull effect of Fortune, which happened not long since in Munster, principall towne in the countrey of Westphalia, wherein a silly botcher of Holland, beeing retired as a poore banished man from his countrey, called *John of Leiden*, was proclaimed king, was serued and obeyed of all the people a long time, euen vntill the taking and subuersion of the said towne after he had borne out the siege for the space of three yeares. *Mahomet* the first of that name, of a very small and abiect place, being enriched by marrying his mistres, and seruing his owne turne very fitly with a mutiny raised by the Saracins against *Heracless* the Emperour, made himselfe their captaine, tooke Damascus, spoiled Egypt, and finally subdued Arabia, discomfited the Persians, and became both a Monarch and a Prophet. Will you see a most wonderfull effect of Fortune? Looke vpon the proceedings of that great *Tamburlane*, who being a peasants son and keeping cattell, corrupted 500. hundred shepherds his companions. These men selling their cattell, betooke them to armes, robbed the merchants of that countrey, and watched the high waies. Which when the king of Persia vnderstood of, hee sent a captaine with a 1000. horse to discomfit them. But *Tamburlane* delt so with them, that ioyning both together they wrought many incredible feates of armes. And when ciuill war grew betwixt the king and his brother, *Tamburlane* entred into the brothers pay, who obtained the victory by his meanes, and thereupon made him his lieutenant generall. But he not long after spoiled the new king, weakened and subdued the whole kingdome of Persia. And when he saw himselfe captaine of an army of 400000. horsemen, and 600000. footemen, he made warre with *Baiazet* Emperour of the Turkes, overcame him in battell, and tooke him prisoner. He obtained also a great victory against the Souldan of Egypt, and the king of Arabia. This good successe (which is most to be maruelled at and very rare) accompanied him alwaies vntill his death, in so much that he ended his daies amongst his children, as a peaceable gouernor of innumerable countries. From him descended the great *Sophy* who reigneth at this day, and is greatly feared and redoubted of the Turke. But that miserable *Baiazet* who had conquered before so many peoples, and subdued innumerable cities, ended his daies in an iron cage, wherein being prisoner, and overcome with griefe to see his wife shamefully handled, in waiting at *Tamburlanes* table with her gowne cut downe to her Nauell, so that her secret parts were seene, this vnforgotten Turke beate his head so often against the Cage, that he ended his life. But what need we draw out this discourse further to shew the strange dealings, and marvellous changes of Fortune in the particular estates and conditions of men, which are to be seene daily amongst vs, seeing the soueraigne Empire of Babylon, of Persia, of Græcia, and of Rome, which in mans iudgement seemed immutable and inexpugnable, are fallen from all their glittering shew and greatnes, into vtter ruine and subuersion, so that of the last of them, which surpassed the rest in power, there remaineth onely a commandement limited and restrained within the confines of Almaigne, which then was not the tenth part of the rich provinces subiect to this Empire? Is there any cause then why we should be astonished, if little kingdomes, common-wealths, and other ciuill governments end, when they are come to the vtmost, and full point of their greatnes? And much lesse if it fall out so with men, who by nature are subiect to change, and of themselues desire and seeke for nothing else but alteration. Being assured therefore, that there is such vncertainty in all humane things, let vs wisely prepare our selues, and apply our

Pertinax.

Aurelianus.

Probus.

Maximianus.

Iustinus.

Gregory 7.

Henry 4.

Lewes the

mecke.

Valerianus.

John of Lei-

den.

Mahomet.

Tamburlane.

Baiazet.

Of the foure

soueraigne

Empires.

Wee must

prepare our

selues for all

euents.

Who taketh
greatest ioy
in outward
goods.

Of the power
of Fortune.

Whither we
must looke
in the change
and successe
of things.

The proper
end of all
things.

will to all euents, whose causes are altogether incomprehensible in respect of our vnderstandings, and quite out of our power. For he that is able to say, I haue preuented thee O Fortune, I haue stopped all thy passages, and closed vp all thy waies of entrance, that man putteth not all his assurance in barres or locked gates, nor yet in high walles, but staieth himselfe vpon Philosophicall sentences and discourses of reason, whereof all they are capable that imploye their wils, travell and studie thereupon. Neither may we doubt of them or distrust our selues, but rather admire and greatly esteeme of them, being rauished with an affectionate spirit. He that taketh least care for to morrow (saith *Epicurus*) commeth thereunto with greatest ioy. And (as *Plutarke* saith) riches, glory, authority and credit, repyce them most, that stand least in feare of their contraries. For when a man seeketh after any of them with an ouerburning desire, whereby also too great a feare of loosing them is imprinted in him, the pleasure which he hath by enioying the same, is very weake and vnstable, much like to a flame blowne vp and downe with the winde. But as for the power of Fortune (saith the same Philosopher) it bringeth downe those men that of their owne nature are cowards, fearefull and of small courage. Neither must we attribute cowardlinesse to misfortune, nor valure and prudence to Fortune, who is not able to make a man great without vertue. For what good will weapons doe a man without experience, riches without liberalitie, victory without bounty and clemency, fighting without valure and boldnesse; briefly, all fortunes goods without knowledge how to vse them well? Let vs learne also that it is too great blockishnesse to attribute the cause of the change of Monarchies, common wealths, estates, of battels lost, and generally of all casuall mishaps, both generall and particular, to certaine second cause: one while accusing the ambition of some, the ignorance or negligence of others, the small courage, want of money, of men, or of munitions. But we must looke higher, and turne towards him who vseth such meanes in the execution of his wonderfull counsell, when he mindeth to chastise and punish men for their offences. Examples hereof we haue in those great monarchies of Babylon, of Persia, and of Græcia, whose markes are no more to be seene, than the path of a ship in the water, or way of a bird flying in the aire. And yet they were ouerthrowne and vanquished by such as had a thousand times lesse humane force and chiefe sinewes of warre, as treasure, men, munition and other furniture, than their monarches and Emperours had, who abounded euery way. But God purposed to punish their pride and iniquity. Let vs therefore stand in awe, not of the goddesse Fortune, which is but the dreame of man, and cannot (as *Cicero* saith) greatly hurt him, that iudgeth hope grounded vpon vertue more firme, than that which is built vpon her forces; but let vs feare him who directeth and disposeth in wisdom all things created to their proper end, which is the glory of his name, and saluation of his elect: albeit the order which he obserueth, the cause, reason, and necessitie of them, are for the most part hid in his secret counsell, and cannot be comprehended by the sense of man. And yet not so hid, but that we ought prudently to consider of these meanes which he offereth vnto vs for our vse, after we haue endeououred to mitigate and to appease his wrath and anger through the amendment of our life, and haue called for aide and helpe of him in all our enterprises grounded by reason vpon duty.

The end of the eleuenth daies worke.

The twelfth daies worke.

of Mariage. Chap. 45.

A wife man is
not desirous
of many
things.

A SER.



It is great perfection (as *Seneca* writeth) for a man to take in hand and desire to obtaine but one only thing. But no man is one and the same, except a wise man: all other men are of diuers formes. Who knoweth not with how great disquietnes the minde of man is set on fire, with what lightnesse it is carried hither and thither, and with what ambition and desire it is stirred vp to take hold of many sundry things at once? Notwithstanding we must diligently marke, how the heavenly Wisedome hath made a distinction of estates and kindes of life amongst men from the beginning

of estates and kinds of life among men from the beginning, appointing that of *Adam's* two first children, the one should be a husbandman, the other a shepherd. Since that the selfe same providence hath alwaies commanded, that every one of vs should looke vnto his calling in all the actions of his life, accounting thereof as of a station assigned vnto vs by his Maiestie, and as of a perpetuall rre whereby wee must direct the ende of our intents, and following the will of God, strue to continue such men to the end of our daies, as wee once purposed with our selues to be. For we may assure our selues, that there is no worke so small and contemptible, which doth not shine and appeare precious before the heavenly throne, if wee doe it in faith according to our calling, and give glory to the Eternall for our whole condition and state of life. Now we know that after God had created man by his almighty power and vspeakable goodnes to make him partaker of his glory, and to rule over the earth, the sea, and all things contained in them, hee gaue him presently the woman for a faithfull companion, and sweete solace to his life, and for the preservation of his kinde, instituting and sanctifying marriage from that time forward. Therefore I thinke my companions, that wee ought to handle this first, because it is the first calling of man, most common, and most honorable: to the end that we may, as we said yesterday, begin to apply the actions and practise of the vertues, of which wee haue hitherto intreated, to estates and conditions of life, whereunto each of vs may be call'd.

A M A N A. If we could (saith *Plato*) behold with bodily eies the beauty that honestly hath in her, we would be far in love with her: but she is to be seene onely with the eies of the mind. And truly with the same eies wee may behold it in marriage, if wee consider narrowly the honesty of the coupled lie, when it is in every respect absolute, than the holy bond whereof, the earth hath nothing more beautifull or honest.

A R A M. Marriage (as the Scripture saith) is honourable among all, and the bed undefiled. He that findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and receiues fauour of the Lord. Therefore of thee (*ACHITO*B) we desire to vnderstand more at large what thou hast learned concerning this matter discus'd with so many contrary opinions both old and new.

ACHITOB. Nature having brought vs forth to live in societie, and not alone, like to brute beasts, it must needs be (saith *Aristotle*) that hee which liueth solitarily is either a very beast, or more than a man. Now a societie is an assemblie and agreement of many in one, seeking after some good thing that is profitable, pleasant and honest, at least that seemeth to be so: or else labouring to shie from and to eschue some euill. Every societie respecteth the maintenance and preservation of Monarchies, kingdomes, and common wealth. But because no one whole and generall thing can be knowne (as the Philosophers say) except the parts thereof be first knowne, it agreeth very fitly with the cause of our meeting together, and is also very necessary for vs, to learne what the societie of wedlocke is, which beeing the seminary and preservation of all societies, is nothing else but a communion between the husband and the wife, extending it selfe to all the parts that belong to their house, of which we are to consider hereafter. The originall and antiquity of this societie, called Marriage, is especially worthy of memory, because God himselfe was the author thereof. For hee had no sooner created the first man, but hee purposed to give him a wife, for a faithfull companion, a comfortresse of his life, and a helpe like vnto himselfe. Which hee performed, alsoone as hee thought vpon it: forasmuch as with him to will is to be able, and to doe: as likewise to be able and to doe, is to will. Furthermore, hee instituted this diuine misterie for the generall increase of mankind, and lawfull propagation of nature, even in the time of innocencie before man had sinned, sanctifying it at the same time, with his blessing. Vnto which necessity of Marriage, man had made himselfe a great deale more subiect through the curse of sinne, which hath giuen place in his soule to the concupiscences of the flesh. Whereby it appeareth that we haue need of this remedy in two respects, namely: in regard of the end and condition of our first nature, as also by reason of sinne, which came in afterward, except in those to whom God hath granted the speciall grace and gift of continencie, which is as rare a thing as any other whatsoever. Notwithstanding there hath alwaies beene a thousand contrary opinions as touching this matter, namely: whether marriage is to be desired and sought after, or rather to be hated and eschued, neither part wanting reasons, oftentimes more glorious in shew than forceable to conclude for the defence of their saying. Among the Philosophers, *Pythagoras* the first of them, was one of the greatest enemies of marriage, as may be prooued by that which is written of him. For beeing requested to be at the marriage of a friend of his, he excused himselfe, saying: *That he was neuer desirous to goe to such a feast, or to be*

Distinctions of callings appointed from the beginning.
Gen. 4. 2.
Every one must abide in his calling.
1. Cor. 7. 20.
All things done in faith are precious in Gods sight
Gen. 2. 24.

Honesty is alwaies beautifull.

Marriage is honourable among all.
Heb. 13. 4.
Prou. 18. 22.
Man borne to live in societie
The definition of societie.
The end of societie.

The definition of wedlocke.

The author & antiquitie of marriage.
The end thereof.
Another end

The necessity and third end of marriage.

Continency a rare gift.

The varietie of opinions touching marriage.

Pythagoras
opinion of
marriage.

Secundus opi-
nion of a
wife.

Thales iudge-
ment of ma-
riage.

Metellus
would not
give away
himself to
a wife.

Reasons a-
gainst mari-
age.

Women
compared
to ships.

How hard
a matter it is
to marrie
well.

An unruly
woman is
full of all
euill.

Examples of
miserable e-
uents procu-
red by wo-
men.
Two good
dayes in ma-
riage.

at such a fauerall: iudging that it was all on for a man to mary a wife, and to wed a coffin, and to put himselfe into a tombe, or to take a sheete for the beginning of his buriall. Many other Philosophers were of his opinion, yea they said, that natur appointing a contrary to every living creature, hath also giuen to man (to whom all other things are subiect) the woman for his contrary, whose malice is a sworne enemy to the reyn of man. *Secundus* was of this sect, who being demanded what a wife was, *The contrary* (quoth he) *of a husband*. Moreouer they said, that a womans nature was such, that although she had continued 30. yeares with her husband, yet he should daily finde in her new fancies, and surlly sorts of behaviour: so that nature seemed a stepmother to men rather than to beasts, because these know and shun their contraries, but man is naturally led to loue and to seeke after his enemy. His misery therefore is very great, in that so weak flesh is able to force a heart that is liberty, causing a man oftentimes to procure to himselfe that which doth him hurt, and to make great account of that which he contemneth, as experience sheweth the same in regard of women. *Thales* one of the Sages of Grecia, minding to shew that it was not good for a man to marry, when one asked him why he married not, being in the flower of his age, said, that it was not yet time. Afterward, being growne to further age, and demanded the same question, he answered, that the time was past. *Marius* the Romane asked *Metellus*, being a man also of great credite, why hee would not take his daughter to wife, seeing she was beautifull in bdy staid in countenance, eloquent in speech, noble by race, rich in dowry, happy in good name, & adorned with vertues? To whom he replied, *That he knew all this to be true, yet* (quoth he) *I had rather be mine owne than hers*. They that follow this opinion now touched, and abhorre marriage, alledge commonly these or the like reasons: that although the name of husband be swete and honourable, yet whosoever will well consider of it, shall find it full of great and intolerable burthens: and that the time is yet to come, wherein many thornes are not found amidst the roses of marriage, and wherein great store of haile falleth not together with that sweet raine. Who is able (say they) patiently to abide the charges of marriage, the care of children, the want which is sometimes in the house, the imperfections of seruants, but especially the insolencie and arrogancie of Wiues, and the yoke of so vnperfect a sexe? Who is able fully to satisfie, either their fleshly lust, or their insatiable pompe? Doth not the old prouerbe say, that women and shippes are neuer so well rigged, but that still there remaineth something to bee amended? Whereupon I would conclude willingly, that if a married man neuer loathe his estate, yet hee tireth himselfe at the least. Riches breed care, pouertie grieue, sailing terrifieth, eating hindereth, walking wearieth. All these troubles are (we see) dispersed or diuided amongst many, but married men haue them altogether. For if we marke a married man, wee shall seldome see him, but either pensieue or sad, or wearie or hindered, or sometime amazed or afraide of that which may befall him, or may peraduenture be committed by his wife. Concerning good aduice, and choice for the obtaining of a good marriage: If thou takest a poore wife, shee will bee contemned and thy selfe lesse esteemed: if thou takest her rich, shee will looke to command thee, and of a free man to make thee a slave. So that when thou thinkest to take an equall companion to wife, thou shalt wed an intollerable mistresse, I know not whether I should say a he diuell: If thou marriest a faire woman, thou puttest thy selfe in great danger, least thy round head become forked, which would bee a fearefull metamorphosis and alteration, if it were visible and apparant. Euery castle is hard to keepe, how well foecer it be watched, when it is assaulted by many: and his victorie is in a desperate case, who being alone, is compelled to fight against many. What shall I say more? Wealth maketh a woman proude, beautie suspected, and hardnesse of fauor loathsome. Is there any thing (as *Plutarke* saith) more light than the tongue of an vnbrideled woman? more nipping than her iniuries? more rash than her boldnesse? more execrable than her naughtie disposition? more dangerous than her furie? These euill speakers of women further enrich their saying with a thousand histories and examples, as tellimonies of the infinite miseries and inconueniences which haue beene procured by them. For they alledge the deceiuing of the first man by his wife, whereupon sinned and death, and through them all miseries entred into the world. *Sampson* betrayed by *Dalila*, *Salomon* became brutish through his concubines, *Achab* rooted out through *Iesabel*, *Marcus Antonius* slue himselfe for the loue of *Cleopatra*, the destruction of *Troy* because of *Helena*, the *Pandora* of *Hesiodus*, the pitifull death of *Hercules* by *Deianira*, and many other miserable euents procured chiefly by women, and plentifully declared in histories. Neither doe they forget the saying of *Hippocratus*, *That of one marriage, onely two good daies are to bee hoped for, namely, the marriage day, and the day of the wifes death*. They say that the wedding day (according

to *Alexanderides* speech) is the beginning of many euills, that in no estate Fortune sheweth her selfe more inconstant, and lesse faithfull in performing her promise than in marriage, as *Polyhistor* saith: because there is not one to be found, wherein there is not some decoite, or some occasion of complaint giuen to the man, They say as *Philemon* said: *That a wife is necessary and perpetuall euill to her husband: that* (as *Diphilus* said) *nothing is harder found in all the world then a good wife.* Whereunto that olde proverbe agreeth, that a good wife, a good mule, and a good goate, are three naughty beafts. The answer alwaies made by a noble *Romane*, Three euill beafts. is not forgotten of these seuerer Censurers of women, to whom when some of his acquaint- taince and friends said, that he had great cause to hold himselfe happy and contented, because he had a wife that was faire, rich, and come of noble parentage, hee shewed them his foote, saying: *My friends, you see that my shoe is very new, faire and well made, but none of you can tell whereabout it pincheth me.* Likewise the saying of *Alphonfus* king of Arragon is alledged by them that blame marriage, namely, *that if a man would see a perfect and well agreeing marriage, the husband must bee deafe, and the wife blind, that hee may not heare his wines brawling, nor shee see her husbands fautes.* He that trusteth to a woman (said *Hesiodus*) is as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the end of Autumne when the leaues begin to fall. I remember yet three things which I haue heard vttered in contempt of mariage: the saying of a merry conceited mā, the deed of another, & the answer of a good fellow that was in talk of a certain mariage. They haue reason (quoth the first) who say, that whē a yong man is to be married, he must be arrested. For truly I thinke we should flie vp to heauen, if this arrest kept vs not backe. The second hearing this preached, that whosoever will be saued, must beare his crosse, ran to his wife and laid her vpon his necke. Thirdly, when one said to a good fellow that hee should tary vntill his son were wise before he married him: Be not deceiued my friend (quoth hee to him) for if he once grow to be wise he will neuer marrie. These & such like reasons are commonly alledged by them that mislike mariage. But now marke what we say to the contrary. First we haue to consider the beginning and antiquitie of mariage, the place where it was instituted, & who was the author therof, & that in the time of innocency, of which things we haue already spoken. Moreouer we must remember, that the heauenly word honored with his presēce, & set forth a wedding feast with a miracle, euen with the first which he wrought in this world. Can any thing then be found more holy, than that which the holy of holies. the Father & creator of all things hath established, honored & consecrated with his presēce? But what greater equity can we vse than to leaue to our successors that which we hold of our predecessors? By wedlocke copulation we came into the world, and by the same wee must leaue others behinde vs, to continue that propagation which hath endured from our ancestors vnto vs. Can there be any greater want of consideration than to seeke to flie from that as prophane, which God hath taken for holy? as euill, which he hath reputed good? as detestable, which hee esteemeth holy? Is there any greater inhumanity, than to reiect the fountaine of humanity? Is there any greater ingratitude than to deny to those that are to come, that which wee holde of them that are past? When God created woman, not of the slime of the earth, as he did man, but of his bone, did he not shew thereby that he would haue nothing faster cleauing, neerer ioyning, or surer glued to him than his wife, especially when hee added these words, *That it was not good for man to bee alone?* as though hee had saide, that his life would be miserable, irkefome & vnpleasant, if he had not giuen him a wife for a faithful companion. How dare we say, that we know better what is meete for vs than hee that made vs, and knew all our life before we came out of the bowels of our mother? then he that honored the bond of matrimony so far as to say, that a man shall leave his father and mother, & cleaue to his wife? Is there any thing more holy than that honor which we owe to them that haue begotten vs? & yet the fidelity of wedlocke is preferred before fatherly and motherly honor, that it should be kept & preferred euen to the last gaspe of life. Further wee see how the Spirit of God speaking by his Prophet honoreth mariage so far, as to vse it for a similitude and representation of that holy & sacred vnity, which he hath with his Church. What could any man say more to extoll the dignity thereof? That which God hath begun, onely death endeth: what God hath conioined, death onely separateth: what God hath made sure, man cannot shake of: what he hath established, man cannot abolish. Oh what and how great is the dignity, preheminance, and prerogative of mariage? Again, do we not see how it hath bin continued throughout all ages past vntill this present, receiued and approved of all nations, both Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, and Barbarians, so that there is no nation vnder the cope of heauen, how barbarous soeuer it be, and far frō civility, which sheweth not great ioy

Three euill beafts.

Alphonfus opinion of a perfect marriage.

Three merry conceits.

Notable reasons in the defence of marriage.

Christ honored wedding with his presence & with a miracle.

Wherefore the woman was created of the rib of man.

Gen. 2. 18.

The great preheminance of marriage.

Psalm 45.

Marriage euer used & receiued of all nations.

The Romans
had laws in fa-
uor of marriage

Augustus his
care to re-
presse the vn-
cleannes of
his subiects.

Why the dow-
ries of womē
haue alwaies
had great pri-
ledges.

The priuiled-
ges of them
that had chil-
dren.

A comparisō
betwē a
good gardiner
& a citizen.

The happines
pleasure and
contentation
in marriage.

The nece-
coniunction
of married
couples.

Marriage in-
creaseth
friends and
kinsfolks.

and delight at wedding feasts? Besides, who shall defend commonwealths without armour and weapons, and who shall weare armour if men be wanting? If that be not supplied by generation which through death necessarily endeth, how can the linage & race of mankind endure? The lawes of the Romans (who were the pattern of vertue to all nations) with rigor punished such as would not marry, forbidding them all publike dignities, and depriving the of those which they had obtained. And to invite them the rather to marry, they appointed priuiledges for them that had children, so that he was most benefited and preferred to publike honours that had most children. When *Augustus Caesar* was Censor, inquiry was made by his authoritie of a Romane knight that had broken the law and would not marry, whereupon he should haue bene punished, but that hee prooued that he had bene father of three children. The same *Augustus* being come to the Empire, and desirous to correct the detestable vncleannes of his subiects, and to compell them to contract matrimony, leuied an impost by way of a fine, vpon their legacies and windfalls comming by the death of others that did not marry after 25. yeares of age, or that had no children. Whereby he greatly chastised whordoms, adulteries and sodomitry: and furnished Rome with good citzens which then was greatly destitute of them by reason of ciuill wars. *What is the cause* (saith *Vlpianus* the Lawyer) *that womens dowries had such great priuiledges?* It was for no other reason, than because of the profit that commeth to all common wealths by mariages. He that had three children amongst the Romans could not be cōpelled to cary a message, or publik embassage: he that had five was exempted from personall charge: & he that had thirteen from al charge. And in our time in the common wealth of Florence (as *Raphael Volateranus* rehearseth in his philology *Euery citizen that is a father of five children either males or females, is exempted, freed, & discharged of all publike tax, loane, or subsidy. If nothing be more blessed, nor happines more to be desired than immortality, line all propogation maketh vs immortal through the continuing of kind.* Wherevpon we may inferre by way of conclusion, that no greater happines can come to a man and wife in this world than to leaue issue as a testimony to posterity, that oncethey were in the world, and haue left behind them a token of their life. It was enacted by *Lycurgus* lawes, that no citizen preferring the estate of continency before that of marriage, should bee at publike plaies: which at that time was a note of great ignominy. We account not him a good gardiner that painfully dresseth those fruite full trees which he hath in his garden or orchard, if he haue no care to plant and graft new thereby to substitute others in their place, which by succession of time waxe old and dy. And how shall we take him for a good citizen, and such a one as zealously seeketh the good of the common wealth, that contenteth himselfe with those citizens that are alieue, and neglecteth the ingenerating of new in good and lawfull matrimony, whereby to supply the want of such as daily decay? Further, if I should goe about to rehearse here the happines, pleasure and contentation which man and wife living holily together, and according to the duty of their vocation, do mutually receiue one of another, who doubteth that a whole day would not suffice me? What greater solace in the whole world can be found than for a man to liue with her vnto whom he is coupled, not by good wil only, but also by a mutuall communication of bodies? If we take great delight to confer with our friends and familiar acquaintaunce about our secret affaires, shal we not receiue greater ioy without comparison to disclose our thoughts to her vnto whom we speake as safely as to our selues, who is also partaker as well of our aduersity as prosperity, & accounteth our weale or woe to bee her own? We are ioyned to our friends by good wil & liking only, but to our wife we are conioined and linked by soveraign charity, by bodily commixtion, by sacred confederacy, & by an inseparable fellowship & society in all weathers. If the mā abound in temporal goods, the wife will keepe them faithfully for him, and increase them by her industry & labor. If he be poore & persecuted by Fortune, she will comfort him. If through feare, sicknes, or any other mishap he be constrained to shut vp himself in his house his wife will take away that irksomnes from him, which otherwise would seaze vpon him being solitary. If he go abroad, he is glad that he hath left that party in his house which he most trusteth. In youth shee is a sweet and amiable companion, and in old age a very conuenient comforter and solace. Moreover, by marriage a man increaseth his friends, allies, kinsfolks, and neighbours. which is a very great benefite and inuincible strength. Brethren and sisters, nephewes and nieces are doubled. Peace is many times procured betweene monarches and princes by mariages, and infinite quarrels and dissensions appeased. But what vnspokeable pleasure doth the very father take to see his lively picture ingrauen in the face of his children, and that so neere the quicke, as neither *Lyssippus*, *Mentor*, *Bolycretus*, *Phidias*, *Praxiteles*, *Zeuxis*, *Appelles*, nor *Parrhasius* had euer the skill to graue or paint so well? Againe, what ioy receiueth he by hoping, that when his children

children shal waxe great, they wil be the staffe of his age, the stay of his weakenes, the pillar of his house, and that ouerliuing him according to the course of nature, they shall close vp his eies, and cause such funerals and ceremonies to be done for him, as are requisite in that case? For the conclusion therefore of this present matter we say, that no man can iustly blame marriage, vnto which all laws both diuine & humane exhort vs, nature prouokes vs, honestly draweth vs, infinite commodities inuite vs, all nations shew vs the way thither, & lastly necessity of continuing our kinde constraineth vs. And briefly to answer the grounds alledged to the contrary, they may be ouerthrowne by one onely distinction, which is; that most of them that dispraised marriage were heathens, and blinded in their vaine wisdom, or to speake better, in their folly, wanting then that knowledge of the truth, which God of his grace hath since revealed vnto vs. And no manuell if they erred in dispraising marriage, seeing they could neuer attaine to the knowledge of the true and soueraigne good of man, as we haue handled already. But yet it can neuer be found that *Socrates*, *Plato*, and such as were most excellent among the Philosophers, blamed it, but rather honored and commended it, the most of them also being married, as namely, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Seneca*, *Plutarke*, & others. As for their strongest reason that mislike marriage, namely, the deceiuing of men by women the fault ought to be imputed rather to the men, than to the women, because men according to the perfection of their sexe, ought to be wiser than women, who are by nature more changeable by will, and more fraile in counsell, although all are not so. So that if there bee any imperfection, it ought not to be objected to them, by way of reproch, but rather to nature than to them. And they that vpbraide them therewith, shew that they wander out of the path of reason, are destitute of all good sense, and are vnworthy that women should haue conceived them, brought them into the world, giuen them suck and nourished them.

Motives to marriage.

The best Philosophers praised and vsed marriage.

Of a House and Familie, and of the kinds of Marriage: of certaine ancient customes obserued in Marriage. Chap. 46.

ACHITOB. IN the beginning of my present speech of mariage, I noted this, that the communion of the husband and wife extendeth it selfe vnto all the parts that depēd of their house. Therefore I suppose (my Companions) that for the sequēle and vnderstanding of this matter which we haue propounded to our selues to intreat of, I mean Oeconomy or gouernment of a familie, we must seeke after a more ample and large declaration of a house, which consisteth not in many stones, and long peeces of timber ioyned together with great cunning, but in stones that haue life, and are partakers of reason, tending to the benefit and profit of the house, as to their end. Also if you thinke it good, & our houre giue vs leisure, we may enter into the consideration of the sundry sorts of marriages, and of certaine ancient customes obserued therein, which I touched not in my discourse, because I would not be ouer long.

A house consisteth in liuing stones.

ARAM. First, it is necessary (saith *Aristotle*) to ioine those together, which cannot be the one without the other, as the male and female for generation. Next, he that is able to execute the commandments of his master by the strength of his body, is a subiect and slaue by nature. And of these two assemblies a house or familie is first instituted.

What assemblies are most necessary for the institution of a familie.

A MANA. A familie or house is an assembly framed by nature, to communicate daily together: and they are called of the Grecians *οικογενεια*, such as liue of the same prouision, *συνοικιστοι*, such as vse the same chimney. But we shall vnderstand of thee **ARAM** the whole discourse of that which is here propounded vnto vs,

The definition of a house.

ARAM. When I consider of the excellency & greatnes of *Plato* his skil, who was grealy admired of the Grecians, as he that for vertue & honesty of life, for eloquence of speech, and perswasion by true & learned Philosophy, went far beyond all other Philosophers, I cannot sufficiently wonder, how, amidst so many good laws & profitable statutes for a cōmonwealth which we haue receiued frō him, he imagined to establish therein the communie of goods, wiues, & children, amongst his Citizens, not suffering them to haue any thing proper & peculiar: to the end (as he said) to banish from his citie these two words, *Thine* and *Mine*, which in his opinion were the cause of all euils and desolations that befall Common wealths. The Nicholaites reuiued the same error in the primitiue Church, and many others haue labored by friuolous reasons to defend and maintaine it, chiefly to root out (as they say) vtterly from within the soule, those humane affections, which commonly carry men rather towards

Plato established a communie of all things in his Commonwealth.

The Nicholaites reuiued *Plato*'s communie.

thei

The confu-
tation of this
error.

The definiti-
on of a house.

The diuision
thereof.

Four kinds
of marriage.
The mariage
of honour is of
three sorts.

2. The ma-
riage of loue.

Eccles. 25. 1.

their wiues, children, and goods, than to other things. Which affections so long as they beare sway amongst the citizens, cause them oftentimes to turne aside from their duty towards the common-wealth, whereby it is made weaker, and of lesse continuance. Now among many grounds confuting this error, (which being receiued, would fill al with disorder & confusion, to the ouerthrow of humane society) that is most certaine and cannot be impugned, that forasmuch as the lawfull distribution of goods, & manner of mariages, are the ordinance of God, (as it is manifest) & seeing the ordinance of God may not be altered by any counsell of man, it followeth, that as well the diuision of goods, as of wiues and children, are immutable; and consequently, that the community of goods, wiues, and children, is a thing flatly gain saying the institution of God, and therefore to bee reprooued. Moreover, if goods were common, an infinite multitude of do-littles, of idle and negligent persons, borne (as *Horace* saith) onely to deuoure and to consume the benefits of the earth, being ywilling to labour, and resembling waspes that eate the hony of the Bees, would feede and cloath themselves with their goods, who get their living with great sweat of their bodies, and vexation of their mindes. Which is against the expresse commandement of God, who will haue vs eate our bread in the sweat of our face. But what greater shame and offence, vtterly defacing all honesty of life, can there be amongst men, than the community of wiues, whereby all fornications and adulteries would be maintained by authoritie? This shewes plainly, that we are not to loose time in confuting such an opinion of theirs, who seeke to take away from amongst men all marks of a common-wealth. For there would not bee any publike thing, if nothing were priuate, nor common, if nothing were peculiar. Yea *Plato* afterward did wisely leaue that opinion, and quietly renounced his first Commonwealth, to giue place to a second. And the Heraldes of Gods word condemned this error, when it was raised vp in the Apostles time by an arch-heretike called *Nicholas* of Antioch, who maintained this opinion, that goods, wiues, and children, ought to be common amongst Christians, and for example to others, communicated his wife to whomsoever would, albeit shee was yong and very beautifull. Thus following the order establisht of God, and continued alwaies through so many ages, vntill our time, and hauing seene the first institution of marriage, we must also containe it within the house, which is a society and communion of life betweene the husband and the wife, the master and the seruant, for daily profite. *Hesiodus* putteth the Oxe in stead of the seruant, so farre foorth (saith *Aristotle*) as the Oxe being sit to labour, is to poore men in the place of a slaue. This house thus described is simple, but when children are contained therein, it is absolute and compleate. Therefore a house that is perfect and accomplished, may be diuided, according to the saying of Philosophers, into these foure parts: into Matrimoniall, Parentall, Lordly or Masterly, and Possessorie part. The Matrimoniall part comprehendeth the husband and the wife: the Parentall containeth the father, mother, and children: the Lordly hath vnder it the master, men seruants, and maid seruants: the Possessorie part includeth within it moouables, immoouables, and chattels. Now to follow our matter already begun, and to discourse of things in order, we haue here to handle and to obserue diligently this first part of a house, called the coniugall or wedlock part, and the sequele of our discourses shall instruct vs in the other parts. He that hath tasted of learning, and beene well instructed in the study of wisdome, shall finde that there are foure kinds of coninnctions and mariages, namely, the marriage of honour, the marriage of loue, the marriage of labour, and the marriage of grieve. The marriage of honour is deuided into the highest, middlemost, and lowest degree. The highest is that supernaturall mariage, whereby God and mans nature meete together, euen by a mystery, which overpasseth the vnderstanding of all humane capacity. We saw the effect and truth thereof in the incarnation and natiuity of the eternall Sonne of God. The middlemost mariage of honour is, when God and the soule meete, and are ioyned together by grace and glory. The lowest degree of the mariage of honour, is when God and the Church are coupled together, and are made one mysticall body. These three sorts of mariages are supernaturall, and appointed of God after an vnspeakeable manner: but the cause of our assembly requireth not that we should speake any more of them. Now to come to the other kinds of coninnctions, which respect only the estate of mankinde: the mariage of loue, is that which is betweene an honest man and a vertuous woman, linked together by God, for the preseruati-
on of the linage of man. It may bee called a charitable coninnction, vnity, and society of them that are good, being made by grace, peace and concord. Of this mariage spake that wise Jew, saying: That three things among others, were approoued of God and men, *The concord of brethren, the loue of our neighbour, and the husband and wife that agree well together.* And to say truth,

truth, it is one of the greatest benefits, yea one of the rarest felicities in the world, when a marriage is well and duly kept, when both the husband and wife feare God, and keepe their promise one to another according to that saying of the wise man: *Blessed is the man that hath a virtuous wife*: the wife also being no lesse happy that hath a good husband. The other kinde of marriage, namely of labour, is that which is commonly practised in our daies, wherein many, yea almost all marry for couetousnesse, not for the vertue, chastity, or good report, which they heare of women and maidens. *Plautus* the comickall poet said, that in marriage a man must take his wife by the eares, and not by the fingers: that is to say, for her good report, not for her dowrie, which is told with hands. *Lycurgus* being desirous that his Citizens should put the same in practise, established a law, which forbade giuing of dowries with maidens in marriage, to the end that every maide should labour to endow her selfe with vertue: for loue whereof, and not of riches, they should be demanded in marriage. The same reason mooued *Themistocles*, when two men required his daughter in marriage, to prefer the honest man before the wealthy: saying, That he had rather haue a man to his sonne in law without goods, then goods without a man. We read that *Olympias* the mother of *Alex.* hearing of one had married a very faire woman, but scarce chaste, being rauished with her loue, said, that he was a brainles man, otherwise he would not haue married by hear say, nor by the lust of his eies. We may say as much of them that marrie by the report of their fingers, counting vpon them how much their wiues bring to them by marriage, not considering before whether they be so qualified, that they may liue with them. But let vs know, that every marriage made through couetousnesse, especially where there is inequality of riches, as namely when the husband is poore, and the wife rich, will be alwaies riotous, and very hardly will there be any peace betweene them. Which thing *Menander* desirous to teach vs, said, that when a poore man marieth a rich wife, he giueth himselfe in marriage to the woman which he weddeth, and not the woman to him. And the Satyricall Poet saith, that nothing is more intollerable than a rich wife. This caused a yong man to goe to *Pittacus*, one of the Sages of *Græcia*, and to aske his counsell, saying: I haue two wiues offered me, the one is equal to me in goods and parentage, the other goeth farre beyond me, which of them shall I take? Marke (said this wise man) where children are ready to play at fence, go to them, and they will counsell thee. He did so, and as he drew neere, they began to set themselves one against another to skirmish. And when they saw this yong man comming, who exceeding them in strength and bignesse, and supposed that hee would make one among them, they said aloud, let every one goe to his match. Whereby he learned what he was to doe concerning his marriage. *Martia* a noble widow, being demanded why she married not againe, seeing shee was rich, and as yet in the floure of her youth, made this answer *I can finde none (said she) that loveth not my goods more than my person.* The same reason mooued *Venda* Queene of *Ruscia* to throw her selfe into the water thereby to reuenge her selfe of them that made warre with her, to haue her in marriage, seeing they could not win her by gentlenesse. For shee knew well, that they desired her for her kingdome, and not of any good will they bare vnto her: as it is the custome of princes to respect onely their aliance and profit, marrying oftentimes by substitutes and proxies those whom they neuer saw but by picture. But I finde that *Elizabeth* that wife Queene of *Eng.* land, was of a better iudgement, when she wrote to *Henrie* Prince, and since king of *Sweathland*, who demanded her in marriage, *That he was the onely prince in the world, whom shee ought to loue most, because he required her when shee was a prisoner: but shee was resolved neuer to marrie any man before shee had seene him.* The like answer she sent to the Archduke of *Austria*, which was in part the cause why neither of them would come vnto her, fearing belike, that if they were not wel liked, they should bee sent backe againe into their countrey. Of this that hath beene hitherto discoursed, together with the experience which is daily seene, we may inferre, that marriages made through couetousnesse, are indeede marriages of labour. And of this number may those bereckoned, wherein bodily beautie, and other outward graces are onely regarded. For it seldome falleth out but that the spirit of dissention troubleth all those houses, and that all loue and liking vanisheth together with age, which causeth the lively hue of colour to wither away. Likewise among these marriages of labour, wee place those wherein there is disparitie of age, and especially of manners. Therefore *Dionysius* the elder said to his mother, who being very olde, would needs marry a yong man, that it was in her power to violate the lawes of *Syracusa*, but not the law of nature. *Aristotle* saith, that men and women ought to marry together in such an age, that both of them should leave off to beget and to conceiue children at the same time. According to this rule the husband must be twenty

Eccles. 26. 1.
The marriage
of labour.

Plautus would
haue a man
chuse his wife
by the eares,
not by the
fingers.
Lycurgus for-
bad all dow-
ries.

Themistocles.

We must not
marry by the
lust of our
eies nor by
the report of
our fingers.

Menander.

Pittacus an-
swer to a yong
man that as-
ked his aduise
in marriage.

Every one
must marry
his equall.
Martia.

Venda Queene
of *Ruscia.*

Against mar-
riage by sub-
stitutes and
proxies, *Eliz-
beth* Queene
of *England.*

Of mariages
made onely
for beautie.

Of the dispa-
rity of age &
manners be-
tweene mari-
ed couples.

yeares,

At what age men and women ought to marrie.

Why a man ought to haue ten yeares more then his wife.

Of the marriage of widowes.
Timothens.

Chilons opinion of second marriages.

1. Cor. 7. 39

The discommodities of second marriages.
Valeria.

Of a woman that had bin married to 22. husbands.

The notorious loosenesse of a widow.

Of the marriage of griefe.

Commendable ornaments of mariages.
Wedding songs vsed in old time.
Diuerse customes vsed at the celebration of mariages.
The Assyrians customes.

yeares, or thereabouts, elder then his wife: because naturally women conceiue and beare children vntill fiftie yeares, and men may beget children vntill 70. *Licurgus* also forbade that any man should marrie before he were 37. yeares old, and a woman before 17. Whereof this reason may rather be rendred, that the wife may more easily acquaint her selfe with her husbands manners, he being then of ripe iudgement, and shee comming into his power from her tender yeares. For (as the same *Aristotle* saith) diuersitie of manners and callings hindereth friendship and true loue. But because of the shortnesse of mans daies, I thinke it were good for him to marry at thirtie yeares of age, taking a wife of twentie yeares old, to the end that her age may not bee too much vnlike his: that so liuing according to the common course of nature, they may leaue their children provided at the same yeares, and such as might bee well able to liue without them. A maiden also of that age is able to iudge a great deale better what is meete for her, and what duty shee oweth to her husband, and of his commandments, than if she were yonger. Now, seeing we are about this matter, I thinke I shall not digresse from the same, if I speake of the marriage of widowes. It is certaine that those women that haue already learned the disposition of their former husbands, are oftentimes very hardly altered. Whereupon some alledge the example of *Timothens*, the best plaier on the flute of his time, who, when he tooke a scholler, vsed to demand of him whether he had made any entrance in that play: Which if he had, he tooke a greater reward by half than he did of them that knew nothing: saying, that his paines were greater in taking away from his schollers that which was naught and vnskillfull, than in teaching that which was good to such as vnderstood nothing at all thereof. *Chilon* one of the wise men of *Gracia*, said, that he accounted him a very foole, who hauing saued himselfe from a perillous shipwracke by painfull swimming, would returne to sea againe, as though a tempest had not power ouer all barks. *Platoes Androgyne* teacheth, that second marriages can neuer fitly be made. Concerning this matter, we can haue no better counsell than that of *S. Paul*, whither I referre the resolution of this matter. But experience daily teacheth vs what infinite miseries, quarrels, suits, & ouerthrow of houses, proceede from such marriages, through the donations and profits which yong men craue that marrie widowes, who forgetting all naturall dutie, doubt not to enrich strangers with the goods of their owne children. *Valeria* of Rome may serue for a notable example to women, who said, that her husband died for other, but liued to her for ever. *Saint Hierome* rehearseth a history quite contrary to this here spoken of, auouching that he saw at Rome a woman that had beene married to 22. husbands, who afterwards marrying one that had 20. wiues, died in his life time. Whereupon the Romans crowned him with Lawrell, in victorie, and caused him to carry a branch of Palme in his hand at his wiues funerall. He maketh mention also of another widow, who of almes brought vp a little childe and abused it at the age of ten yeares, by whom shee became great with childe, contrarie to the order of nature, God so permitting it, to discover the vile filthinesse of that woman. Second marriages were a great deale more honourable for such widowes. The fourth kinde of marriage remaineth yet, which we called the marriage of griefe, which is nothing else but the assembly and coniunction of the wicked and reprobate, of whom that common proverbe is spoken, that *It is better one house be troubled with them than twaine*. Their life cannot be but full of wretchednesse and miserie, the griefe whereof will abide by them for ever. But to returne to our first speech of the marriage of loue, which is holy and lawfull, guided by good reason, and according to the ordinance of God; mortall men beholding the holinesse and necessity of this mysterie, haue enriched and set forth the same with all kinde of ioy and delight, with the assembly of kinsfolkes, and calling together of friends and ghests, with bankets, feasts, ornaments, iewels, Tragedies, Comedies, and such like pastimes, vttering ioy: and not to bee misliked; so that all dissolutenesse and ouer-great superfluitie beset aside, and honesty and comelinesse obserued. But especially the wedding songs, vsed by the Ancients both Greekes and Latines, and made to beautifie and enrich their weddings, are worthy of eternall praise. Moreover, they had amongst them infinite and sundry customes kept at the knitting vp and celebration of marriages, some being good, others bad, of which we will here alleadge certaine, because wee may finde instruction in them. The Assyrians had certaine Magistrates called *Triumirs*, and Presidents of weddings, approoued and graue men, whose office was once a yeare in euery Towne and Village to bring all the yong maidens that were to be married, into one publike place, and to cause them to be proclaimed one after another, beginning with the fairest, who were giuen to them that offered most, & bad last. With this money that came by them, they married those that were hard-fauoured, as good cheape as they could: and otherwise than after

after this sort, it was not lawfull for any body to contract matrimony. Wherein they shewed a marvellous care in providing equally for all their daughters. The ancient Græcians had a custome to burne before the doore of the new married wife, the Axletree of that chariot wherein she was brought to her husbands house: giving her to vnderstand thereby, that shee was to dwell there with him, whether shee were willing or no, and neuer to depart from thence. *Lycurgus* would not haue the husband and wife to lie together in the beginning of their marriage, nor to see one another, but by stealth and secretly: To the end (said he) that amitie and loue might bee the better preserved betwene them, that they might be healthy, and that their children which should come of them, might be stronger. The Romanes passed all other nations in pompe, ceremonies, and comelinesse of marriage. They obserued this inuolably, that their maidens and widdowes should not bee constrained to marry. On the wedding day they vsed that fashion, which at this day is very common. The new married wife was richly apparelled, with her haire hanging about her shoulders, and her head crowned with a garland of flowers. The mother of the Bride went before her daughter bearing a cofer of trinkets, iewels, rings, and other litle ornaments belonging to women. The maidens that came of wealthie houses, had a chariot prepared for them, drawne with two white horses, to declare the puritie of body, and innocency of miade, which the yong women ought to haue. The new married wife was led from her fathers house to her husbands house, along the broadest streetes in the citie, to note thereby, that a wife ought alwaies to passe by the greatest way, and not to be found at any time in suspected and secret places, whereupon some suspicion of euill may arise. When shee was come to the entrie of her husbands house, before shee went ouer the threashold of the doore, hee tooke her with both his armes by the wings, and lift her aloft in such sort, that hee strooke her head and the doore post together, and so set her within the doore before euer her feete touched the ground. This was done, that the married wife should remember through the griefe of the blow, not to goe often forth out of her husbands house, if shee would haue the report and name of an honest woman. Her garments, behauiour, gesture and gate, were correspondent to all modestie, honestie, and shamefastnesse. Shee wore a iewell hanging by a ribben about her necke, to signifie, that shee was bound and put in subiection to her husband. Shee presented also to her husband water in one hand, and fire in the other. Which some interpret thus, that as the communication of mans life consisteth chiefly in the vse of these two elements, of fire and water, so there cannot be any fellowship more familiar or neerer linked together, than that of the husband and the wife. Now, because fire and water signifie communication, others haue thus vnderstood it that as fire and water are cleane contraries as well in the first as in the second qualities, so are man and wife, the one being hot and drie, of the nature of fire, and the other colde and moist, of the nature of water: which contraries beeing ioyned together, make a harmonie and temperature of loue. Againe, some would haue the dissensions, murmurings, and complaints that are often in marriages, signified thereby: wherein laughter is not without weeping, nor rest without labour, nor sweet without sowre, according to the nature of all earthly things, in which wee cannot taste hony without gall, nor sugar without Aloes. Many other ceremonies were vsed of the Ancients, which for breuitie sake, as also because there is small instruction in them, I omit for this present. Therefore to conclude our discourse, we learne, that the name of a house doth not onely signifie the walles and roofof a building, but that it ought to be taken for a familie gathered together to communicate one with another in all necessities. Wee learne also that in euery marriage we ought to haue regard to the ordinance and institution of God, and to those politike lawes vnder which we liue, to the end we trouble not common tranquillitie: that wee must auoide all disparitie of goods, of houses, of age, and especially of nature and manners. Let vs not suffer our selues to be carried away with any foolish passion, but looke chiefly to this, that vnder a gracious and honest behauiour may shine forth cleare and euident steps of an vpriight and sincere soule, void of dissimulation: saying with the Wise man, *Fauour is deceitfull, and beauty is vanitie, but a woman that feareth the Lord, shee shall be praised.* We must also rid our wedding assemblies of all dissolutenesse, of all kinde of allurements to voluptuousnesse and nicenesse, that they may rather seeme to be schooles of honour and chastitie, than of intemperance and loosenesse. If we lay such foundations in marriages, no doubt but God will blesse them, and make them happy and prosperous, to the glory of his name, and to the quietnesse and contentation of vs all.

The custome
of the Greci-
ans.

The customs
of the Ro-
manes.

The Romane
brides vsed to
present fire
and water to
their hus-
bands.

What is sig-
nified by the
name of a
house.

Pron. 31.30

Of the particular dutie of a husband towards his wife. Chap. 47.

A R. A. M.

Small iarres
must be avoi-
ded in a house

AS Physicians stand more in feare of feauers engendred of hid causes gathered together by little and little of a long time, than of those which proceede of very apparant causes: so the small iarres and daily quarrellings of married folkes, being vnkowne to strangers, and drawing by little and little to an incurable hardnesse, doe more separate them one from another, than any other cause whatsoever. Therefore it is necessary that all the rootes of such naughty sprigs should bee cut off, and all occasions escheued, which might prouoke one another to the least and lightest anger that may bee. The industrie of the man ought to aime especially at this, being called to the honourable estate of Head of a family, looking diligently that hee performe such duty towards her, who is so straighly linked vnto him, that such dissentions neuer take their beginning through his default. Let vs then (my Companions) take occasion of this subiect to bee better instructed in the dutie of a husband towards his wife.

Prou. 5. 18,
19, 20, 21.
Euerie man
must content
himselfe with
his owne wife
Eph. 5. 25, 26.
How hus-
bands ought
to loue their
wiues.

A C H I T O B. Reioice (saith the wise man) with the wife of thy youth. Let her bee as the louing Hinde, and pleasant Roe: let her breasts satisfie thee all times, and delight in her loue continually. For why shouldst thou delight in a strange woman, or embrace the bosome of a stranger? For the waies of a man are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his paths.

A S E R. *Husbands (saith S. Paul) loue your wiues euen as Christ loued the Church, and gave himselfe for it. So ought men to loue their wiues as their owne bodies: hee that loneth his wife, loneth himselfe* But it belongeth to thee (**A M A N A**) to handle vs this point at large.

Let the house-
hold God of
the Heathen.

Themistocles
saued by fly-
ing to the
harth of his
enemy.

What place
the wife hath
next to the
man.

Loue the first
foundation of
euery holy
marriage.

A M A N A. Gorgias an excellent Orator, commended of Cicero in many places, exhorted the Græcians long since to peace and concord, by an oration of wonderfull art. Which when hee had ended, one Melanthus stood vp before all the company that was present, and said: My Lords, behold Gorgias, who by his eloquent oration exhorteth vs that are in number infinite to concord, and yet hee cannot play the Orator so well as to cause his wife and his chambermaide to liue quietly with him in his house, wherein there are but they three. For ye shall daily see them at strife and continuall dissention. Therefore, my Lords, I thinke it great rashnesse in him to exhort vs to concord, when hee cannot haue it himselfe in his priuate house. And truly, besides the vspeakeable torment that is ioyned with such riots, ianglings, and controuersies in a house, it is a shamefull offence when they are knowne to strangers. The Ancients had a priuate and household God, whom they called the God *Lar*, which wee may translate into our language, the God of the Harth. Hee was had in such veneration, that if any man withdrew himselfe to the Harth and house of his deadly enemy, his enemy durst not offer him any violence as long as hee was there, the Harth beeing vnto him a sanctuary and place of immunity. For so wee reade of *Themistocles*, that beeing banished from Athens, and pursued by some that would haue laid violent hand vpon him, hee fled to the Harth of his deadly enemy, who for that cause durst not strike him, nor offer him any iniurie. This Harth was dedicated and consecrated to the Goddesse *Vesta*, and was placed where the chiefe fire of the house was made. Now I pray you, if it were prohibited, and accounted an vniust thing for a man to quarrell, to iniurie, or to offer violence, euen to his vtter enemy, beeing fledde to his Harth, how infamous an act (thinke you) and vnworthy the nature of man, did these men iudge it to bee, to offer any violence to them that were of the same Harth, but chiefly to the Wife, who is a principall person belonging to the bedde, table, Harth, yea to the whole house of the Husband, and is called by the law, a companion both of the diuine and humane house? At this day wee commonly obserue this, not to offend in any sort those that come to see vs: and if wee haue any occasion of quarrelling, it shall not bee shewed as long as they are in our house, if wee haue any care not to bee accounted vnciuill, and voide of discretion. And how shall wee not vse the same reason towards them that are vnto vs a second selfe, with whom wee are to liue and die? Let vs then haue regard to those principall points that are to bee desired for the establishment and continuance of loue, vpon which euery holy marriage ought first to bee grounded, as wee haue already said. Secondly, it must bee grounded vpon the conformitie and agreement of good and honest conditions: and lastly, it must hold and depend of prudence, which breedeth a continuall, liuely, and mutuall affection of one towards another, the true testimony whereof is a reuerend behauiour of each to other. It is a Maxime and principle graunted by wife men,

men, that no man is woorthy and meete to commaund, vlesse hee bee better than they ouer whom he commaundeth. Therefore it seemeth that nature commonly giueth more vigor, strength, authority, gravity, and prudence, in deedes and wordes to men than to women. The effects of which graces hee cannot better shew forth, than by gouerning himselfe with reason, and according to duty towards his Wife: first, in louing her, then in gouerning her graciously, as beeing a free person, (as *Aristotle* saith), perswading her more by reason than authority. Hee must not offer her any iniury, either in deed or word, but honor and make much of her. For the Husband that honoureth his Wife, honoureth himselfe. The Lawyer saith, that married women are and ought to be set forth with the beams of their Husbands, and that the Husband ought to giue example to others to honour his wife: whereby also hee shall prouoke his wife to honour him. But on the other side, by offering her wrong, he shall incense her, and giue her occasion to reply vpon him with bitter speeches, which in the end will prouoke him to wrath, and to behaue himselfe worse towards his wife, thereby constrainning her, as it falleth out oftentimes, to inuent some mischief against him and his honour. There are a thousand examples hereof in good authors, and experience affoordeth too many proofes of the same. We reade of *Clytemnestra* the wife of *Agamemnon*, that, to reuenge an iniury receiued from her husband, she committed adulterie, and afterward consented to his death. It is true that this is but a simple reuenge of women, and such a one as lighteth vpon themselves. But what? This sexe is fraile, spitefull, and giuen to reuenge: and therefore men are to vse the greater prudence in the gouerning and managing of them. The prouerbe is that a man is bitten of his dogge, by prouoking him ouermuch, and that an Eele is oftentimes lost, when it is strained ouer hard. Therefore let a wife husband know this, that hee must neuer deale iniuriously with his wife: especially before other: and that hee must abstaine most of all from laying violent handes vpon her. If the Ancients would haue their slaues corrected, rather with wordes, than blowes, much more ought the wife to be dealt withall, whom God calleth a helpe like to vs. To this effect *Marcus Aurelius* said, that a wife husband and one that mindeth to to liue peaceably with his wife, ought aboue all things to obserue this rule, namely: *To admonish her often, to reprehend her seldom, but neuer to lay hands vpon her.* *Homer* bringeth in *Iupiter* reproouing his wife, and threatening her when shee is rebellious, but neuer maketh him goe farther. Wee reade in the life of *Cato*, of whom it was giuen out that hee was a sworne enemy to women, that he neuer strooke his wife, accounting that sacriledge, and yet hee knew well how to vse the place and dignity of a husband, which keepeth his wife in obedience. But aboue all that hath beene hitherto spoken, a husband must obserue this as an inuiolable law, that hee abstaine from touching any other woman but his owne, as well in respect of the feare of God, who excludeth all whoremongers and adulterers from his heauenly mansion, as also because his wife should haue no knowledge or suspition thereof. For otherwise he will cast himselfe into a more dangerous Labyrinth, than was that of king *Perseus* or of *Dedalus*: yea, hee shall hardly haue a good countenance of his wife at any time, except shee dissemble the matter, that shee may the better be reuenged of him, either by rendring like for like, thinking that she hath iust occasion to breake her faith made to her husband, seeing he hath broken his to her, or else by some other mean vpon his person. Of this suspition which the wife hath of her husband incontinency, or the husband of the wifes, is bred a great passion, or to say better, a furie and rage, which wee call lealouise. *Crysippus* calleth it a disease of the minde, proceeding from a feare which a man hath, that that thing is communicated to another, which hee would not haue common but private to himselfe. Or otherwise wee may say, that lealouise is bred of that loue, which will not suffer a partner in the things beloued. Some write (saith *Plutarke*) that Cattes are troubled with the smell of perfumes and sweet fauours, in so much that they waxe madde withall. Likewise if it should so fall out that a woman should be offended and haue her braine troubled with the perfumes of her husband, hee were of a very strange nature if hee would not abstaine from it, but for the enioying of a little pleasure would suffer her to fall into so great an inconuenience. Now seeing it is so that such accidents come vpon them, not when their husbands are perfumed, but when they giue ouer themselves to the loue of harlots, it is great iniustice in them to griene, offend, and trouble their wives in such hainous sort. At least wifely they should behaue themselves as they doe that draw neere to Bees, who abstaine from touching euen their owne wifes. For it is reported of Bees, that they hate and make war more against them than against others, because they haue such false hearts, as lie neere their wifes, beeing defiled and polluted with the company of

The best must command.

The husband must command ouer his wife as ouer a free person.

The fruits of hard dealing.

Clytemnestra.

A husband must neuer beat his wife.

Marcus Aurelius precept to husbands.

Iupiter.

Cato.

A husband must especially auoid adultery.

What lealouise is.

Whoredome is great iniustice

The cruel re-
venge of Ari-
adna.

Women are
capable of
Philosophy.

A tale of the
fun and the
wind.

Women must
be led more
by reason, &
gentlenes than
by force.

The best way
to bring an vn-
ruly wife into
good order is
to make her
more honest.

No man must
chide or fawn
vpon his wife
before others.

Socrates pati-
ence in sustai-
ning the infir-
mities of his
wife.

Husbands
must be care-
full in looking
to their fa-
milies.

any other women. The wilde Boare (saith one of the Poets) pursued of dogges, the Lionesse bitten with hunger, the Tyger robbed of her young ones, or the Viper whose taile is trod vpon, are not more terrible than a woman that is offended: but nothing will sooner cast her into a frensie and furie, than Iealousie. *Ariadna* buried aline *Zeno Isauricus* the Emperor, that shee might bee reuenged of him. Hee that taketh to himselfe those pleasures which he forbiddeth his wife, doth as much as if hee commanded her to fight against enemies. to whom he had already yeelded himselfe. And if vice, who ordome, curiosity, superfluity, choler, and other imperfections reigne amongst men, how should they driue them away from women? So a husband must correct himselfe first, and after vse learned instructions towards his wife. Let him (as Bees do) gather together and carry to his wife, so much of his studies as may serue for her profit. For seeing women (as *Plato* saith) haue a soule as well as wee, and as quicke a spirit, yea oftentimes a more excellent spirit than we, wee must not thinke them vncapable of the goodly reasons of Philosophy, wherein many of them haue gone beyond many Philosophers. Knowledge and skill will keepe a woman from other vncleete exercises, and being rauished with her husbands braue discourses, she will contemne the losse of time in vnprofitable matters. Shee will neuer fall into that danger which oftentimes befalleth women, who conceiue and bring forth by themselves strange counsels, & extravagant passions, when they receiue not from else where the seedes of good speeches, and when their husbands impart not vnto them any sound doctrine. The sun (as fables faine) preuayled more than the Northernewinde. For the more the wind laboured to get away a mans gown, and to that end blewe more violently, the harder did hee girde vp and restraine his garment. But when the Sunne waxed hotte after the winde, the man feeling himselfe heated, cast off his gowne, and afterward burning with heate, hee put off his coate and all. So if husbands goe about to order their wiues with their bare authority and by force, they will strue against it, and be offended: but contrariwise, being admonished with reason they yeeld of themselves and take it patiently. The fooles of this world commonly girde and mocke that man, who peradventure seemeth to be ledde a little too much by his lawfull wife, and loyall spouse vsing more gentlenesse and curtesie towards her, than rigor and commanding and yet you shall see themselves so strangely bewitched by some strumpet, that they feare not to hazard their life and honor in her seruice. But it becometh a man a great deale better to bee well liking, gentle and acceptable to an honest and vertuous wife, than to abase himselfe to a common harlot. And those men deceiue themselves, who, hauing married rich wiues and of noble houses, studie not to make them more honest and better qualified, but to pull them downe, perswading themselves that they will come to better order when they haue abased and brought them low. Whereas euery one ought to maintaine the dignity of his wife as hee would doe the iust height of a horse, and be skilfull both in the one and the other to vse the bridle well as becommeth him. Besides, a husband is not to rule his wife as a Lord or master doth his slaue, but, as the soule doth a wise mans body, through a mutuall loue and ioint affection, whereby hee is bound vnto her. And as the soule may well be carefull ouer the body, although it become not a slaue to the pleasures and inordinate affections thereof, so a wise husband will behaue himselfe by pleasing and gratifying his wife in honest things, and by shewing that he loueth honour and vertue aboue all things. This will bee a mean to make her as wife, vertuous, and honest, as otherwise: if himselfe be giuen to volupuousnes, hee shall cause her to like of curtisans conditions, and to become slippery and lasciuious. No man (saith *Cleobulus*) ought to chide or to fawne vpon his wife before others: for the one is the point of a foole, the other of a mad man. *Socrates*, practised one of these points very well: when *Xantippa* his wife, reuiled & chiding him, in the end being caried headlog with wrath, ouerthrew table & cal. Whereupon *Eurhydemus* whom he had brought home to sup with him, rose vp to depart. But *Socrates* not shewing himselfe greatly moued, or angry with his wife, staied him, and said: What? do you not remember my friend, that as wee were at dinner with you the other day, a henne lept vpon the table and did as much to vs, and yet we were not angry therefore? *Solon* ordained that the husband should goe see his wife thrice a moneth at the least, not for pleasure, but to yeelde vnto her, as it were by obligation, the pledges and gages of friendship through honor, grace and loyaltie, which ought to increase daily. And as cities at sundry times renew these alliances, which they haue one with another, so this law maker would haue the alliance of marriage, that I may so speake, renewed by the speeches vsed at such gretings and visitations. We see daily what miseries and offences light vpon houses, when the head of the familie hath no care to rule and guide. Whereupon also the

women

women thinke that they are despised and smally beloued. And in truth they haue occasion giuen them so to thinke, when their husbands seldome keepe them company. The Pilot that giueth ouer his shippe to the mercy of the waues, declareth evidently that hee careth not for loosing that which is in it. A Wife without her husband is exposed to many ambu-
 shes and assaults that are hardly sustained. To this purpose I remember a notable historie written in the Chronicles of Ruscia, namely, that the inhabitants of Nouogradum, which at this day is the chiefe and principall seate of that countrey, being gone into Grecia to be-
 siege the towne of Corfun, where they continued for the space of seauen yeares, their wiues in meane while wearied with their long abode there, married their seruants. The husbands after ward returning conquerors, found their slaues in the field, who gaue them battell, and had the better of them. Neuerthelesse in the end the slaues were vanquished, and the most part of the women moued with indignation for that ouerthrow, hung themselves. Now as touching that other point mentioned by that wise man *Cleobulus*, namely, that a man must not dally with his Wife in the presence of others: *Cato* deprived a Senator of Rome from the Senatoriall dignity, because he kissed his Wife in his daughters presence. This was somewhat too extreme. But howsoeuer it bee, as *Plato* admonisheth men growen in yeares to shewe themselves shamefast before the yoonger sort, to the end that they also should learne to be-
 haue themselves reuerently and warily, so surely this precept is specially to be kept betweene Wan and Wife, that they may bee an example of honour and chastity vnto all. Likewise the man must diuide the offices and affaires of the house with his wife, giuing her authority ouer all things in his absence: and in his presence also ouer household matters, & such things as are more proper and agreeable to that sexe, causing her to be feared, reuerenced, and obedi-
 ed of the children, men seruants and maid seruants, as himselfe. But as if we take two sounds that agree well, the base is alwaies more heard: so in a well ruled and ordered house, all things are done by the consent of both parties, but yet so, that it is alwaies apparent, that things are done by the direction, counsell and inuention of the husband. For a family will suffer but one head, one master, and one lord: otherwise if there be many heads, the comman-
 dements would be contrary, and the familie in continuall trouble. Now the foundation of all duties here mentioned by vs of the husband towards the wife, and of all others which daily communication may require, is that true and vnfaigned loue that ought to be the vnse-
 parable bond of euery good marriage. Wee haue handled heretofore the great effects of friendship, which if they be required among common friends, no doubt but they are much more betweene those, whom God, nature, the lawes, and loue, haue so straightly ioined toge-
 ther. Also let husbands know, that they ought to reuerence their wiues more than any other person, and perceiuing them to be wise and vertuous, (as they may make them if they be not altogether forlorne and corrupted) let them neuer seeme to distrust them in any respect. The Romans when they returned from a voiage, or from a far country, or onely out of the coun-
 try, into the city, if their wiues were at home, they sent word before to giue them intelligence of their comming, to the end they should not conceiue this opinion, that they meant to deale craftily or maliciously with them. Forasmuch therefore as loue and friendship is the fountain of euery good duty of the husband towards his wife, and that which as it were stealeth away, and maketh the will of his halfe partner to be wholly his owne, let vs consider for the conclu-
 sion of our speech, of some notable examples of great loue in the behalfe of men, to the end we may be drawne on to loue and to honour them that are in the same place towards vs that the Church is towards God, which he so loued, that he sent his onely Sonne to die for the redemption thereof. *Tiberius Gracchus*, a noble man of Rome, finding two serpents in the chamber where he slept, inquired for the meaning thereof by sooth saying, whereunto hee gaue absolute credit. Answer was made him, that if he slue the male first, he should die before his wife, but if the female, his wife before him. As soone as he vnderstood thereof he slue the male, and within a little while after he died. Whereupon Historiographers doubt whether his wife *Cornelia* were more happy in finding a husband that loued her so well, than miserable in loosing him. *Baptista Fregos* maketh mention of a Neapolitan, whose wife being taken on the sea coast by the Moores, he presently cast himselfe after her into the sea, and following their foist, besought them to take him also. Which they did, so that both of them were brought before the king of Thunis to whom the vessell belonged: who hearing the dis-
 course of the fact, and being moued with compassion ouer such perfect friendship, deliue-
 red them both. *Orpheus* (as the poets write) loued his wife so entirely, that she dying on the wedding day, he kept his loue inuiolable, and would neuer set vpon any other. *Nynus* king

Women mari-
ed their ser-
uants in the
absence of
their husbands

Men must not
dally with
their wiues in
the presence
of others.

What house-
hold affaires
are to be deu-
ided betweene
the man and
the wife.

There must
be but one
head in a fa-
mily.

Loue the bad
of marriage.

A husband
must not dis-
trust his wife.

Examples of
the loue of
husbands to-
wards their
wiues.

T. Gracchus.

The great
loue of a Ne-
apolitan to-
wards his
wife.

Orpheus.

of

Menon.

Periander.

M. Lepidus.

P. Numidius.

Sylanus.

Dominicus Catalusius.

Roderigo Sarmiento.

All things
must be com-
mon between
the husband
and the wife.

of the Assyrians, falling in loue with *Semiramis* the wife of *Menon* a vassall of his, besought him to let him haue her to wife, in recompence whereof he offered him his daughter in marriage. But *Menon* bare such great loue towards her, that hee would not yeeld thereunto. Whereupon the king being moued with wrath, and threatning to plucke out his eies, and to take her away by force, as hee did indeede, *Menon* for very grieffe and sorrow hung himselfe. *Periander* king of Corinth loued his wife so tenderly, that after she was dead, he caused her to be laid by him certaine daies. *Marcus Lepidus* being driuen into banishment, heard that his wife was married to another, whereupon he died for sorrow. When word was brought to *Plantius Numidius* a Romane Senator, that his wife, whom he loued as himselfe, was dead: hee thrust himselfe into the bosome with a dagger, whereof hee died. *Sylanus* a Roman slue himselfe after his wife, whom he singularly loued, was taken from him, and giuen to *Nero* the Emperor. *Dominicus Catalusius* Prince of Lesbos loued his wife so well, that although shee grew very leproous, yet hee neuer deprived her therefore of his boord or bed. We reade of a great Lord of Spaine, called *Roderigo Sarmiento*, that through grieffe which he receiued for the losse of his wife, he slept for a yeares space in his clothes, did neuer eate vpon a table cloth, nor late him downe in any chaire, but afflicted himselfe diuersly. Therefore let vs learne by our present discourse to loue our wiues perfectly, yeelding due beneuolence vnto them, and behauing our selues discreetly towards them, without offending them, or going beyond the bounds of our duty. And as nature minglet vs together by our bodies, to the end that taking part of the one and part of the other, and putting all together, shee may make that which commeth thereof common to both, and that in such sort, that neither party can discerne or distinguish that which is proper to it selfe from that which belongeth to the other: so let vs haue all things common together, even our will, affection and authority. Neuerthelesse this must be done in such sort, that as in one cup, although there be as much or more water than wine, yet we call it wine, so in the authority of the wife the husbands name must bee written, as hee that directeth the same. But in the meane while let these words *Mine* and *Thine* bee banished farre from them, vnlesse it bee in this respect, that, according to the opinion of the Physitions, as blowes given on the left side are felt on the right, so the wife must through compassion feele the harmes of her husband, and the husband much more those of his wife: to the end that as knots haue their strength by interlacing the endes one within another, so the society of marriage is preserved and strengthened when both the parties doe afford a mutuall affection of good will, beeing assured that both together shall bee made heires of grace and life.

Of the dutie of a Wife towards her Husband. Chap. 48.

The naturall
gifts of wo-
men.

NATURE having honoured woman with a gracious alluring of the eies, with a sweet speech, with a beautifull countenance and modest behauiour, hath giuen her great meanes to winne the good liking and loue of her husband, if shee bee honest and shamefast: as likewise shee may easily deceiue man by offering him pleasure, if shee bee wickedly minded. This did *Olympias* wife to king *Philip*, know full well, when shee tooke the Thessalonian woman by the hand whom her husband loued so well, and by whom (as they said) he was charmed and bewitched. But the Queene seeing her so faire, and of so good a grace, and as her speech declared, a woman of a good house and well brought vp: Away (quoth she) with all slander, for I see well that your charmes are in your selfe. And let vs not thinke that the power of a lawfull wedded wife is lesse, if by taking all things vnto her, her wealth, her nobility, her charmes, and the whole web of *Venus*, shee study by meekenesse, good behauiour and vertue to obtaine her husbands loue. Go to then, let vs see if wee can giue the wife some instructions touching this matter, how shee may keepe her selfe within the limits of her duty towards her husband.

Eph 5.23.24.

A R A M. As the Church is in subiection to Christ, even so (saith the Scripture) let the wiues bee to their husbands in euerie thing. For the husband is the wiues head, even as Christ is the head of the Church.

Wiues must
be subiect to
their hus-
bands.

A C H I T O B. Wiues must bee modest, wise, chaste, keepers at home, louers of their husbands, and subiect vnto them. But it belongeth to thee **A S E R**, to be now vnto them in stead of a schoole-master.

A S E R. When Kings and Princes honour Philosophers and learned men, it is certaine that

that they honour themselves? but philosophers that court it, and become servants to riches, are not thereby honoured. Wee may say as much of wives. For when they submit themselves to their husbands, they are praised: but if they will become mistresses over them, it becometh them as ill, as it doth such as yeelde to that subiection: and both of them reape more shame than honour thereby. Therefore those women that make choice of effeminate husbands, and delight in commanding them, are like to such as had rather guide the blind than follow the wise and cleere sighted. So that if a wife loue, esteeme, and honour her husband, I thinke that all honest duty will flow from thence, to their common contentation and comfort, and to the benefit, quietnes, and honour of the whole familie: I meane if shee loue him as her selfe, and esteeme and honor him, as her nerest Lord. A wife woman ought to thinke that her husbands manners are the lawes of her life, which (if they be good) she is wholly to follow, but if they be bad, she must patiently beare with them. For as a looking glasse serueth to no purpose, although it be guilt and decked with pretious stones, if it doth not lively represent his face that looketh into it, so a woman is not to beliked albeit shee haue store of goods, if her life be not thereafter, and her behauiour and conditions be not conformable to her husband. If a looking glasse represent a sadde and mourning countenance to one that is ioyfull and merrie, or contrariwise a smiling face to him that is sorrowfull, it is a false glasse and woorth nothing. So is she a bad wife and vreasonable, which frowneth when her husband is desirous to be merry with her, and to take some honest recreation, or contrariwise, which laugheth and sporteth her selfe when shee seeth him full of businesse and greatly troubled. For the one is a token of her froward disposition: and the other, that shee despiseth the affections of her husband. And as lines and superficial parts, as the Geometricians say, moue not of themselves, but as the bodies moue wherein they are: so a wife must haue no proper and peculiar passion or affection to her selfe, but must be partaker of the past times, affaires, thoughts and laughters of her husband. The further the Moone is from the sunne, the clearer it is, and shineth so much the more: and contrariwise it hath lesse light, and is obscured the more, as it commeth neerer thereunto, so euill women deale with their husbands when they loue not their presence. For in their absence you shal see them as iocund and frolicke as may bee, but when they are with their husbands and at home, then are they sorrowfull and pensive. Moreover a wife must not trust too much either to her wealth or to the nobility of her race, or to her beauty, but to that which sitteth nearest her husbands heart, that is, to her behauiour, manners and conuersation, taking order that these things be not heard, troublesome, or irksome to her husband every day, but such as please him & agree with his conditions. For the troublesome conuersation of a Wife that alwaies iarreteth, in the end maketh even her honest behauiour odious, as her over great pinching and niggardinesse causeth her sparing and good huswiferie to become hatefull. As this custome was obserued amongst the Persians, that when their enemies came rushing vpon them with great clamors, they receiued them with silence, and contrariwise, if they were set vpon with silence, they made head against them with open mouth: so discrete women holde their peace when their husbands cry out with choler, and contrariwise if they vtter not a word, they labor to appease and pacifie them with their comfortable speeches. A wife woman that loueth her husband as becommeth her, sometime tolerateth and dissembleth an euill intreaty, trusting so much to her constancy and vertue, that by continuing in her duty shee is able to bring him backe againe to his. Shee must gouerne her selfe so discretely, that neither her neighbours, nor other of her familiar friends be made acquainted in any sort with her complaints and greuances. For by discovering them, either she shall make her selfe a laughing stocke to others, or else giue occasion to the enemies of her honor, to prouoke and solicit her to baughtines. And if any one knowing the imperfections of her husband, vnder this pretence of seeing her hardly dealt withall, perswade her to decline from her duty, she must answer him after the example of king Philip, who being wronged by the Grecians intreated them curteously. What then would my husband do vnto me, if I begin to hate him, and to offer him iniurie? If shee perceiue that any woman of her acquaintance laboreth by her talk either to sow or to increase some domesticall dissention, she may wisely say with her selfe: *In what case would this woman that seeketh to make me iealous, desire rather to see me, than maliciously to play the ill huswife with my husband, and so forsake my house & marriage bed, whereupon it may be she would gladly take my place?* Thus a discreet woman wil giue smal care, & much lesse giue place to the light speeches and fained promises of such disturbers of domesticall peace. Neither will she admit and nourish those vain and foolish opinions which commonly busie the miads of such women as are ruled and governed

It is an honor
to a woman
to obey her
husband.

A wife com-
pared to a
looking
glasse.

Notable
similitudes.

Euill wines
resembled to
the Moone.

An ouerth-
warting wife
maketh her
selfe odious.

How a wife
must deale
with her cho-
lericke hus-
band.

A wife must
not disclo-
se her husbands
imperfection
to any body.

Married couples must not make two beds for any iar betweene them.

When is the best time and place to pacifie strife betweene man and wife.

A woman must be free from all suspicion of incontinency.

She must not loue to gad abroad or to be seene.

She must be modest in her attire.

The true ornaments of a woman.

Certaine tokens of an adulterous heart.

Samefastnes is the best dowie of a woman.

An excellent vse of looking glasse.

A woman must be silent and seeret.

A woman must auoide filthie speeches & iestes.

onely by passions, but containing her desires through reason within a conuenient compasse, the confidence which shee hath in her husbands vertue will breede perfect ease to her soule, by taking from her all doubting and occasion of complaining. Now vpon this discourse wee giue this note by the way, that when any displeasure falleth out betweene married folkes, they must haue a speciall regard then that they make not two beds. For by this meane the anger will endure the lesser while. Also they must shun all occasions of quarrelling in bed. For as a great bellied woman ready to lie downe, and euen feeling the pangs of her trauell, said to those that willed her to lie downe vpon the bed, *How can the bed cure me of this euill which came vnto me vpon the bed*: so those quarrels, iniuries, wrath and choler that are bred within the bed, can hardly bee appeased and healed at any other time or place. But to continue our matter of the duty of a Wife, she must neuer suffer any to enter into her husbands house without his expresse commaundement or licence. For euery honest wife ought to feare that which is commonly spoken of the loosenesse of women, and labour as much as may bee to conuince those slanderers of lying, who know no other song than to speake of their incontinency. *Cesar* said, that *A woman must not onely bee free from the fault, but also from all suspicion thereof, which was the cause why hee put away his owne wife*. And seeing it is the duty of an honest woman to take vpon her the care and oversight of household affaires, shee must keepe at home and not loue to gad abroad, or be desirous of meetings, but so farre forth as her husband would haue her doe so. The greatest vertue of a woman (said *Enboides*) is not to bee knowne but of her husband: and her praise (said *Argemir*) in a strange mouth is nothing else but a secret blame. A Wife ought to bee modest in her garments and ornaments of her body, and not vse such sumptuous apparell as the law or custome of the countrey permitteth: because neither rich workes of gold, nor precious attire, nor bodily beauty make not a woman so praiseworthy as her modesty doth, which consisteth in deedes, words, countenance and apparell. That is an ornament (said the Philosopher *Crates*) that adorneth, and that thing adorneth a woman, which maketh her more honourable. And this is not done by iewels of gold, emeralds, precious stones, or purple garments, but by euery thing that causeth her to be accounted honest, wise, humble and chaste. Those women that curiously pricke vp themselves, and enrich their bodies with ornaments full of pompe, make men more dissolute and inclined to loosenesse, especially when they make great window workes before their dugs, and giue licence to their eyes to wander and gaze about. Whereas contrariwise a wife woman through her honest behauiour, together with her lowly and setled looke, leadeth so many as cast their eyes vpon her to continencie and chastity. But a discovered dug, a naked brest, frizled locks, paintings, perfumes, and especially a rowling eye, and a lasciuious and vnchaste looke, are the forerunners of adultery. He that will not credite me, let him reade *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, and *Ouid*, who are of the same opinion. It may well bee said of such women, whose number is too great amongst vs, that they haue lost all shame: albeit the best dowie, the best inheritance and most precious iewel which a woman can haue, is to be shamefast. Yea the fortresse and defence that nature hath giuen to a woman for the preservation of her reputation, chastitie, and honour, is shame, whereof whensoever she maketh no account, she is vndone for euer. *Socrates* vsed to counsell those young men that beheld themselves in looking glasse, if they were hard fauoured to correct their deformitie with vertue, by making themselves vertuous: and if they were faire, not to blot their beauty with vice. In like manner it were very good, that when the married wife holdeth her looking glasse in her hand, she would speake thus to herselfe if she be foule: What then should become of me if I were also wicked? and if she be faire, How shall this be accounted of, if I continue honest and wise? For if a hard fauoured woman bee loued for her good behauiour and honest conditions, it is farre greater honour vnto her than if it were for beautie. Moreouer, a woman must haue a speciall care to bee silent, and to speake as seldome, as shee may, vnlesse it bee to her husband, or at his bidding: refering household wants affaires secret to her selfe, and not publish them abroad. Thus doing, if any euill, any reproach or dishonour come to the house through any of them that are within it, the fault will bee her husbands and not hers. Likewise a woman that respecteth her honour, ought to be ashamed to vtter any dishonest speeches, flouts, and iests, and no lesse ashamed to giue eare vnto them. For if she once giue herselfe to giuing, they that laughed at some little word of hers will after ward mocke the author thereof: seeing the honor of women is such a nice and chary thing, that it is not lawful for them so much as to thinke, much lesse to speake of many things, which men may freely both talke of and put in practise. Therefore those dames that minde to preserve their grauity, must bee silent not onely in vnlawfull but euen in necessary matters,

vnlesse

vlesse it be very requisite that they should speake of them. To bee short, that woman that
 is borne to vertue, and purposeth to performe her dutie towards her husband, must please
 him in all honest things, and in such as draw neere to his inclination, she must loue him in-
 tirely, and esteeme of him aboue all others, shee must bee patient and know how to winkeat,
 and to beare with many things done by him, shee must be prudent to gouerne her house, skil-
 full in hufwifery to preferue her goods, carefull to bring vp her children, faire spoken and cur-
 teous to her neighbours, plentifull in honorable workes, a friend to honest companie, and a
 very great enemy to the lightnesse of youth. Moreover she must bestow as much time as she
 can steale from domesticall affaires, in the study of notable sayings, and of the morall senten-
 ces of ancient Sages and good men. And it were a seemely and honourable thing to heare a
 woman speake to her husband in this sort: Husband, you are my teacher, my gouernour
 and master in Philosophie, and in the knowledge of most excellent and heauenly sciences.
 For by such honest occupations women are withdrawne and turned aside from other vn-
 worthy exercises, whereunto wee see them so apt and inclined nowadaies, which maketh
 them very offense, as plaies, dancing, masking, hunting, and discharging of harquebuzes,
 with such other dealings very vnmeet for their sexe. Whereas if in lieu of all these things a
 wife would imbrace the loue of knowledge, so farre forth as her wit and leasure require, and
 as her husband shall like of, she should be partaker not onely of the flowers and songs, but al-
 so of the fruits, which the Muses bring forth and bestow vpon them that loue letters and
 Philosophie: which will greatly helpe her towards the leading of a happy life with her hus-
 band. Now considering that loue is alwaies the well-spring of euery good duty, especially
 betweene those that are linked together by marriage, (which ought to be so great in regard
 of the wife, that the Ciuill law, and law of nations, will haue a woman follow her husband, al-
 though he haue neither fire nor place to resort vnto, or be banished and driuen from place to
 place) let vs here call to remembrance some notable examples of the great loue that hath
 beene in vertuous women towards their husbands, as well when they were aliue, as after
 their death, by refusing to ouer liue them. *Queene Hipsicrates* the wife of king *Mitridates*
 commeth first to minde, who bare such loue towards her husband, that polling her selfe for
 his sake (although shee was yong and very faire) shee acquainted her selfe with the wearing of
 armour, and rode with him to the warre. And when he was overcome by *Pompey*, she accom-
 panied him in his flight through all Asia, whereby she mollified the griefe and sorrow which
 he receiued by his losse. *Triara* wife to *Lucius Vitellus*, brother to the Emperour *Vitellus*, seeing
 her husband in a dangerous battell, thrust her selfe amongst the soldiers to beare him com-
 panie, and to helpe him both in death and life, and fought as well as the valiantest amongst
 them. When king *Admetus* his wife saw her husband very sicke, and heard the answer of the
 Oracle, which was, that *He could not recover except one of his best friends died for him, shee slue her
 selfe*. When the wife of *Ferdinando Goncales* a prince of Italie, knew that her husband was priso-
 ner, and in danger of death, she went to visite him, and putting on his apparell, abode in his
 place, whilest he being clothed in her garments saued himselfe. *Zenobia* Queene of Armenia,
 seeing her husband *Radamis* flie from a battell, and not being able to follow him because
 shee was great with childe, besought him to kill her. Which when he thought to haue done,
 she was stricken downe with the blow of a sword: but being taken of the enemy and tho-
 roughly healed, *Tyridates* the king, who had vanquished her husband, married her afterward
 for the great loue that was in her. The princeesse *Panthea* loued her husband *Abradatus* so
 well, that when hee died in *Cyrus* campe, shee slue her selfe vpon his bodie. *Artemisia*
 Queene of Caria, for the great loue she bare to her husband that was dead, dranke all the ashes
 of his bodie, meaning thereby to bee his sepulcher. When *Iulia* the wife of *Pompey* sawe a
 gowne of her husbands all bloodie, wherewith he had offered some sacrifice, shee imagined
 that he was slaine, and so died presently after. When *Porcia* the wife of *Brutus* heard of her
 husbands death, and perceiued that her kinsfolks tooke away all meanes of killing her selfe,
 she drew hot burning coles out of the fire, and threw them into her mouth, which she closed
 so fast, that she was choked thereby. *Sulpitia* being carefully restrained by her mother *Iulia*
 from seeking her husband *Lentulus* in Sicilia, whither he was banished, she went thither being
 apparelled like a slave, banishing her selfe voluntarily rather than shee would forsake her
 husband. *Ostania* sister to *Augustus*, and wife to *Antonius*, notwithstanding the iniurie that
 her husband offered vnto her in preferring before her a Queene that was nothing so yong
 or faire as shee, bare such great loue towards him, that setting aside all intreatie of her brother,
 shee would neuer leave her husbands house, but still brought vp his children by his first
 marriage

A short sum
of the dutie
of a wife.

A woman
must be desi-
rous of know-
ledge.

Exercise vn-
seemely for
women.

What great
loue the law
of nations re-
quireth in a
wife towards
her husband.
Examples of
the great loue
of woman
towards their
husbands.
Hipsicrates.

Triara.

The wife of
Ferdinando.
Goncales.

Zenobia.

Panthea.

Artemisia.

Iulia.

Porcia.

Sulpitia.

Ostania.

marriage as carefully as if they had beene her owne. Moreover shee sought by all meanes to reconcile those two Emperours, saying, that it was an vnworthy thing, that two so mightie princes, the one for the euill intreaty of his sister, the other because hee was bewitched by a wicked woman, should warre one against another. As this vertuous princeesse had taken her journey as farre as Athens, where shee meant to take shipping, and to seeke out her husband being then in war with the Parthians, bringing with her souldiers, money, furniture and other munitions, he sent her word that shee should passe no farther, but stay for him at Rome. This shee performed, and sent him all the aboue named things, not seeming at all to be offended with him. Whereas he in the meane while skorned her, sporting himselfe with *Cleopatra* in the sight and knowledge of all men, and afterward dealt worse with her when the warre was begun betweene him and *Augustus*. For he sent a commandement to *Othavia* at Rome to go out of his house, which shee presently obeyed, albeit shee would not therefore forsake any of her husbands children, but wept and bewailed her mishap, which had brought her to bee a principall cause of that ciuill warre. *Aria*, the wife of *Cecinna*, followed in a little boate vnto Rome her husband, who was taken prisoner because he had borne armes against the Emperour *Claudius*. Being there condemned to die, shee would haue borne him company, but that her sonne in law and her daughter staied her. When shee saw that, shee strooke her head so hard against the wall, that shee fell downe amazed: and being come to her selfe againe, said vnto them: You see that you cannot hinder me from dying cruelly, if ye stay me from a more gentle death. They being astonished at the fact, and at her words, suffered her to do what she would: who then ran to the place where her husband was, and slue her selfe first, after shee had spoken thus couragiously vnto him: I am not, *Cecinna*, sorie for that which is done, but because the race of thy life must ende. When *Seneca* was condemned to die by *Nero*, and had libertie to choose what kind of death he would, he caused his veines to be opened in a bath: his wife *Paulina* of her owne accord did the like to her selfe in the same bath, mingling together their blood for a greater vnion and coronation of their long and perfect loue. Whereof *Nero* heeing aduertised, presently commanded that her veines should be stopt, constraining her thereby to liue a little longer in continuall griefe. *Hipparchia*, a very faire and rich woman, was so far in loue with the Philosopher *Crates*, who was hard fauoured and poore, that she married him against all her kinsfolkes mind, & followed him throughout all the countrie, being poorely apparelled and bare-foote, after the Cynicke fashion. *Pisca* seeing her husband pine away dayly through a great and strange disease, which he had concealed from her of long time, hauing at the length knowledge thereof, and perceiuing it to be incurable, she was moued with pitie for the euill which he suffered, whom shee loued better than her selfe: and thereupon counselled him with great courage to allwage his griefe by death, and the better to stir him vp thereunto, she offered to beare him company. Whereunto her husband agreeing, they embraced each other, and cast themselues headlong into the Sea from the top of a rock. The king of Persia taking prisoner the wife of *Pandoerus*, whom he had vanquished and slaine, would haue married her. But shee slue her selfe after she had vttered these words: God forbid, that to be a Queene, I should euer wed him that hath beene the murther of my deere husband *Pandoerus*. *Camma*, a Greekish woman of the countrie of Galatia, bare such loue to her husband, euen after his death, that to be reuenged of a great Lord called *Synorix*, who had put her husband to death, that he might marry her, shee gently denied him at the first when hee became a suter vnto her, but after, in processe of time shee consented thereunto. When they were come to the Temple of Diana to solemnize the marriage, before the altar shee powred forth a little of that drinke, which shee had prepared in a cup, and drinking part thereof, shee gaue the residue to *Synorix* to drinke. The liquor was made of water, honie, and poyson, mingled together. When shee saw that he had drunke all, shee fetched a great and lowd grone, and vling reuerence towards the Goddesse, said vnto her: I call thee to witnesse, that I haue not ouerliued *Sinatus* my husband, for any other intent than to see this day: neither haue I enioyed any good or pleasure in all this time, wherein I haue since liued, but onely in hope that one day I should be able to reuenge his death, which being now performed by me, I go cheerefully and with ioy vnto my husband. But as for thee most wicked man (quoth shee to *Synorix*) take order now, that thy friends and kinsfolkes, in stead of a wedding bed, prepare a buriall for thee. And so within a little while after, both of them ended their daies. *Macrina*, the wife of *Torquatus*, loued her husband so feruently, and was so sorrowfull for his absence, that for one yeares space, wherein hee was gone vpon a voyage, shee neuer

went out of her house, nor looked out of her window. Wee may read that many women of Lacedæmonia, when their husbands were condemned to die for conspiring against their countrey, came one evening clothed in blacke to the prison, vnder colour to take their finall farewell of them: and changing their apparell, they couered their husbands with their veiles, who went out and left their wifes in their place, which sustaining the punishment due to others, were beheaded, contrary to humanity, not without great patience shewed on their behalfe. Histories are plentiful in shewing the great loue of women towards their husbands. Yea, I will not be afraid to speake it, men are farre inferiour vnto them in perfection of loue. Wherefore we will conclude that it is easier for them to be dutifull to their husbands, whom, as we haue already said, if they loue, esteeme, and honour, no doubt but they are the chiefe cause of all peace and concord in their families, and of the prosperous successe of their household affaires, to the quietnesse and contentation of their happie life, and to the immortall praise and honour of their good name.

Men are inferior to women in perfection of loue.

The end of the twelfth daies worke.

The thirteenth daies worke.

Of the dutie of the Head of a familie in other parts of the house, namely, in the Parentall, Masterly, and Possessorie part. Chap. 49.

A SER.



It is not without great shew of reason which many Philosophers maintaine, that the Oeconomical science, that is to say, the art of ruling a house well, is one of the chiefest parts of pollicy, which is the art of skilfull gouerning a great multitude of men. The reason is, because a Towne or Citie is nothing else but an assembly of many families and houses together, which will be very hard for one onely man to order well and iustly, if hee know not how to set that order in

The definition of Oeconomic and of Policie.

his family, which is necessary, and to guide it with sound reason and true prudence. Moreover, when families are well gouerned, no doubt but it goeth wel with the common-wealth, as we see, that the whole body is in good health, when euery seuerall member doth his duty. Now that we haue considered particularly of that which concerneth the first and principall part of a house, and of the mutuall duty of the husband and wife, I thinke (my Companions) we are to begin this daies worke with instructing our selues in that which the Head of a family ought to keepe and obserue in other parts of his house, mentioned before by vs, namely, his children, seruants, and possessions, seeing we are taught by the Apostle, that hee which prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them of his household, denieth the faith, and is worse than an Infidell.

Euery head of a family must prouide for his household. 1. Tim. 5. 8.

AMANA. Euery house must bee ruled by the eldest, as by a king, who by nature commandeth ouer euery part of the house, and they obey him for the good preservation thereof.

ARAM. Euery man by right (saith Homer) hath rule ouer his wife and children; hee is not worthy to haue any, that wanteth sufficient vertue and prudence to gouerne them well. Goeto then (ACHITO B) let vs learne of thee what belongeth to the parts of a house now mentioned by vs.

AHCITO B. Anacharsis, one of the wisemen of Græcia, said, that a house is not to bee called good, because it is well built, and of good stufte, but men must iudge thereof by that which is within, and which belongeth to the house, as namely, by the children, wife, and seruants: with whom, beeing wise and well qualified, if the father of a family communicateth and imparteth of that which hee hath, whether it bee in the bottome of a caue, or vnder the shade of a bough, he may be said to dwell in a good and happy house. Therefore it is no small happinesse and felicitie for them that are called to the government of a family, when they see it wise and well nurtured in euery part. But as nerues and sinewes, being the instruments of sense and motion, proceede and are arriued from the head, which by them infuseth into all parts

What maketh a house to bee called good.

A good order
in a house pro-
ceedeth from
the head of
the familie.
Where a hou-
sholder must
begin to rule
his house well

The progresse
of a family
before it
come to per-
fection.

What a hous-
holder must
first looke
vnto.
Goods are
instruments
tending to the
maintenance
of life.
Two sorts of
goods.
What interest
a Father of a
family hath in
his goods.

Two sorts of
getting goods

The end of
arts, sciences,
and trafficke.

Biting vsury a
detestable
gaine.
Why mony
was first in-
uented and
vted.

parts of the body, the *Animal* spirit, without which the body could not exercise any naturall function of the sense and moouing: so the parts of a house commonly receiue the habite of manners and conditions from the father of a family, as from the head thereof: but then especially, when hee is prudent and wise, and imploiet his care, diligence and industrie thereupon. Therefore a good housholder must begin the right government of his house at himselfe, by letting his household see, that hee is prudent, chaste, sober, peaceable, but chiefly religious and godly: as also by bringing forth plentifull fruites of his duty towards those that are vnder his charge. For as the anger and threatnings of the head of a family astonisheth his children and seruants, so his good workes hearteneth them on to doe well. Now, because there is variety of houses, whose difference is commonly taken from the goods and ability of men, which abound to some, and are wanting to others, I will propound heere, as my purpose and meaning was before, a meane house, in all points perfect and as we vse to say, neither poor: nor rich, from which notwithstanding both great and small may draw instruction for their government. Wee haue already seene, that a house is diuided into foure part, whereof the coniugall or wedlocke part hath bene already handled by vs. Now wee must consider of the other three, and I meane of the Parentall, Masterly, and Possessory parts. And I thinke it will bee best to follow that order which is most vsuall in the perfection and progresse of marriage, and in the accomplishment of a house, which both before and after the consummation of marriage, is first compounded of the goods and wealth of men: next of men seruants and maide seruants: and lastly, it is made absolute and perfect by those children which God sendeth. The Possessory part then is that which we call immoveable goods, immoveables, and such goods as moue of themselves. This part of a house (as *Aristotle* saith) belongeth so to Oeconomie, that it should goe before it, and serue it, to the ende that victuals, and other necessarie goods, might not bee wanting in the house: wherein otherwise (saith the same Philosopher) a man cannot liue, much lesse liue well. For as in arts that haue their limits determined, it is necessary that conuenient and proper instruments bee had to finish their worke: so must it be in Oeconomie, in which goods are instruments seruing to maintaine life: and to possesse goods, is nothing else but to haue a multitude of instruments seruing that action wherein life consisteth. Wee may diuide all these goods into two principall kindes: namely, into those that come from the father to the sonne by succession, which wee call Patrimony, and those that are gotten by industry and labour. It is the duty of the father of a familie to preferue that for his, which his predecessors left him, to haue the vse therof onely as they had, and to vse them well, as a faithfull guardian and disposer of those goods which God giueth for the succour and profit of his creatures. Yea, from that day wherein he taketh a Wife, and much more when hee hath children, hee must thinke that hee is no more Lord of his goods, but onely a Tutor: and that if they should be wasted or lost through his negligence, he were no lesse faulty than hee that should steale them. Secondly, hee must increase his Patrimony by trauell, care, and good husbandry: hee must get goods for his family, by iust and ciuill meanes, obseruing decency and honesty in all things. After the first functions of a holy and Christian duty, which are to goe before, and to be ioyned inseparably to all the actions of life, as elsewhere wee haue handled, and shall see more hereafter: wee finde two sorts of getting, the one naturall, the other artificiall. The naturall way consisteth in pasturing, or feeding of cattell, in tillage, in hunting and fishing, vnto which we may say, that an honest prey and booty, agreeable to nature, is ioyned, if it bee practised in iust and lawfull warres. Hereunto also is referred the vent and sale of his increase, that those things which are sold, and whereof wee haue abundance, may procure vs from elsewhere such other things as we want. The artificiall kinde of getting, consisteth in workes, arts, handicrafts, trafficke, and merchandize, exercised for gaine. The ende of which kinde of getting ought to bee as well publike profit as priuate. Therefore whatsoever is grounded vpon domesticall profit onely in this second sort of acquisition, is to bee auoided and misliked. For whereas it was first brought in of necessity to helpe men to liue, this were craftily to turne it to another ende, and to apply it onely to one private mans gaine, not without the oppressing and detriment of our neighbour, for whose benefit a man must labour no lesse than for his owne. Amongst filthy gaines, Vsury is most to be misliked and most detestable, which the Hebrewes call biting, and which doth not onely gnaw the debtor to the bones, but also sucketh out all the blood and marrow from the bones, engendring money of money, contrary to nature, and to that intent for which money was first brought in: namely, that exchange might bee made of such things as are vnealie to be transported, and that the commodity of trafficke might bee continued for publike profit. Now

adaies

adaies there is no trade so common, as that of vsury: although it bee altogether reprooued by the lawes of God and men. And surely wee haue a goodly cloake to couer the shame thereof, I meane the name of ^{*} interest, or profite of money, when as it hath beene alwaies vnpleasant in the sight of God who forbiddeh al kind of Vsury whatsoever it be, and therefore it ought not to haue any place amongst men that liue vprightly. There was a law amongst the auncient Grecians and Romanes, which forbadde all vsury surmounting one penny for a hundred in the yeare, and they called it Vnciary Vsury. If any Vsurer tooke greater profite, he was condemned to restore fourefold: because (as *Cato* saith) they iudged, that a Vsurer was a more wicked and vile man than a theefe, who was condemned but in double as much. Againe, this law was since that brought to a halfe penny a yeare among the Romanes, and not long after, Vsury was cleane taken away by the law of Genutia, because of vsuall seditions which arose through the contempt of lawes concerning Vsurie. Whereupon, wee may note, that what moderation soeuer is appointed in Vsury, if men bee suffered to take neuer so little, they will ascend to the highest degree of all. Therefore we must conforme our selues to the law of God, which taketh away all liberty herein so plainly from vs, that it cannot be called in question. Concerning arts exercised for gaine, although there are some of them very vile and contemptible, yet those also after a sort respect publike profite. But those arts wherein there is more prudence, or no small commodity, as Physicke, Architecture, and other points of knowledge in liberall arts and sciences, are honest and seemely for them that exercise them according to their estate. Now in all these diuers sorts of getting, and in many others about which men are but too diligent, husbandry is very commendable. yea, nothing is more fruitfull, nothing more pleasant, nothing more woorthy and becoming a free man, and nothing more agreeable to nature. Wee will not therefore touching this part of a house, called Possessory, that it belongeth to the duty of a father of a familie to attend diligently to his house, carefully to provide for his familie whatsoever is needfull and necessary for it, and to preserve for the same that which is already gotten onley by well vsing the possession thereof. This is that which is signified by the Greeke word *γεννατικός*, or good husbandry: which is as much to say, as industry in getting goods, and discreete gouernment in spending them to good purpose. And truly he that hath no care ouer his goods and household, will bee easily perswaded to liue vniustly, and to take that which belongeth to another. For sloth and vnwillingnes to doe any thing, is the beginning and wellspring of all iniustice. And so, whilest a good father of a familie laboureth to profite euery one, hee must also bee carefull for himselfe and his. Let vs now come to the second part of a house, called the masterly part, which comprehendeth vnder it men seruants and maid seruants. If prudence and reason are most necessary in all parts of house keeping, their effects are well woorth the noting, and to be desired in this part, of which we will now intreat. For power and authority are of themselves too surly and imperious in him that knoweth not how to repressse them wisely, yea, they are easily turned into intolerable arrogancy, if the bridle of reason restrain them not. Therefore seeing we liue in a free country, wherein the auncient absolute power of life and death ouer slaues hath no place, they, to whom God hath graunted this fauour to excell and to goe before others, whether it bee in gifts of nature, or in graces of the soule, or otherwise in the goods of fortune, they, I say, must in no wise contemne those that seeme to haue beene forgotten and stripped of all these good things. Besides, a father of a familie must consider, that he ruleth not slaues but free persons. Therefore he must vse their seruice, although not frankly for nothing, yet as that which cometh from a willing and free mind, not dealing roughly with them vpon euery occasion, but rather handling them gently, as the creatures of God made after his image, seeing the poorest man is created for the selfe same principall end that the mightiest and richest is. *Aristotle* graunteth this, that although a Master is not bound in any respect to his Vassall, so farre foorth as he is a Vassall, yet because slaues are men, he is of opinion, that all lawes of humanity ought to be kept with them. What then ought we to doe such as submit themselves freely vnto vs, to whom also we are vnited and linked by Christian charity, as as to brethren, and inheritors of the same goods and promises? And yet wee see that masters fall into bitter anger, cry out, offer outrage, vse violence, and lay hands on their seruants vpon small or no occasion at all, as if they were vnreasonable creatures, yea handling them woorse then they doe their brute beasts. That this is true, wee see not one of them but he hath great care that his horses bee well fedde, dailie looked vnto, harnessed and decked. Besides, hee taketh great heede that they bee not tired, nor overlaboured, but as for their seruants they

The question of Interest hath weighry reason on both sides. An ancient law against vsurie.

The law Genutia fobad all vsurie.

Exod. 22. 25.
Deut. 23. 19.

The praise of husbandry.

What good husbandry is.

Of the Masterly part of a house.

Instructions touching the duty of a master towards her seruants.

The poore & rich are both created to one end.

Against rigorous masters.

Two proper-
ties requisite
in a master.

Servants
must not be
defrauded of
their pay.

Of the Pa-
rentall part of
a house.
The differ-
ence be-
tweene com-
manding over
a wife & over
children.
The word Fa-
ther is a king-
ly and sacred
title.

Youth is the
seede of the
common
wealth.

they neither spare nor comfort them one whit, nor haue any respect to their ease and rest. For mine owne part, I thinke that such masters deserue rather to be seized vpon, as mad men, than admonished as sociable persons. I wish therefore, that every master of a house had these two properties in him: namely, that with all clemencie and meekenesse hee would vse the seruice and obedience of them that are vnder him, by considering of them with reason, and by looking rather to the good affection and desert of his seruant, than to the great and profitable seruice, which he draweth from him. The other point is, that the master vsing the sweate and seruice of his, should not seeme to be displeased, testie, or hard content, but rather alwaies shew forth a gentle kinde of fauour and curtesie, or at least a seuerer familiaritie, seasoned with a cheerefull and merrie countenance. Whosoever shew themselves to bee such men, besides the glory which they shall obtaine by being taken generally for gentle and curteous men, their household seruants will loue them the more, and will reuerence them as their fathers, not standing in such awe and feare of them, as men commonly doe of intollerable tyrants. Moreover, as this assembly of a master and of seruants tendeth, as euery other societie also, vnto some good end, the master hauing regard to that which concerneth him and his house, and his seruants to the hope of profit and commoditie; order must be taken, that they, which haue with all carefulnesse discharged their dutie, and yeelded that fidelitie and diligence that is requisite to their superiour, be not defrauded of the price, reward, hire, and desert of their trauels. For if wee thinke it great villanie to rob another man, let vs esteeme it nothing lesse to keepe backe the fruit of life, and to defraude the labours, perils, watchings, and excessive cares of our seruants, in not recompencing them. Therefore concerning this part of a house, called the masterly part, wee will note this, that as the Ancients made their slaues free, thereby to draw from them voluntarie and vnconstrained seruice, and to deliuer themselves of that feare and distrust, which they alwaies had of their slaues, accounting that prouerbe true: *As many enemies as slaues*: so ought we to bring vp and to nourish our hired and mercinarie seruants which serue vs in these daies, with a free and liberall kind of loue, by dealing gratiouly with them, by perswading them with reason, and by rewarding them liberally: and this will induce them to serue, honour, and esteeme vs, as if our weale and wo were wholly common with them. The last part of the house remaineth now to be intreated of, which is the perfection thereof, and is called the Parentall part, comprehending vnder it, the Father and Mother, or one of them, with the children. The head of a familie (saith *Aristotle*) commandeth ouer wife and children, but ouer both, as free persons, and yet not after one and the same maner of commanding, but ouer the wife, according to gouernment vsed in a popular state, and ouer the children, royally or prince like. This commandement ouer the children, is called royall, because he that begetteth, commandeth by loue, and by the prerogative of age, which is a kind of kingly commanding. Therefore *Homer* called *Iupiter* the father of men and of the gods, that is, king of all. For a king must excell by nature, and must be of the same kind, as it is with the aged in respect of the yonger sort, and with him that begetteth in regard of his childe, ouer whom he ought to be as carefull, as a king is ouer his subiects. Vnto this part of the house a father of a family must haue a carefull eie, because hereupon chiefly dependeth the honour and quietnesse of his house, & the discharge of his dutie towards God and his countrie: namely, by making his children honest and of good conditions. As the desire and pricke of nature (saith *Dion*) driueth vs forward to beget children: so is it a testimonie of true loue and charitie, to bring them vp, and to intreate them after a free maner, and to instruct them well. Therefore a Father of a family shall satisfie his duty concerning this part of a house, by the good education and instruction of his children, and by exercising them in vertue. For manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in vs by long tract of time, and vertues are gotten by custome, care, and diligence. Hereafter wee are to consider more amply and particularly of the instruction of youth, and therefore at this time wee shall content our selues with the giuing of certaine generall precepts, worthy to bee diligently obserued of euery good Father of a family towards his children. For in vaine (saith *Plato*) doth hee hope for a haruest, that hath beene negligent in sowing. I say, he must bee passing carefull, and imploy all possible labour, that his children and youth may bee well instructed, because they are the seede corne of the citie: in somuch that carefull heede is to bee had euen of their words, gestures, sports, and other actions, that nothing may leadethem vnto vice. For otherwise if no reckoning be made of this age, a man shall labour no lesse in vaine to prescribe good lawes for them after ward, than the Physitian doth that ministreth plenty of medicines to a diseased partie that

that keepeth no diet at all. The best gifts of nature, if they bee not well trimmed and looked vnto, become naught at the first, and afterward passing euill. Therefore a father of a familie ought not to bee more carefull of any thing than of the bringing vp of his children according to whose good or euill education, the whole house will bee gouerned. This first institution of their life from the first age, is called discipline, which by little and little leadeth the spirit of the childe to the loue of vertue, even of that vertue, whereby beeing come to mans estate, hee knoweth both how to commaund, and how to obey, and to follow after nothing but that which the law commaundeth and affirmeth to be good. The vices of children are swords which passeth through the hearts of their fathers, who are for the most part the cause of them through their negligence in correcting them, & ouer great liberty which they grant to this age that needeth a stay and bridle, yea spurres, whereby to be broken and made tractable, as men vse to deale with young Colts. Therefore *Plato* said, that it is not in our owne power to cause our children to be borne such as we would haue them, but yet that it lieth in vs to make them good. Whereunto this will be a good meane, if from their young yeares we imprint in their hearts a loue, feare, and reuerence of vs. For if these things concur not together in the childe's heart, he will neuer yeeld due obedience to his father. *Pythagoras* said that a prudent father was better to beliked than a cholerick, because prudence serueth to procure loue and good will in those that ought to obey: whereas choler maketh them odious that commaund, and causeth their admonitions to profite but little. For this cause *Aristotle* requireth perfection of morall vertue in a father of a familie, saying: that his office is a kinde of building, and that reason is as it were the builder, by whome hee guideth and bringeth that Oeconomical worke to his perfection. And indeede the Ancients tooke great pains in teaching their children themselves, not suffering them to be far from their presence during their youth, because they iugded (and that vpon good reason) that sonne like respect and loue were good prickcs to driue them forward to the study of vertue. And no doubt but if a skilfull Father would execute this duty of instructing his childe in knowledge and learning, hee would conceiue and take it a great deale better of him than of any other. Therefore *Marcus, Portius, Cato*, would needs beschoole master to his owne children, which institution did greatly auaille them, not so much because he was *Cato*, as because he was their father, whose vertue they imitated. *Iulius Caesar* adopted his nephew *Octavian*, and brought him vp himselfe. Which did him so much good, that beeing come to the Empire, hee was called *Augustus* for his goodnes. He also performed as much afterward to his nephews *Lucius* and *Caius*, whom in like manner, he had adopted. *Noah, Lot, Iacob*, and all the fathers, instructed their children themselves: and God commaunded the Israelites in the wilderness to teach their children the Law, which themselves had receiued from their fathers. To this purpose an ancient man saide, that it was the greatest sloth that could be, for a man to be negligent towards his children, and to teach them nothing. Great heed therefore must be taken, that they be not left to the gouernment of their owne fantasie, considering that youth is very tender to resist vice, and of it self vn capable of counsel. *Withhold not* (saith the wise man) *correction from the childe: for in smiting with the rodde, thou shalt deliuer his soule from hell. He that spareth his rodde hateth his son, but he that loueth him, chasteneth him betime.* As an vntamed horse becometh fierce: so a child suffered to doe what hee list, waxeth rebellious. If thou bring vp thy sonne delicately, hee shall make thee afraid, and if thou play with him, hee shall bring thee to heauines. Giue him no libertie in his youth and wink not at his folly. Bow downe his necke while he is yong, & beate him on the sides while he is a child, least he waxe stubborne, and be disobedient vnto thee, & so bring sorrow to thy hart. And yet I would not that fathers should be ouer sharpe and hard to their children, not bearing with any fault in them. But as phisitions mingling and steeping their bitter drugs with some sweete iuice, haue found the meanes to make a passage for profite through the middest of pleasure: so must fathers intermingle the sharpenes of their reprehensions and corrections with the facility of clemency, and sometime let loose a little the bridle to the desires of their children, so that they wander not farre from that which becommeth them. Againe they must by and by let downe the button, and holde them harde in with the bridle, but yet supporting gently and patiently their faults committed through youth, and not of malice. And if it be so that they cannot but be angry, at the least let their anger be presently appeased, For it is better that a father should be quickly angry (although that it be an imperfection) so that he be soone pacified, than to be slow to anger and hardly brought to forgiue. But if a father be so seuer that he will forget nothing, & be neuer reconciled, it is a great argument that he hateth his children. And then he maketh

The gifts of vertue are soone corrupted.

A father must be loued, feared, and reuerenced of his children.

The office of a father resembled to buildings.

A child will learne better of this father than of any other.

M. Caro.
I. Caesar.

Augustus.
Noah, Lot, Iacob, &c.
God commaunded fathersto instruct their children.

Prou. 23. 13.
14. & 13. 24.
Correction necessary for children.
Ecclus. 30. 8.
9. 11. 12.

Seuerity must be mingled with clemency in the correcting of children.

The fathers
life must be a
mirror of ver-
tue to the
childe.

When fathers
may be iustly
charged with
their chil-
drens faults.

1. Sam. 2. 13.
The storie of
a father ap-
pointed to ex-
ecute his own
childe.
A father must
bring vp his
children in
mutuall loue.

Ælius Tubero

Eph. 6. 9.

himselfe vnworthy of so excellent and diuine a name, shewing forth effects cleane contrary thereunto whereas parents commonly loue their children too much, and vse towards them rather too much lenitie, than iust seuerity. *Oh how the father (saith Seneca, speaking of one that thrust his sonne out of his house) cutteth off his limmes with great grieve, how many sighs he fetcheth in cutting them off, and how earnestly he wisheth to haue them againe in their place?* Moreover, fathers must haue a speciall care, that they commit no fault, nor omit any thing appertaining to their duty, to the ende they may be liuely examples to their children, that looking into their life, as into a cleare glasse, they may abstaine after their example from speaking any thing that bringeth shame. Again we know, that all those fathers which leade an euill life, leaue not to themselves any courage so much as to reprove their slaues onely, so farre off are they, that they can frankly chide their children. And which is woorst of all, by their naughty life they are vnto them in stead of Masters and counsellors of ill doing. For where old men are shamelesse, there it must needes be, that young men become impudent and graceles. Fathers therefore must strue to doe whatsoever their duty requireth, that their children may waxe wise and well quallified. This wee may comprehend in few words: namely, if they bring them vp well in their infancie, and let them haue due correction in their youth. Which two things being neglected of fathers, the faults of their children are for the most part iustly imputed vnto them. *Hely the Priest was not punished for any sinne which himselfe had committed, but because hee winked at the sinnes of his children. Wee reade in the storie of the Heluitians or Switzers, of the iudgement of a tyrant condemned to death, where order was taken that the execution thereof should bee done by the father, who was the cause of his euill education: that hee might come to his death by the author of his life, and that the father might in some sort bee punished for his negligence used towards his child.* Moreover, they that haue many children must bee passing carefull to bring them vp in mutuall friendship, causing them to giue each to other that honour and duty, vnto which nature bindeth them, and sharply chaffising those that in any respect offend therein. The Ephories of Lacedæmonia long since condemned a notable citizen in a very great summe, when they vnder stood that he suffered two of his children to quarrell together. The best meane which I find to auoide so great an euill, is to loue and intreate them all alike, and to accustome them to giue honour, dutie, and obedience one to another according to their degrees of age. They must remooue from them all partialities and not suffer them to haue any thing seuerall or deuided one from another, that as it were in one heart and will all things may bee common amongst them. Example hereof was that good father of a familie *Ælius Tubero*, who had sixteene children of his owne body, all of them married, and dwelling all in one house with their children, and liuing with him in all peace and concord. For the conclusion therefore of our present discourse, we learne, that a father of a family must begin the gouernment of his house with himselfe, and become an example to his of all honestie and vertue. That he must not neglect the care of providing goods, and necessary meanes for the maintenance of his family, remembring alwaies that in nothing he go beyond the bounds of that seemlines & decency, which duty hath limited, and prescribed vnto him. That he ought to loue and to intreate his seruants curteously, putting away threatnings, (as it is said in the Scripture) and knowing that both their and his master is in heaven, with whom there is no respect of persons. And for the last point, that it belongeth to his duty to bring vp his children in the holy instruction and information of the Lord, not prouoking them to wrath, that God may be glorified, and he their father may reioyce in the presence of his friends, and that his countrey generally may receiue benefit, profit, and commoditie.

Of the dutie of children towards their parents: of the mutuall loue that ought to be among brethren: of the dutie of seruants towards their masters. Chap. 50.

ACHIL-
TOB.

Vpon a day when one said in the hearing of *Theopompus* king of Sparta, that the estate of that city was preserued in such flourishing manner, because the kings knew how to commaund well, the Prince replied that it was not so much for that cause, as because the citizens knew how to obey well. And to speake the truth, to obey Obedience is well (as also the vertue of commanding) is a great vertue, and proceedeth from a nature, which a great vertue. beeing noble of it selfe is holpen by good education. Therefore *Aristotle* said, that it

was necessary that he which obeieth should be vertuous as well as he that commandeth. Now seeing we haue intreated of the duty of a father and head of a familie, exercising his office vpon all the parts of his house, let vs now consider of the duty and obedience that is requisite in seruants and children, and of the mutuall & reciprocall amity which ought to be between brethren, desirous to preferue the bond of Oeconomical society in a happy estate.

A SER. Children (saith the Scripture) *obey your parents in all things: for that is well pleasing vnto the Lord. Honour thy father and mother* (which is the first commandment with promise) *that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth.*

A MAN A. Who so honoreth his father, his sinnes shall bee forgiven him, and he shall abstaine from them, & shall haue his daily desires. And he that honoreth his mother, is like one that gathereth treasure. And you seruants be subiect to your masters with all feare, not onely to the good and courteous, but also to the forward. Let vs then heare **ARAM** discourse more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. Nature (saith *Plutarke*) and the law which preserveth nature, hath giuen the first place of reuerence and honour after God, vnto the father and mother: and men cannot doe any seruice more acceptable to God, than graciously and louingly to pay to their parents that begotte them, and to them that brought them vp, the vsury of new and olde graces which they haue lent them: as contrariwise, there is no signe of an Atheist more certaine, than for a man to set light by, and to offend his parents. The father is the true image of the great and soueraign God, the vniuersall Father of all things, as *Proclus* the Academicke saide. Yea the child holdeth his life of the Father next after God, and whatsoever else he hath in this world. Therefore a man is forbidden to hurt others, but it is accounted great impiety and sacriledge for a man not to shew himselfe ready to doe and to speake all things, I will not say, whereby they can receiue no displeasure, but whereby they may not receiue pleasure. And indeed one of the greatest good turnes that wee can doe to those of whom wee are descended, is not to make them sad. Which cannot possibly be done, if God the leader & guid to all knowledge, disposeth not the mind to all honest things. The children of wisdom are the Church of the righteous, and their offspring is obedience and loue. Children beare the iudgement of your father, and doe thereafter, that you may bee safe. For the Lord will haue the father honoured of the children, and hath confirmed the authority of a mother ouer the children. Hee that honoureth his father shall haue ioy of his owne children, and when hee maketh his prayer hee shall bee heard. Hee that honoureth his father shall haue long life, and hee that is obedient to the Lord, shall comfort his mother. Hee that feareth the Lord, honoureth his parents, and doth seruice vnto his parents, as vnto Lords. Honour thy father and mother indeede and in word, and in all patience, that thou mayest haue the blessing of God, and that his blessing may abide with thee in the ende. For the blessing of the father establisheth the house of the children, and the mothers curse rooteth out the foundations. Helpe thy father in his age, and grieue him not as long as he liueth. And if his vnderstanding faile, haue patience with him, and despise him not when thou art in thy full strength. For the good intreatie of thy father shall not bee forgotten, but it shall bee a fortresse for thee against sinnes. In the day of trouble thou shalt bee remembered, thy sinnes also shall melt away, as the ice in faire weather. He that forsaketh his father shall come to shame, and hee that angreth his mother is cursed of God. By these holy speeches wee see how we ought to loue, honor, reuerence, and feare our parents. This is comprehended vnder the first commandment of the second table, and this onely of all the tenne articles of the Decalogue beareth his reward with him, albeit no recompence is due to him that is bound to doe any thing, namely, by so straight a bond as this whereof all lawes both diuine and humane are full, and the law of nature also doth plentifully instruct vs therein, as it hath beene diligently obserued of very Infidels, Ethnikes, and Pagans. Amongst the Lacedemonians this custom took place, that the younger sort rose vp from their seats before the aged. Whereof when one asked the cause of *Teleucus*. It is (quoth he) to the end that in doing this honor to whom it belongeth not, they should learne to yeeld great honor to their parents. The arrogancy of a child was the cause that one of the Ephorians published the Law of Testaments, whereby it was permitted to euery one from that time forward to appoint who he would his heire. This law serued well to make children obedient & seruiceable to their parents, & to cause them to be afraid of displeasing them. Among the Romanes the childe was not admitted to pleade his fathers will after his death by way of action, but only by waie of request, vsing very humble, honorable, & reuerent spech of his dead father, and leauing his whole matter to the discretion and religion of the iudges. Contend not with thy father (saide *Pittacus* the wise) although thou halt in cause of complaint: And therefore *Teleucus* answered aptly to on, who complained vnto him, that his father

Col. 3. 20.

Eph. 6. 2.

Obedience to

parenta com-

manded of

God. *ambr*

Eccles. 3. 45.

1. Pet. 2. 18.

Obedience to

masters com-

manded of

God.

Reuerence to

parents placed

next to the ho-

nor due to

God. *ambr*

A token of

an Atheist.

A father is

the image of

God.

The fifth co-

mandement

only hath a

speciall pro-

mise annexed

vnto it.

Eph. 6. 2.

The law of

Testaments to

keep children

in awe.

Children

might not sue

out their liue-

ries by way of

action but of

request.

alwaies

The duty of children towards their parents.

Humilitie towards parents most commendable. The description of a disobedient child.

The mother is no lesse to be honoured than the father.

The blessings and cursings of parents towards their children is of great waight. *Torquatus.*

An example of great loue in a childe towards his father.

Another of a daughter towards her father.

Children can not please their parents better than to loue one another.

alwaies speake ill of him : If (quoth hee) there were no cause to speake ill of thee he would not doe it. So that it belongeth to the duty of a child to beleue that his father hath alwaies right, and that age and experience hath endued him with greater knowledge of that which is good, than they that are of yonger yeares. *Philelpbus* said, that although wee could not possibly render the like good turnes to our parents, nor satisfie those obligations by which wee stand bound vnto them, yet wee must do the best we can vnto them : wee must intreate them curteously and louingly, and not goe farre from them : wee must hearken vnto their instructions, and bee obedient to their commandements : wee must not gaine-say their deliberations and wils, no more than the will of God, whether it bee that wee are to depart from them, or to tarry still, or to enter into some calling agreeable to the will of God : wee must not stand in contention with them when they are angry, but suffer and beare patiently, if they threaten or correct vs. And if they bee offended with vs when wee thinke there is no cause why, yet wee must not lay vs downe to rest before wee haue by all kinde of honest submissions appeased them. Humilitie is alwaies commendable, but especially towards our parents. The more wee abase our selues before them, the more wee increase in glory and honour, before God and men. This is very badly put in vre at this day, when the sonne doth not onely not honour his father, but euen dishonoureth him, and is ashamed of him. Hee is so farre from louing him, that hee rather hateth him, so farre from fearing him, that contrariwise hee mocketh and contemneth him : and in stead of seruing and obeying him, hee riseth vp and conspireth against him. If hee bee angry, hee laboureth to anger him more : briefly, scarce any duty of a childe towards his father is seene now adayes. And if some priot thereof be found in any towards his father, yet it is cleane put out in regard of the mother : as if hee that commanded vs to honour our father did not presently say, *and thy mother*, vnto whom in truth wee owe no lesse honour, respect, and obedience, than to our father, as well in regard of the commandement of God, as of the vnspeakeable paines and travell which shee suffered in bearing and bringing vs into the world, in giuing vs sucke, and in nourishing vs. But alas, what shall wee say of those that spoile their parents of their goods, houses and commodities, and desire nothing more than their death, that they may freely-enioy, euen that which oftentimes their parents haue purchased for them ? O execrable impiety ! It is vnworthy to bee once thought vpon amongst vs, & the iudgement of God doth of it selfe sufficiently appeare vpon such cursed children. Whose behaviour that it may bee more odious vnto vs, let vs learne of *Pittacus*, that our children will bee such towards vs as wee haue beene towards our parents. But let vs bee more afraid to prouoke our fathers in such sort through our default vnto wrath, that in stead of blessing vs, they fall to curse vs. For (as *Plato* saith) there is no praier which God heareth more willingly than that of the father for the children. And therefore speciall regard is to bee had vnto the cursings and blessings, which fathers lay vpon their children. Which was the cause (as the Scripture teacheth vs) that children in old time were so iealous one of another who should carrie away the fathers blessing, and that they stood in greater feare of their curse, than of death it selfe. *Torquatus* the younger beeing banished from his fathers house, flue himselfe for griefe thereof. And to alleadge another example out of the writings of ancient men, of the loue which they bare to their fathers, that of *Antigonus* the second sonne of *Demetrius*, is most worthy to bee noted. For when his father beeing prisoner sent him word by one of his acquaintance to giue no credite, nor to make account of any letters from him, if it so fell out that *Seleucus*, whose prisoner hee was, should compell him thereunto, and therefore that hee should not deliuer vp any of those Townes which hee held : *Antigonus* contrariwise wrote to *Seleucus*, that hee would yeeld vp vnto him all the lands hee had vnder his obedience, and would also himselfe become his pledge, if hee would deliuer his father. Wee may not heere passe over with silence the rare example of daughter-like piety, with which all the painters in the world haue set forth their science, I meane of the daughter that gaue sucke to her father who was condemned to die of that ancient and vsuall punishment of famine, which neuer suffereth a sound man to passe the seauenth day. The iailour espying this act of piety gaue notice thereof to the magistrates, which beeing knowne to the people, the daughter obtained pardon for her fathers life. Moreover, seeing wee must labour to obey and to please our parents in all things, it is certaine that no action, gift or disposition in vs is more acceptable, or contenteth them better than to see good will, and an assured and certaine friendship among brethren. Which may easily bee knowne by these contrarie signes. For if parents are offended when their children offer wrong to a seruant whom they loue, and if hearty olde men are grieved when no account

is made of a dogge or horſe bredde in their houſe, and are vexed when they ſee their children mocke and deſpiſe thoſe paſtimes, ſtories, and other ſuch like things which they ſometime loued, is it likely that they could patiently abide to ſee their children whom they loue beſt of all, to hate one another, to be alwaies quarrelling one with another, to ſpeak ill one of another, and in all their enterpriſes and actions to bee diuided, and ſet one againſt another, and to ſeek to ſupplant and deſeate each other? I thinke no man will affirme it. Therefore contrariwiſe we may iudge, that thoſe brethren which loue and cheriſh one another, which ioine together in one bond of ſelfe ſame wiſe, ſtudies and affections, that which nature had diſioyned and ſeparated in bodies, and laſtly, which haue all their talke, exerciſes, plaies, and paſtimes common amongſt them, they I ſay vndoubtedly giue occaſion to their parents of a ſweete and happy contentation in their old age for this brotherly friendſhip. For no father (ſaith *Plutarke*) euer loued learning, honour or ſiluer ſo much as he did his children. And therefore they neuer tooke ſo great pleaſure to ſee their children good orators, rich, or placed in great office, and dignities, as to ſee them loue one another. To this purpoſe one rehearſeth that *Apollonida* mother to king *Eumenes* and to three other of his brethren, accounted her ſelfe happy as ſhee ſaid, and gaue great thanks to God, not for her riches or principality, but becauſe ſhee ſaw her three yonger ſonnes, as it were a gard to their elder brother, who liued freely and moſt ſafely in the middeſt of them with their ſwords by their ſides, and and their iauelins in their hands. Contrariwiſe, when king *Xerxes* perceiued, that his ſonne *Ochus* lay in waite for his brethren to put them to death, hee died for diſpleaſure thereof. Therefore *Enripides* ſaid, that warres betweene brethren are grieuous, but moſt of all to their parents: becauſe he that hateth his brother and cannot abide to looke vpon him, muſt needs alſo be offended with him that begat him, and her that bare him. Whereas good children that loue one another for the loue of their parents, are ſo much the more prouoked to loue and honour them, ſaying and thinking alwaies with themſelues, that they are bound vnto them for many cauſes, but chiefly in regard of their brethren, who are vnto them as precious, pleaſant and gracious an inheritance as any they could receiue from them. This meant *Homer* to teach vs when he brought in *Telemachus* reckoning this amongſt his calamities, that *Iupiter* had ended the race of his father in him, and had not giuen him a brother. Let vs not then doubt, but that this is a certaine demonſtration to the parents that their childe loveth them, when he loveth his brethren. And this alſo ſerueth for as great an example and inſtruction to his children to loue one another, as any can be. Therefore let vs vnterly baniſh away all hatred of our brethren, which is both condemned by God who commendeth aboue all things conſcorde vnto vs, and alſo a naughty nurſe for the olde age of fathers and mothers, and a worſe for the yong yeares of children. And ſeeing wee are about this matter of brotherly loue, ſo precious and excellent, whereunto now adaiies men haue ſo ſmall regard, I thinke we ought to inſiſt and ſtand longer vpon it, and alledge ſome precepts and examples of ancient men, whereby to confirme vs in it more and more. Firſt, nature hath bred from from our birth in regard of vs the beginning and occaſion of this amity, and hath taken away from our iudgement all former motions, to procure loue. Therefore wee muſt beware that we ſeek not too exactly after the faults and imperfections one of another, but couer and beare with them, becauſe they are of our owne blood: knowing that no mans life can be ſincere and cleane from all vice, ſo that we were better to ſupport the domeſticall imperfections of our brethren, than to make triall of thoſe that are in ſtrangers. That brother (ſaith *Plutarke*) that warreth with his brother, and ſeeketh to procure a ſtranger to friend, ſeemeth to me to cut off voluntarily a member of his owne fleſh belonging to him, that hee may applie and faſten to that place one taken from another mans body. Wee note alſo that nothing more preſerueth the loue of brethren, than to haue the ſame common friends. For ſeueral familiarity, conuerſation and company keeping turneth aſide and alienateth them one from another, becauſe thereby they acquaint themſelues with diuers natures, and take pleaſure in things that are contrary. But there is a further matter in it. For as tin doth ſoder and ioine together broken copper, by touching both ends of the broken peeces, becauſe it agreeth as well with the one as with the other: ſo a common friend ſerueth to confirme, to preſerue, to increaſe and to reunite their mutuall friendſhip and good will, when vpon light occaſion ſometimes it is as it were in danger of breaking. Which is ſo much the more to bee feared, as it is certaine, that all enmitie breedeth within our ſoules a thouſand paſſions that torment vs, but eſpecially that enmitie which a man beareth towards his brother, as that which is moſt prodigious and againſt nature. And as bodies

Xerxes, when he ſaw his ſonne *Ochus* lay in waite for his brethren to put them to death, hee died for diſpleaſure thereof.

Telemachus.

The beginning of brotherly loue is in our naturall.

The benefice that cometh to brethren by having common friends.

Enmitie betweene brethren is prodigious and againſt nature.

It is a hard
matter to re-
concile bre-
thren once
fallen at vari-
ance.

How brethren
must behaue
themselves in
the partition
of lands and
goods.

Examples of
brotherly
loue.

Ariamenes.

Xerxes.

Antiochus.

Athenodorus.

that were once ioyned together, if the glew or band waxe loose, may bee ioyned and glewed againe; but if a naturall body breake or rent asunder, it is hard to finde any soder that is able to reunite and knit them well together againe: so those mutuall friendships, which wee contract voluntarily with such as are not of kin or allied vnto vs, if peradventure they fall asunder sometimes, may easily be ouertaken againe; but when brethren are once estranged and fallen from that loue whereby nature doth necessarily linke them one with another, they are hardly reconciled againe together. And if they be friends againe, yet it is alwaies with some distrust and suspition. Questionlesse it is impossible but that affaires should breed in these times wherein we liue, many occasions of dissention and debate betweene brethren, namely, for goods and successions, as this word of *Parting* importeth, and bringeth with it diuision, every one being desirous to haue his owne. But herein also they must suffer their matters to fight by themselves, without adding any headstrong passion, couetousnesse, or choler, which are as a hooke that taketh hold of them, and seeketh to set them together by the eares. They must, as it were in a balance consider ioynly together on which side right and equity declineth, and as soone as they can possible, let them remit the iudgement and deciding of their controuersies to the arbitrement of some good men. Yea, a good brother ought rather to reioyce and boast that he hath overcome and gone beyond his brother, in gracious behauiour, in curtesie, in voluntary giuing of place, and in euery good duty towards him, than in the diuision of some goods. Now let vs vs consider of some notable examples amongst the Ancients, of great brotherly loue. Although we had searched all histories, yet could we not finde a more memorable act, or worthy to be set forth at this day, and to be rather followed especially of the greater sort, who quartell for their possessions and reuenues, than that which fell out betweene the children of *Darius* monarch of the Persians. *Ariamenes* the eldest, and *Xerxes* the younger, being in great strife together for the succession of the Empire, the eldest alleadged, his birth right; the younger, that he was the sonne of *Atossa*, daughter to *Cyrus* the Great, and that he was borne since his father was crowned king, and so next inheritor of the kingdom now that *Cambyses* was dead. Each of them had great confederates, and many Persian lords were diuided into factions about this matter. But *Ariamenes* came out of Media, not in armes to make warre, although he had great meanes thereunto, but onely with his ordinarie traine, as one that purposed to pursue his right by way of iustice. *Xerxes* before his brothers comming, exercised in Persia all duties belonging to a king: but as soone as his brother was arriued, hee willingly put off his kingly diademe and hat, and went out to meete him and to imbrace him. After that he sent presents vnto him, with commandement giuen to those that bare them, to say vnto him in this manner: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with these presents, but if by the sentence and iudgement of the princes and lords of Persia he be declared king, his will is that thou shouldest be the second person in Persia after him. *Ariamenes* returned this answer, I receiue my brothers gifts with all my heart, and thinke that the kingdom of Persia belongeth to me: but as concerning my brethren, I will giue them that dignitie and honour that is due vnto them next to my selfe, and to *Xerxes* first of all. Now after that by their common consent *Artabanus* their vncle had decided and brought to an end their controuersie, and adiudged the kingdom to *Xerxes*; *Ariamenes* presently arose from his seate and went to doe homage to his brother, and taking him by the right hand, led him to his royall and kingly throne. From that time forward he was alwaies the greatest next vnto him, and shewed himselfe so well affected towards his right, that in the Salamine battell by Sea hee died, fighting valiantly in his seruice. *Antiochus* surnamed the Holy, making warre with his elder brother for his part in the kingdom of Macedonia, declared euen in his ambition, that all brotherly loue was not quite extinguished and cleane put out in him. For in the hottest time of their warre, when his brother *Seleucus* had lost the battell with great destruction of his men, and was supposed to haue bene dead because no newes was heard of him: *Antiochus* put off his purple robe, and clothed him selfe in blacke, and shutting vp his pallace royall, mourned and lamented very much for his brother. But beeing afterward aduertised that hee was safe and sound and preparing another armie, hee went in open shew from his lodging, and sacrificed to the gods by way of thanksgiuing, commanding the Townes that were vnder his iurisdiction to offer the like sacrifices, and to weare hattes of flowers in token of publicke ioy. *Athenodorus* the Grecian hauing a brother elder than himselfe, called *Zeno*, who beeing conuicted of a certaine crime, had lost all his goods by confiscation, parted againe with him all his owne goods, and gaue vnto him the iust halfe. When the

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king of Lydia demaunded of *Pittacus* whether hee had any goods, yea (quoth hee) twice so much more than I would I had, being heire to my brother that is dead. The loue of that Persian woman, of whom *Plutarke* maketh mention, was very great, who being asked why she had rather saue the life of her brother than of her owne sonne, because (quoth she) I may well haue more children, but no more bretheren, seeing my father and mother are both dead. How much more then ought wee to preferre our brethren before all other our friends and acquaintaunce. For many may be gotten of this kind, and others if these fail: but it is no more possible to get a new brother, than to get an hand again that is cut off, or an eie that is plucked out. *Agrippa*, brother in law to the Emperor *Augustus*, vsed to say that hee was greatly beholding to that sentence of *Salust*, Small things increase by concord, but perish through discord: because it procured vnto him all his wealth, by seeking to liue in peace and friendship with his brother, and with euery one. This is that which *Scilurus* leauing behinde him foure score male children, meant to teach them, and how they should be invincible being ioyned and vnited together, by offering to each of them a bundle of darts to breake, which when they could not doe, he brake them one after another before their eies, I would further enlarge this discourse with examples of the loue of brethren, shining greatly in ages past, were it not that wee must heere speake somewhat of the duty and obedience of seruants towards their masters, according to that order which was propounded vnto vs. This wee will briefly comprehend in foure generall points. The first is, that they must be preest and alwaies ready, to put in execution their masters will and commaundement, and to doe their businesse most diligently, not being slothfull, slacke and negligent, nor doing any thing grutchingly. The second point is, that they must be faithfull vnto them, not beguiling nor defrauding them of any thing, not affirming that before their faces to flatter them, which they will vsaie behinde their backes. The third thing is, that they must seeke their masters profite and commoditie more then there owne, and take good heed that no harme, losse, or trouble come vnto them. And if any goe about to procure any such thing they must vndertake the defence thereof diligently, even to the hazzarding of their liues if neede bee. The last point which good seruants are to keepe, is to vse a double silence: the first, that they reply not againe to their masters commaundements, although sometimes they suppose that they know better what is to bee done than they that commaund them. The second, that they reueale not to others their masters secrets, nor shew them out of his house. To bee short, wee cannot giue them better instruction than that of Saint *Col. 3. 22. 23.* *Paul*, saying, *Seruants bee obedient vnto them that are your masters according to the flesh in all things, 24. not with eie seruice as men pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And what soeuer yee do, doe it hartlie, as to the Lord, and not vnto men, knowing that of the Lord yee shall receiue the reward of inheritance for ye serue the Lord Iesus Christ. And else where he exhorteth them againe to be subiect to their masters, and to please them in all things, not answering againe, neither pickers, but that they may shew all good faithfulness, that they may adorne the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.* Now for examples to all seruants that are desirous to effect their duty towards their masters, wee will propound two, the one old, the other of late yeeres, which giue sufficient testimony of a sonnelike rather then of a seruite affection. *Antonius* being overcome of *Augustus*, and despairing of his safety, vrged the promise of *Eros* his seruant in whom he trusted, because he had giuen his faith long before that hee would kill him when he required the same at his hands. But the seruant drawing his sword, and holding it out as though he would haue killed him, turned his face on the one side, and thrust it into himselfe cleane through his body. *Maurice* duke of Saxonic being in Hungarie against the Turke, and walking out of the campe only with his seruant, was set vpon by certaine Turkes, and his horse being slaine, he was throwen to the ground. But his seruant cast himselfe vpon him, covered and defended him with his body, instained and kept backe the enemies vntill certaine horsemen came and saued the Prince, but died himselfe not long after being wounded on euery side. Therefore to end our present discourse, let vs learne, that it is a great and commendable vertue, and be seeming euery good and gentle nature, to know how to obey well, and to giue honour and service to those that occupy the degree of fathers, Lords, and masters ouer vs, as also to loue our brethren with an indissoluble loue, to reverence one an other, the younger honouring the elder, and the elder yeelding all duties of sincere loue to the younger. Let vs not be lesse afraid of the curse repeated so often in the Scripture against disobedient children than the Ancients were of that law which condemned them to be stoned to death when they would not obey the voice of their parents, nor harken vnto them when they instructed them, but

Pittacus.

Great loue of a Persian woman towards her brother.

Agrippa.

Scilurus left 80. sons behinde him.

The duty of seruants comprehended in foure parts.

Tit. 2. 9. 10.

Examples of the loue of seruants towards their masters.

Eros the seruant of Antonius.

The seruant of Maurice duke of Saxonic.

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let vs much more feare that punishment which will continue for ever, where there will bee weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Of the education and instruction of Children. Chap. 51.

A R A M. **V**Vhen weintreated of the dutie of a father of a family towards his children, we said, that the chiefe marke whereat hee ought to aime, was to make them honest and good of condition, which was to be performed by instruction and good bringing vp in the knowledge and exercise of vertue. Now because the chiefe foundation of a happie life, is good instruction begun in youth, so that if the infancy of any be well brought vp (as *Plato* saith) the rest of his life can not but bee good, wee ought as I thinke (my Companions) to take this matter againe in hand to follow and handle it more at large, to the end to prouoke fathers and all such as haue authoritie ouer the yonger sort, to be carefull and diligent in the well ordering of the seede of youth, which is the spring and roote of all prosperitie both publike and priuate.

the chiefe
foundation of
a happie life.

A father of a
familie must
be most care-
full to bring
vp his youth.

A fit compa-
rison.

The spring of
corruption in
common-
wealths.

Lawes that
constrained
fathers to see
their children
instructed.
The law.
Falcidia.

A worthy act
of Traian
and Adrian.

Crates pro-
clamation
most necessa-
ry for these
times.

Buill educati-
on corrupteth
a good nature

A C H I T O B. Wee must not (saith *Plato*) bee more carefull of any thing whatsoever, than of the good education of children. For if vpon their good bringing vp they become moderate and staied men, they will easily discerne every thing that is good. And if good wits haue like education they will grow from better to better every day.

A S E R. The beginning, middle, and ending of a happie life (saith *Plutarke*) consisteth in good education and bringing vp. But it belongeth to thee **A M A N A** to instruct vs in this so excellent a matter.

A M A N A. As a man cannot reape good wheat if hee hath not sowne good seede, nor gather good fruit of his trees, if he had no care at the beginning to dresse them well, nor to graft them with good sciences after wrrd: so the corruption of mans nature, which of it selfe is more enclined to euill than to good, hindreth vertue from taking sure footing and roote in the soules of men, if they be not from their very youth well and diligently instructed, stirred vp, and pricked forward to that which is honest and decent. And truly that common-wealth is most miserable, wherein this tillage of infancy is neglected. For from this fountaine proceede rebellions, seditions, open murders, contempt of lawes and commandements of Princes, pollings, briberies, heresies, and Atheisme. Therefore nothing was more esteemed from time to time among the Ancients, than the institution of youth, which *Plato* calleth *Discipline*, whereby children are led to this reason, not to follow any thing but that which the law commandeth and alloweth for good. The Monarchie of the Persians, the common-wealth of the Lacedæmonians, and since, that also of the Romanes had certaine lawes compelling fathers to provide that their children might be instructed, not suffering them to be cast away and corrupted to the detriment of the common-wealth. Amongst other lawes there was one called *Falcidia*, whereby it was enacted, that the childe should bee admonished for the first offence, chastised for the second, and for the third hanged, and his father banished, as if hee had beene partaker in the fault, for want of good education and instruction of his sonne. Heretofore wee heard many testimonies of the care and trauell which famous and worthy men tooke to instruct their children themselves. *Traian* the Emperour, and after him *Adrian* at their owne costes and charges caused five thousand noble mens children of Rome to bee brought vp in learning, vertue and feates of armes. Our ancient kings, knowing how necessary this education of youth was, builded long agoe and caused to be framed so many goodly Colledges as we see in the Vniuersities of France: yea, the monasteries were partly founded to this end. But how carefull are we at this day to imitate those Ancients in this earnestnes of good bringing vp of children in the studie of sciences and good discipline? Haue we not very good occasion to say with *Crates* the Philosopher, that it is most necessary that one should ascend vp into the highest place of this kingdome, and crie aloud: Oh ye men, whither doe ye throw your selues headlong, in taking all the paines that may beeto heape vp goods and treasures that perish, and in the meane while make no reckoning of your children, but suffer them to continue long, and to grow old in ignorance, which destroy them both body and soule, and turneth to the confusion and ouerthrow of your Countrey? For it is most certaine, that a good nature ill brought vp, waxeth very pernicious, and that the minds and hearts of men that are corruptly instructed, become most wicked. Doe you thinke (saith *Plato*) that execrable villanies and horrible vices proceede rather of a naughtie nature than

than of a noble nature corrupted with euill education? In like manner a good nature well tilled will attaine to the top of vertue, but if it be negligently looked vnto, it will be nothing but vice. But let vs see what goodly instructions the Ancients haue given concerning this matter. The same *Plato* was so carefull, and searched out so exactly the good education of children, as that which is as precious and necessary a thing as any can bee in the life of man, that he taketh them euen from their mothers wombe yea before they are begotten. First, hee willeth that the husband and wife that are desirous of children, should keep themselves from drunkenness, and from entring into the bed when they are cholerike and full of trouble, because that many times is the cause of vices in children. Next, he requireth that great belled women should giue themselves to walking, and beware of liuing either too delicately, or to sparingly: that they should haue quiet mindes, with many other things, which hee alleadgeth to that purpose. He saith also, that children being in their mothers wombe, receiue good and ill, as the fruites of the earth doe. After they are borne, hee carefully recommendeth their education. Wee will not here stand vpon many points to be obserued therein, as namely vpon the choice of Nurses, whereof few are ignorant, seeing it belongeth to the true and naturall office of euery mother to nourish that with her teate, which shee hath brought into the world, except there be some great and lawfull impediment. But let vs goe on with the saying of *Plato*. He chargeth nurses to leade their children oftentimes on their feete vntill they be three yeares old, because this moouing is very profitable for them. Hee forbiddeth much crying in children, because it breedeth in them a habite and custome of sadnesse. From three yeares to sixe, he would haue them moderately corrected when they commit a fault, and forbiddeth aboue all things to accustome them from that time forward vnto daintinesse, or to ouer great severity, saying, that delicatenesse maketh them froward, hard to please, cholericke, and soone moued: and that severity maketh them hard-hearted, cruell, abiect, base-minded, very blockes and fooles, and haters of men. At sixe yeares of age hee would haue them put apart from the daughters, and begin to learne to ride a horse, to shoote, to practise all kinde of feates of Armes, both with the right hand and with the left: to put in vnto all other exercises of moderate labour, that they may waxe strong, and acquainted with labour, and therefore to vse such laborious pastimes. But he expressly forbiddeth to change euery day for new, this age beeing very apt thereunto: saying, that nothing is more pernicious than to acquaint youth to despise antiquitie. But aboue all things, he commandeth that children should be so brought vp, that they be not constrained to any thing whatsoever they shall take in hand, but as it were in sport, that so euery ones nature may be knowne. Neither would hee haue them beaten without great discretion, because it is not seemely that a free man should learne liberall sciences by seruitude and compulsion. And in truth no science forced vpon a man, will continue stedfast with him. Moreouer, hee would haue them apply themselves to Musicke, both to sing hymns and songs to the praise of God, to laude and magnifie him, and to hope for all good successe from him, as also to recreate their spirits. Hee greatly misliketh in them sloth and too much sleepe, saying, that much sound sleepe is good neither for the bodie nor for the soule: that it is nothing profitable for him that desireth to bring any good thing to passe, because as long as a man sleepeth, he doth nothing more than if he liued not. Therefore whosoever desireth to liue, and to come to knowledge, let him watch as much as he may, hauing regard notwithstanding to his health, which is contented with a little, when a man is once acquainted therewith. Now, because a childe (as he saith) is more vnruely than a sauage beast, hee would neuer haue him left without a wise and vertuous master. It is no lesse necessary (saith he) to consider what teachers a man hath, than what parents. For as children do in a manner carrie away the spirits of their forefathers: so the vices of teachers are deriued vnto their schollers. Therefore let such bee chosen as teach vs their vertue by their workes, and not such as onely vtter and speake many goodly words studied out of it. At ten yeares this diuine Philosopher would haue children to learne letters vntill fifteene. But because we are to learne languages that differ from ours, it were good to begin sooner, and to end a little after. I thinke it were very profitable for youth to begin at the aboue named age of sixe yeares, to teach him his mother tongue perfectly, that hee may reade, pronounce, and write it well. After, at eight yeares, to teach him the rudiments of the Latine tongue, and to let him follow that vntill it be as a familiar vnto him, or little lesse, than his naturall speech. At fourteene yeares, the same *Plato* would haue children learne Arithmetike, saying that it is very necessary both for a soldier, and for a Philosopher: next Geometrie, and that part of Astronomie that is necessarie for Cosmographie, which he would haue likewise

Of the excellent education of children required by *Plato*.

Women with childe must walke much.

Euery mother ought to nurse her owne childe.

Of the bringing vp of infants.

From 3. yeers

From sixe yeares.

youth must be taught as it were in sport, and not by compulsion.

A commendable ende of musicke.

Great care is to be taken in the choice of scholl masters From the tenth yeere.

From the fourteenth yeere.

Hunting, an
image of war.

Of the edu-
cation of
daughters.

Reasons why
women may
intermeddle
with publike
affaires.

Against igno-
rance in wo-
men.

Women must
be able to
giue a reason
of their being

Examples of
learned wo-
men.

Aretia.
Zenobia.
Cornelia.

Of the insti-
tution of
youth accord-
ing to Ari-
stotle.

Two things
to be respec-
ted in the
institution of
youth.

The end of
all studies.

Aristotle ap-
pointed that
children
should learne
four things.
Of Grammar
The commodi-
tie thereof.

A notable law
for the com-
mon instru-
ction of chil-
dren.

likewise learned. He commaundeth also that youth should practise hunting, because it is as it were an image of warre, and an exercise that maketh men apt to sustaine all labour and trauell. This institution of youth is surely worthy of that diuine spirit of *Plato*, and that party were very vnhappy, and of a froward and corrupt nature, who being thus diligently brought vp, would not grow to be a vertuous and good man. He putteth small difference betweene the education and bringing vp of daughters, and that of sonnes, not depriving women from publike administrations and charges, but onely that hee would haue them imployed about such things as require least labour, and not to begin to meddle with publike affaires, before they be fortie yeares of age. He alleadgeth these reasons, because oftentimes many women haue bene more excellent than all the men of their countrey, and such are daily to be seene. And seeing they haue a soule as well as we, as quicke a spirit, and oftentimes more quicke than wee whereof those women are witnesse, who hauing giuen themselves wholly to any thing whatsoever, were not inferiour, but rather went beyond many men. It were great folly in men, seeing God hath created man and woman with the like spirit, to cut off as it were the one halfe of their strength, and to helpe themselves but with a part thereof. Now, albeit these reasons are of great weight, yet sure it is that men and women, both by diuine and humane policie, haue their distinct and seuerall offices. It is very true, that I like not the opinion of many, who say, that women ought to know nothing, but to spinne and sowe: which saying cometh nere to that of the Emperour, who would not haue a woman to haue more wit than is needefull for her to discerne her husbands shirt from his doublet. Such opinions are fit for ignorant persons, and proceede from a darke braine. For it cannot but bee very seemely and profitable for a woman to be able to render a reason of her being, as well by the knowledge of holy Scriptures, as by the precepts of good life, which we haue from the Ancients. This ought parents to teach their daughters, that they may be withdrawne from all other foolish loue, through the loue of vertue, and be desirous of all honesty and chastitie: as also, that when they are mothers in good and holy marriage, they may be a principall cause of the good bringing vp of their children. Yea histories reckon vp vnto vs a great many, that haue bene in stead of Schoole-masters in excellent sciences. *Aretia* taught her sonne *Aristippus* Philosophie. *Zenobia* Queene of the Palmyrians, being very well learned in the Greeke, Latine, and AEgyptian tongues, taught them to her two sonnes, and wrote an Epitomie of the Easterne histories. *Cornelia* taught the Gracchies her two sonnes, the Latine eloquence. But let vs follow our discourse of the generall instruction of children. *Aristotle* seemeth vnto me to be a good teacher and master, where he saith, that there are two ages, in which it is necessary to diuide the institution of those disciplines, which we would haue our children learne: namely, from seuen yeares vntill fourteene, which hee calleth the age of puberty: and againe from this age vntill the one and twentieth yeare. He saith, that in the institution of youth, two things must be looked vnto; the one, wherein children are to be instructed, the other, how they ought to be instructed. For all men are not agreed of this, what things children are to learne, neither yet is it decided, or resolued vpon, to what end their institution ought to be directed, whether to profite, or to manners, or to vnderstanding and contemplation; which proceedeth from the variable opinions of men, who place their end in diuerse things. But howsoever it is, we must, as we said before, referre all our studies to the glory of God, and to the seruice of our neighbours, in living well according to those charges and vocations whereunto we may be called. We haue already seene the diuision of sciences and arts, and spoken of those that are most necessary for a happy life. *Aristotle* following the custome then vsed in *Gracia*, appointed that children should learne foure things, Grammar, bodily exercise, Musicke, and painting, for certaine commodities meete for the life of man. Grammar is the entrie to all sciences, whereby we learne to speake exactly, also to reade and to write. And this is necessary for all estates of life, whether publike or priuate, in peace or in warre, in a quiet life, or in multitude of businesse, for merchandise, for the guiding of a house, for the obtaining of knowledge, for the continuance and perpetuity of the memorie of man. Briefly, as nature is the cause of our being, so the knowledge of letters, which Grammar teacheth vs, worketh in vs the knowledge how to liue well. For this cause *Charondas* the law-maker, as *Diodorus* the Sicilian writeth, preferred Grammer before all other sciences, as that which is most necessary for mans life, appointing that all the children of his citie should learne their letters at the charge of the common-wealth, which was to maintaine publike masters to teach both poore and rich. Truly this law ought to be put in practise in all the towns of this kingdome, to resist that pernicious Hydra of ignorance, which the richer sort defend,

making

making no account of knowledge, to the treading downe and oppression of the poore, who would gladly haue the meanes whereby they might be instructed. The Gymnasticall part was that art, which, as the ancients affirmed, did serue for health and strength, preparing the bodies of children by honest and moderate exercises, as fencing, shooting, throwing of a stone, riding, wrestling, running, leaping, swimming, and such like. These according to *Aristotles* opinion, are to be moderately practised by children, vntill they be foureteene yeares old, exercising them lightly, and not with forced labors, that their growth be not hindered thereby. This age being past, after they haue bestowed three yeares in other Morall disciplines, and followed their studies in deeper sciences, vntill the one ond twentieth yeare, then may they be exercised with more sharpe and hard labors of the body. They must also bee taught Musicke, for the solacing and recreation of their mindes after trauels: and painting, that they may the better consider of the beauty of the body, and vnderstand the symmetrie and apt composition of all things, to the end that they may be the better aduised either in buying or selling them. Let them also know how to drawe platforms of publike and priuate buildings, to set forth Countries, Townes, and Castles, their height, bredth, and length for the war, liuing creatures of all sorts, with their parts, herbs, trees, roots, leaues, flowers, fruits for medicine, and for the knowledge of simples. In this institution of children, *Aristotle* had respect to that which was conuenient, and drewe neere to the forme of a happy Commonwealth established by him, and to that which was necessary for the preferuation and maintenance thereof. Now, let vs applie to our vse that which we may learne both of him, and of the rest of the Ancients, for the framing of young men to honesty and vertue, leauing to the liberty of Fathers to make choice of those arts & sciences wherein they purpose to bring vp their children, hauing regard to that whereunto nature maketh them most apt and pliable. Wee shall take a good way in the institution of youth, if wee obserue and vse these fise things, *Instruction, Admonition, Promise, Praises, and Threatnings*. We will comprehend all *Instruction* vnder sixe precepts. The first shall be to shew vnto children, that they must worship God and honor him chieflie and aboue all things, referring all their thoughts and deedes to the glory of his name: that it is hee that hath created and preserueth all things, that hee suffereth no wickednesse to passe unpunished, nor good worke unrewarded, but giueth eternall happinessse to good men, and euermlasting paine and punishment to them that are euill. Let them know that without his grace and fauour they can doe nothing, no not so much as liue one moment: and therefore that they must continually and before euery worke call vpon him, and beware that they offend him not by neglecting his commandements which for this cause they must diligently learne. The second instruction which I finde most necessary for youth, is to teach them not to glory in earthly and worldly goods, but to learne rather to despise them, and to transport the loue of the body and of carnall goods, which it desireth, to the loue of the soule and eternall goods, which properly belong vnto them. They must not make great account of the beauty of the bodie, which hauing inclosed within it the soule that is defiled with vice and sinne, is nothing else but a precious and proud sepulcher, vnder which is contained a stinking and putrified carrion. They must not put their hope and confidence in riches, but bee perswaded that they are rich and happy, if they bee wise, learned, and vertuous. And whilest their vnderstanding is good and in vigour, and themselves haue time, they must put all their strength to the obtaining of that which will bee profitable vnto them in their oldeage: namely, of knowledge and vertue, which will procure vnto them, honour, safety, praise, happinessse, rest, and tranquillitie in their life time, and will in the ende guide them to eternall life, to bee made coheires of the kingdome of heauen with Iesus Christ. Thirdly, they must bee taught to eschue and flie from all such things which they see are hurtfull to others, and learne to bee wise by their dangers and perils. Now that which marreth and hurteth others, is disobedience, lying, pride, infidelitie, naughtinesse, hazarding games, whooredome, drunkennesse, prodigalitie, idlenesse, and euill companie. Against the contagion of which vices, no better preferuative can bee had, than to imagine modestie in their hearts, by the rule and measure whereof they may easily bee directed to behaue themselves vertuously. For this cause *Plutarke* saith very elegantly, that the foolish opinion and presumption, which young men commonly conceiue of themselves, ought rather to bee emptied, than the aire wherewith bottels and Kiddes skinnies are puffed vp when any good thing is to bee put into them. Otherwise, being full of the winde of ouerweening, they receiue none of that good instruction which men thinke to powre in to them. For the fourth precept of their instruction, wee will set downe these foure things

Of Gymnasticke, or bodily exercise.

The end of Musicke. The vse of painting.

Four things to be vsed in the institution of youth.

Instruction, which consisteth in sixe precepts.

1. The first precept. The first thing that youth must learne, is to worship God. We can do nothing without the grace of God.

2. The second precept.

Youth must not glory in transitory goods.

Not in bodily vertue.

The fruits of true knowledge and verue.

3. The third precept.

The common diseases of youth.

Modesty is the best remedy for them.

4. The fourth precept hath

4. branches.

which will stand them in great stead towards the attaining of a happy life. *Let them not be delicate or superfluous in any thing: Let them bridle their tongue, and not be full of words, nor utter filthie and dishonest talke at any time, but be gracious and courteous in speaking to all men, saluting every one gladly, and willingly giving place in those things wherein the truth is not hurt. Let them master their choler by cutting off impatiencie as much as may bee, which is a singular vertue. Lastly, let them haue pure hands, seeing many great men by taking money vnjustly haue spilled all that honour which they had gathered together all the former time of their life. Fiftly, the examples of good and bad men, are to be laid before their eies through the reading and vnderstanding of histories, that they may know that vertuous men haue beene well rewarded, and the vicious received an euill and miserable end. For this cause we reade that the old men of Rome vsed at feasts to sing the famous Actes of their Ancestours before their youth. For the sixth and last precept, wee say, that it is needfull for youth to be vsed to labour and wearisomnesse, to keepe them from idlenesse, and from falling into any dishonest pleasure. Wee haue seene what exercises and pastimes are meete for them, according to the opinion of the Ancients: and at this day wee know how to make choice of them, as shall bee meetest for the nobility. Now, to speake briefly of the other three generall precepts given by vs for the institution of youth: *Admonition* is very necessary for that age. For although youth be well borne and brought vp, yet hath it such active and vehemēt prouocations, that it is easily brought to stumble. Wherefore yong men must be often admonished of their duty, and spoken vnto of honesty, and of vertuous men; because words moue their minds. The steps of their honest predecessors are to be laid before their eies, to induce them to follow their pathes. Aboue all things, the promise of that life, which is eternally happy for those that perseuere in vprightnesse and iustice, is to be propounded vnto them. O man well affected (saith *Horace*) go ioyfully whither thy vertue leadeth thee, and thou shalt reape great rewards for thy deserts! O ye yong men (saith *Plautus*) walke on in that way wherein vertue will direct you, and ye shall be very well recompenced! For he that hath vertue, hath all things necessary for him, and wanteth nothing. These are the promises which ought to be beaten into the hearts of children: adding further to them that are very yong a promise to giue them what they will, so that they learne well that which is taught them. Last of all, praises and threatnings must be added, by commending children when we see them profite in vertue and honesty, to encourage them to goe forward, and to be better and better. *Glory* (saith *Onid*) giueth no small strength to the minde, and the desire and loue of praise, causeth the heart to be resolute and ready to vnder take all things. *Quintilian* would haue yong men praised, when they profit, and are willing to learne; as likewise they are to be threatned, if they be sloathfull and negligent in the obtaining of vertue and honesty, and will neither heare nor vnderstand, nor yet put in practise those good admonitions that are given them. And if they amend not with threatnings, they must haue good discipline and correction vsed towards them, and be chastised with discretion. To this purpose *Plutarke* saith, that the hope of reward, and feare of punishment, are as it were the two elements and foundation of vertue. For hope maketh yong men prompt and ready to vnder take all good and commendable things, and feare maketh them slowe in presuming to commit such things as are vile and full of reproch. So that if wee practise diligently these precepts in the education and instruction of our children: there is no doubt, but as seales and signets doe easily make a print in soft waxe, so wee may quickly cast in the minds of little children, as it were in a mould, whatsoeuer we would haue them learne for the leading of a good and happy life, to the Glory of God, the profit of their neighbours, and discharge of our consciences which are bound thereunto.*

*Of the diuision of the ages of man, and of the offices and duties
that are to be obserued in them. Chap. 52.*

A M A-
N A.

Adolescencie
is the age be-
tweene 14.
and 28.

AMongst the most common and notorious faults, which fathers now adaies commit in the education and bringing vp of their children, this deserueth great blame and reprehension, that in their first age they vsually provide teachers for them, sending them to Colledges, wherethey are kept in awe, when they cannot commit any greater euill than that which commeth from the yong yeares of their infancy, not very hurtfull to any, beeing light faults, and soone amended: but when the vehemencie of adolescencie beginneth to tickle them with foule and infamous desires, and

and when they have greatest need of a bridle, then they let loose the raines, and withdrawe them from the subiection of their guides, giving them liberty to make choice of their estate of life, when their perturbations are most violent, and in danger to bring forth most pernicious effects. Whereas on the contrary side then ought they most diligently to looke vnto them, and to set a most carefull watch ouer them, that their first discipline and instruction may be framed in vertue, and in the perfection of a most happy life. For this cause my companions I thinke that by continuing our former discourse (seeing al men enioy not commonly this benefit of the forenamed education and instruction from their infancy vnto the end) we ought to search out some way wherby to amend the first faults, by handling the diuision of the ages of man, according to the ancient writers, and by setting down a brieue instruction of that which is most necessarily required, and to be obserued in euery of them, especially in adolescence, for the obtaining of true fecilicity through good behauiour and instructions, which are the meanes thereof.

A R A M. It is true (as *Plato* saith) that vertue must be learned from the first infancy. Yea, there is no part of our age, which ought to be employed in any other study. But adolescence especially must not onely inquire and seeke after the decrees of honesty and vertue, but also haue them already imprinted and ingrauen in his heart.

A C H I T O B. As no man euer saw a Bee become a Beetle through age: so no part of our life ought to leaue the first election grounded vpon vertue, if the end thereof be to liue well. But let vs heare **A S E R** discourse of this present matter.

A S E R. It cannot be denied, that place and time are a great helpe to honesty and vertue: insomuch, that if wee consider not of them, the knowledge and practise of that which belongeth to our duty, cannot greatly profite vs. For all things are to bee applied in time and place, some things are decent and lawfull vpon one occasion, which would bee very vnseemely in another. The prouerbe saith, *That the way to handle a sound man is diuers from the guiding of him, to whom the diet is inioyned.* Euen so, although vertue and honesty are alwaies requisite in a man, because it is the onely ornament of his life: yet in diuers ages diuersity of honest behauiour is required, and the selfe same things are not decent in them, but some kinde of behauiour is proper to the age of childehoode, some to youth, and another to olde age, because as nature altereth with age, so it behooueth that manners should change. Now, among them that haue most diligently obserued the secrets of mans nature, there haue bene two sundry opinions concerning the diuision of the ages of man. Some haue made seauen parts, adding decrepite or bed red age after old age & they would ground their principall reason of this diuision vpon this, that the number of 7. is an vniuersall and absolute number. So wee reckon 7. planets, whose motion worketh all generations and corruptions in the earth. By a stronger reason therefore this number of 7. will bee applied to the continuance of time. Moreover, the growth of men according to age, increaseth at the seventh number. For teeth are bred in the seventh moneth, and in the seauen yeare they change and alter. Besides, in the same yeare doubled, that is, in the foureteenth yeare, man receiueith ability of seede, that is to say of engendring. True it is, that the number of sixe worketh alteration in femals. Yet the number of 7. in other things worketh augmentation, or else the rest and quietnesse of men, and sheweth the difference or iudgement of diseases, The whole time of the creation of the world is comprehended therein, and likewise the rest and ceasing of the workemaster thereof. All the auncient writers haue also noted, that the number of 63. which is the multiplication of seuen by nine, carrieth with it commonly the end of old men: because that in the whole course of our life we liue vnder one onely climate, which is either from seuen or from nine yeares, except in the yeare of 63. wherein two terminations or climates end, that is to say, nine seuen times seuen, or seuen nine times nine: and therefore this yeare is called climactericall, wherein we may note out of histories the death of many great men, and the change of estates and kingdomes. As touching the other the diuision of the age of man into sixe parts onely, of which opinion *Isidorus* is, wee will now enter into the particular handling thereof. The parts are these, Infancie, Childhood, Youth, Adolescence, Virility, and olde age. Infancie is the first age of man, beginning after his natiuitie: and it is so called, because at that time hee hath no vse of speach, and therefore cannot then learne manners and vertue, hauing no fence or vnderstanding to comprehend them. Childehoode is when children begin to speake; albeit as yet they haue not the full vse of reason, in which estate a man may say they are vntill the age of seuen yeares, during which time fathers and mothers ought to nourish and bring them vp in the feare of God, and reuerence of their parents, and frame them gently,

Place & time are to be considered in all things.

All kinde of behauiour not conuenient in all ages.

Of the diuision of the ages of man. The number of seuen accounted a perfect number.

Of the climacterical yeare 63.

The whole age of man diuided into sixe parts.

Of infancy.

Of Childehoode.

He meaneth
not common
& natural in-
firmities, but
malicious
offences.

Two things
requisite in a
schol-master,
skill, & hone-
sty of life.
The benefite
that cometh
by good schol
masters.

A strange cu-
stome vsed by
the children
of Rome.

The reason of
the word *Iu-
uentus*.

Of adolescen-
cy.

The fruits of
adolescence
being left to
it selfe.

Aurelius ex-
hortati on to
his sons
gouernors.

Concupiscence
reigneth most
in Adolescence
Who are to
be accounted
free.

gently, vnto all good manners, as wee haue already declared. This age is called of the La-
tines *Pueritia*, as it were pure and neate from * sinne: forasmuch as children haue then no
vse of discretion, so that iudgement cannot bee attributed to their workes, whereby they
may bee called good or euill. Youth is reckoned from seuen yeares of age vntill fourteene,
at which time children ought to bee delivered vnto skilful and honest masters and teachers
to bee instructed. Then must parents looke well whether these two things are in them, to
whose direction they committe the keeping of such a pretious pledge: least that befall them,
which *Hyperides* an Orator of Grecia saide to him that tolde him that hee had sent a slave
with his sonne to gouerne him *you haue* (quoth hee) *done very well: for in steade of one slave, you*
shall receive twaine, Therefore it is very necessary that such masters should be chosen for them
as are learned, and of good life and conversation, that, as good Gardiners sticke down cer-
taine props hard by young plants to keepe them vpright: so wise teachers may plant good
instructions and precepts about yong men, that their manners may bee according to vertue.
Let fathers beware least being moued with countousnes, they make choice of masters vn-
worthy their charge, that they may pay the lesse stipend, seeking for good cheape ignorance,
seeing that (as *Plato* saith) as children beare away as it were the minds of their progenitors, so
the vices of the schoolemaster flow vpon their schollers. At this age of youth the children of
Rome, did hang in the Temple a little collar or iewell which they wore about their
necks, during the time of their infancy, declaring therby that they renounced all childishnes
and that they were to change their maners for the time to come. In token wherof one gaue
them a white robe, and a purple coat, to teach them by the white color to shun vices, which
made the soule blacke, and by the purple to strue to make their life glister and shine with
good manners and vertue. And it seemeth that the Latins called this age *Iuuentus*, because of
the aide & helpe which men promised to themselves through the vertuous inclination that
appeared in yong children. We saw sufficiently before what is further required of this age,
in regard of their instruction. Adolescence is the fourth age of man, beginning at the four-
teeneeth yeare, and continuing vntill the 28. and it is deriued of this verbe *Adolesco*, which
signifieth to grow. For then doe men grow in body, in strength, and reason, in vice, and ver-
tue. And at that age the nature of man is knowne, and whereunto hee bendeth his minde,
which before could not be discerned by reason of the ignorance of his age. This is that which
Cicero saith, that the studies vnto which we addict our selues in the time of our adolescencie,
like to hearbes and fruites that are come to their fashion, declare what vertue there will bee
in time of ripenesse, and what manner of haruest will follow. Therefore young men (saith
this Father of eloquence) must make choice of one certaine kinde of life, whereunto they
are to giue themselves all their life time, without any manner of contradiction, and beeing
constant therein, they must draw all their actions to that onely end, as an arrow is drawne
towards a white. But forasmuch as in the corruption of our time wee see poore fruits of this
age when it is left to it it selfe, wee may well say, that in this season of adolescence, children
haue greatest neede to be gouerned, ruled, and kept in great awe. For the inclination to
pleasures, and the eschoing of labour, which are naturall in man, commonly beginne then
to assault him with such violence, that if young men bee not well followed, they quickly
turne to vice, hate those that giue them good instruction, become presumptuous, and ready
to leaue that which before they loved: and taking no care for the time to come, like
beasts seeke for nothing but to satisfie their lustfull desires. For this cause that good Emperor
Marcus Aurelius saide to those vnto whom he recommended his son after his death. Beware
that hee bathe not himselfe in slipperie pleasures and desires, seeing it is a hard matter to mo-
derate and to stay the burning affections of a young man, especially when hee seeth in his
owne hand a licence not limited, which offereth vnto him all kind of contentation. And tru-
ly this vnbriiled licence of not being in subiection to any, which yong men desire and seeke
after so earnestly, and for want of right vnderstanding falsly call and imagine it to be libertie
bringing them in bondage to seuerer and sharper masters, than were those teachers and schol-
masters, which they had in their infancie: namely, to their lusts and disordered desires, which
are then as it were vnchained and let loose. But he which knoweth that to follow God, and
to obey right reason, are reciprocally and necessarily following each other, must thinke
that to leaue his infancy and first youth, and to enter into the ranke of men, is no freedome
from subiection, but onely change of commaundement, because our life in lieu of a
hired master, who gouerned vs before, hath then a heavenly guide, that is, reason, to
whom they onely that obey, are to bee reputed and taken for freemen. For after they haue
learned

learned to will that which they ought, they live as they will, whereas the freedome of the will in disordered actions and affections is small, feeble and weake, and mingled with much repentance. These are those good reasons, which ought to sound often in the eares of yong men, and bee supplied by little and little through the studie of good letters, and Morall Philosophie of auncient men, vntill they haue wholly in possession that place of manners, which is soonest moued and most easily led, and are lodged therein by knowledge and iudgement, which will be as a guard to preserve and defend that age from corruption. Vnto which things the ancients looked very diligently, both to repress boldnes which commonly is the companion of adolescencie, and also to chastise their faults seuerely. Wee read that one of *Cato's* sonnes of the age of 15. yeares, was banished for breaking a pot of earth in a maids hand that went for water: so was *Cinna* his soone, because hee entred into a garden, and gathered fruit without leaue. Therefore if a yong man bee well guided with reason, he will choose and propound to himselfe that kind of life, which he purposeth to keepe vntill death, and begin some commendable life that is had in commendation among vertuous men. The ancient Romans minding to make declaration hereof, when their children were come to that age, they brought them to the common market place clothed with a mans gowne, and caused them to scatter nuts here and there, and after that to forsake all play: signifying thereby that they must leaue the follies of their first age, to imbrace more graue and serious matters. It belongeth to their dutie (saith *Cicero*) to honour their elders, and to marke who are the honestest men, and of best report, that by their counsell they may learne to live according to vertue and good manners, and haue honour alwaies before their eies. And as in calme weather when a man is vpon the sea, hee must provide such things as are necessary against a storme: so in time of adolescencie, men must furnish themselves with temperance, sobriety, and continency, laying vp store of prouision in due time, whereby to sustaine olde age the better. This is that which *Plato* saith, that a moderate youth maketh an easie old age: but that which is immoderate maketh it grievous and irksome. *The defect of our strength* (saith *Cicero*) commeth rather of the vices of our youth, than of old age. Now, because youth is at this day more than euer, given ouer to all kind of dissolutenes, so that their greatest glory consisteth in going one beyond another in vice, let vs here propound to those that will make their profit thereof, some examples drawne from the Ancients of rare vertue that shined in yong men. *Ioseph, Daniel, Salomon*, deserue the first place, who being very yong men, executed deeds of wonderfull prudence. The holy Scriptures afford vs a sufficient number of testimonies, but we haue some also amongst the heathens and Pagans, that ought to stir vp youth vnto vertue. That great monarch *Alexander* in his youth despised all kind of pleasure and delight, eschued women, contemned money, and all plaies and pastimes that were vnprofitable, and to no good vse, louing nothing but vertue and glory gotten thereby. This was the cause why, being demanded whether hee would not be present at the Olympian games, to trie whether he could win the prize of running, seeing he was well made, and wonderfull light of foote, he answered: Yes, if they were kings that ranne. Whensoever he heard newes that his father had taken any famous Towne, or wonne some great battell, he shewed no token of ioy, but said to his equals in yeares: My father, Sirs, will take all, and leaue no goodly or great matter for me to doe, and to conquer with you. Among other his commendable gifts of nature which men admired in him at that age, he was greatly praised for a good horseman, which he shewed full well when *Bucephalus* the horse was brought to his father, and was to bee sold for thirty Talents, that is in value, 7800. crownes: which the yeomen of the kings horse perceived to bee so skittish and wilde, that they durst not vndertake to breake him. But *Alexander* mounted on him, and handled him so cunningly, that all those that were present, cried out by way of admiration: and *Philip* kissing him, said: Oh my sonne, thou must seeke out a kingdome that is meete for thee, for Macedonia is not able to containe thee! This horse alwaies serued *Alexander* after that, and died in a battell against the Barbarians, when hee was thirty yeares olde. *Pompey* from his very youth shewed in his countenance (as Historiographers write) a pleasant mildnesse, ioyned with a manly grauity, and in his conditions and behauiour, a reuerend excellency of kingly maiesty. When hee was yet very yong, he committed an act of a wife and aduised captaine, being in the Roman army whereof *Strabo* his father was captaine against *Cinna*. For when the souldiers began to rebell and to conspire the death of their captaine, *Pompey* discovered the same, and tooke order for his fathers safetie. After, perceiuing that the souldiers trusted vp bag and baggage, to goe yeeld themselves to *Cinna*, hee thrust himselfe into the middelt of them, beseeching them most humbly with teares in his eyes not to

Knowledge
and iudgment
are of the
guard of ad-
lescency.

Cato's
sonne bani-
shed for bre-
aking an ear-
then por.

And *Cinnes*
sonne for ga-
thering fruit
without leaue
How the Ro-
manes taught
their yong
men to for-
sake the fol-
lies of their
youth.

The durie of
yong men.

A moderate
youth maketh
a happy old
age.

Examples of
vertuous
yong men.

Alexander a
patterne of
vertue in his
youth.

Bucephalus *Alexanders*
horse.

Pompey.

deale so grossely with their captaine. In the end when hee saw that they persisted in their opinion, hee threw him prostrate all along ouerthwart the gate of the campe, saying vnto them, that if they were so desirous to depart, both they and their horse should goe ouer his body. Whereupon they were so ashamed, that changing their minds, euery one betooke him againe to his quarter, and reconciled themselves vnto their generall. The prudence of *Papyrius* deserueth to be alleadged here, who according to the custome of the yong gentlemen of Rome, was brought into the Senate, after hee had put on the gowne woven about with purple, which they vsed to giue to yong men, to the end to frame them by little & little to the managing of affaires. In his returne from the Senate, which was longer in breaking vp than vsually they were wont to doe, his mother asked him the cause thereof. And after many threatnings and compulsiōs, *Papyrius* not willing to reueale the secret of the councell, as it had bene expressely forbidden him, bethought himselfe of a subtil lie, saying, that the Senators were in great contention whether it were more expedient to agree that one man should haue two wiues, or one woman two husbands: which (quoth he) shall be determined to morrow. His mother beleeuing it, told the same to the Romane ladies her companions, who met all the next day at the entrie of the Senate, beseeching the iudges to giue a fauourable sentence for them. The matter being knowne, procured a great laughter, and made the prudence of this yong man to be greatly esteemed. But let vs speake of the other two ages of man, Mans estate beginneth when a man is euen now ripe, and setled, & groweth no more in body. This onely age is most apt and fit to attaine to vertue and honesty. For then is reason strong and powerfull in him, then is his iudgement sound, and his bodily vigor of force and strength to labour and trauell. Of the name of this age, I meane of this Latine word *Vir*, did vertue first take her name, which in Latine is *Virtus*: because this word *Vir*, signifieth him that is in the age of virilitie, or mans estate, as if you would say, apt to be a minister and practitioner of vertue. It is true that *Isidorus* confoundeth *Youth* (which he placeth after Adolescence) and *Virilitie* together: saying, that this word *Vir*, is a word of sexe & not of age. But herein he agreeth with vs, that the perfection of mans strength beginneth at 29. yeares, where we said that adolescence ended. In this strength a man continueth vntill 50. yeares, and then beginneth to grow weake, & to decline continually vntill death. The whole age of virilitie ought to be full of honestie and vertue, and to bring forth the effects of prudence, temperance, fortitude and iustice, whereof we haue discoursed at large. And if any man before he came to this age, had not that education and instruction which was necessarie for him (whereof wee haue already discoursed) by reason of his fathers negligence, or through the licentiousnesse of adolescence, then especially is he to take the bridle betweene his teeth in good earnest; because yet there is good time and season, yea opportunitie of great fruit, to profit in learning & vertue, so that he cannot alleadg this excuse, that he was not instructed in youth. *Clitomachus* of Carthage when hee was aboue 40. yeares of age, came to Athens to learne vnder *Carneades*, with whom he profited so well, that after his death he succeeded in his place & taught others.

M. Aurelius. *Lucius* being at Rome, and meeting with the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the street with one man after him, demanded of him whither hee went. It becommeth euen an olde man (quoth he) to learne. I am going (said he) to *Sextus* the Philos. to learne that which I know not. Then *Lucius* lifting vp his hands towards heauē, cried out, O good God, I see an emperor euen gray headed carrying his booke as if he were a child to heare a lecture and to be instructed thereby: & yet most kings of the earth will not vouchsafe to looke vpon a booke at eightene yeares of age. *Solon* had this sentence commonly in his mouth, that he waxed old as he learned. The same day and houre that he died, being aboue 80. yeares old, and hearing some of his friends disputing of a certaine point of Philosophie, he lift vp himselfe vpon his bed after his manner as well as hee could. And being asked why he did so, To the end (quoth he) that when I haue learned that whereof you dispute, I might end my daies: and so indeede he did. For the disputation was no sooner ended but he died. *Socrates* learned musick when hee was very old. *Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Portius Cato* learned Greeke when they were old. *Iulianus* the great lawyer vsed to say when he was very old, that although he had one foote in the graue, yet hee was desirous to learne.

Alphonsus king of Arragon, when he was 50. yeares old, learned the Latin tongue and translated *Titus Livius* out of Latine into Spanishe. The sixt and last age of man is called Old age, which according to *Marcus Varro*, and other authors, beginneth at 50. yeares, because at this age the naturall power and strength of man beginneth to decline & fade away. *Isidorus* calleth this time *Granny*, which he maketh to last vnto 70. yeares, & termeth the ouerplus of age beyond that, old age. But as neither the diuision of ages here set down, nor the terms wherein

Papyrius.

Of virilitie, or
mans estate.

The duty of a
man at the
perfection of
his age.

Clitomachus.

M. Aurelius.

Solon learned
to the houre
of his death.

Socrates learned
musicke
being old.
T. Varro, and
M. Cato learned
Greeke
when they
were old.
Iulianus.
Alphonsus.
Of old age.

we haue inclosed them, could agree to the ages of our first fathers, either in the first or second age, wherein they liued commonly as many yeares as wee doe moneths; so considering the shortnes of our daies, which the Psalmist limiteth within 80. yeares at the most, I thinke wee are to follow the opinion of *Varro*, who calleth olde age whatsoever is aboue fifty yeares. In which age prudence is a very meete and necessary ornament, which those ancient men might attaine vnto through long vse of life, through knowledge, and through experience. Therefore it is their office to succour and helpe the yonger sort, their friends and the common wealth, by their prudence and counsell. For this cause *Romulus* the first founder of the citie of Rome, chose an hundred of the eldest in the city, by whose counsell hee willed that it should bee gouerned. And of these old men called in Latine *Senes*, came that word *Senatus*, which is as much to say, as an assembly or gathering together of old men, whom we now call counsellors or Senators. And albeit that men now adaeis greatly abuse those charges, yet surely they properly belong to old men, to whom it appertaineth to gouerne townes, to administer iustice, and to be a patterne and example of honesty to the yonger sort. For then haue they no time to take their ease, but (as *Cicero* saith) they must increafe the exercises of the soule, as they diminish the labours of the body. Let them remember that saying of the Lacedaemonian, who being asked why hee suffered his beard to grow so long: To the ende (quoth hee) that by looking vpon my white haire, I should bee put in minde not to doe any act vnbecoming this hoary whiteness. In this age that sentence of *Plato* ought especially to bee well thought vpon, *That yong men die very soone, but that old men cannot liue long.* To which effect *Epaminondas* said, that vntill 30. yeares it may bee thus said to men, *Ye are welcome*: for vntill that time they seeme still to bee comming into the world. From 30. vntill 50. yeares, they must bee saluted in this manner, *Ye are in a good houre*, because they are then to know what the world is. And from 50. to the end a man must say vnto them, *Go in a good houre*, because then they goe faire and softly, taking their leaue of the world. Old age (saith *Cato* to an old man that liued ill) hath sufficient deformities of it selfe, do not thou adde such as proceede from vice. For it is not grissled haire, nor a wrinkled visage that bringeth authority, but a life that is honestly led and guided according to the best end of our being, whereunto euery age is to be referred. To such old men (saith *Sophocles*) as haue their soules nourished with heauenly light, olde age is not grievous, and in such the desire of contemplation and knowledge increaseth as much as the pleasures of their body decreafe. Therefore when we haue passed ouer the greatest part of our daies to the profit of many, if then through weakenesse of extreame age we are constrained to leaue the managing of publike affaires, it will be very great honor, comfort, and contentation of minde vnto vs, to run the rest of our race quietly and peaceably in the study of letters, wherein delight is ioyned with honest contemplation.

Psal. 90. 10.

Prudence is the ornament of olde age.

What Senate is, and from whence it came.

What vse is to be made of a white beard. *Epaminondas* salutation vnto men according to their ages.

Cato. What breedeth authority in a man. *Sophocles.* To whom old age is not grievous.

The end of the thirteenth daies worke.

The fourteenth daies worke.

Of Policie, and of the sundry sorts of Gouvernement. Chap. 53.

A SER.



IF we are able to discerne betweene the body and the soule, betweene this present transitory life and the life to come which is eternall; we will not thinke it strange, that one part of mans building should bee created to remaine free for ever, and to bee exempted from the yoke of humane power, acknowledging onely the spirituall iurisdiction; and the other part to be in seruitude, and to receiue commandement from those humane and ciuill offices, which are to be kept amongst men. In the kingdomes of God, (saith *Paul*) there is neither Iew nor Gracian, neither bond nor free, neither Barbarian nor Scythian, but Iesus Christ is al in al. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith you are made free. And by and by after he addeth: Onely vse not your libertie as an occasion to the flesh, but by loue serue one another. And elsewhere he saith; Let euery soule be subiect to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. Who soeuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. Whereby it appeareth that they which thinke that the maintenance of ciuill policies are the worke of

The soule is not subiect to mans iurisdiction.

Gal. 3. 18.

Col. 3. 11.

Gal. 5. 1. 13.

Rom. 13. 1. 2.

All power is of God.

The begin-
ning and pre-
seruation of
policy is from
God.

man only, are greatly deceived. For we must of necessity beleue, that it proceedeth from the counsell of God, and from his eternall providence, without which neither the round frame of the world, nor cities and townes could in any sort abide stedfast: and so that it is very necessary for their preservation, that certaine lawes should bee appointed, according vnto which men may liue honestly and iustly one with another. As there are then two chiefe regiments and governments in man, of which one respecteth the soule, and acknowledgeth no temporall king or master, but holdeth of one onely Iesus Christ according to the ministry of his word; and the other is to ordaine a ciuill iustice onely, and to reforme outward manners, whereunto the body during this life is wholly subiect; reseruing the first estate of man in his freedome according to the diuine rule and piety, we are all diligently to looke to this second estate of subiection and seruitude, which is most necessary for the maintenance of common peace and tranquillity amongst men. Now forasmuch (my Companions) as wee haue hitherto according to our weake iudgement noted the morall vertues of the soule, for the better framing of mens actions to that which is decent, and honest in this life; and following the same order haue also given rules and instructions for the government of a family, we are now to enter into this large field of humane policy, and to consider of the parts that belong vnto it, referring the chiefe scope of the handling of this matter, which otherwise would be infinite, to the ruling and preserving of our French Monarchy, for the instruction of all estates that are therein. And first we will see what ciuill policy is, and intreate briefly of the diuers kinds of governments among the ancients, that we may so much the better attaine to the knowledge of that vnder which we liue.

Of command-
ing and ob-
eying.

A R A M. To commaund and to obey (saith *Aristotle*) are not onely necessary but also profitable: yea some things are borne to obey, and others to command, whose common end is publike benefit and ciuill iustice, which are preserved by a well established policy, and right government according to the lawes of nature.

Policie is the
bond of all
society.

A M A N A. Every ciuill society must bee kept in order by some policy, which is a necessarie helpe to cause a man to walke in his vocation. But as the elements cannot bee intermingled one with another, except it bee by an vnequall proportion and temperature: so I thinke that ciuill policies cannot well be preserved but by a certaine inequality, which is to be seene in all countries by diuers sorts of governments. But let vs heare A C H I T O B discourse to this effect.

There is a
shew of com-
manding and
obeying in all
things.

As in harmo-
ny.

The superior
part of the
world ruleth
the inferior.

The Sunne is
king and the
Moone

Queene a-
mong the
starres.

The Moone
ruleth over al
noistures.

The Fire and
Aire chiefe a-
mongst the
elements.

The Eagle,
Lion, Whale
and Pike o-
uer their
kinds.

No people
without all
policie.

A C H I T O B. In all things compounded of matter and forme, commanding and obeying are so naturall, that there is some shew thereof even in all things without life: as wee see in that harmony which consisteth in voice, and in soundes; wherein the contra-tenor seemeth to commaund ouer the base. This whole inferiour world obeyeth the superiour, and is governed thereby, through a certaine vertue accompanied with light and heate, called of many Philosophers the spirit of the world, or as *Plato* saith, the soule of the world, which descending from the celestiall nature, and intermingling it selfe throughout the whole masse of this great body, penetrateth, quickeneth, nourisheth and moderateth all changeable things vnder the Moone. The chiefe minister and disposer of this vertue is the Sunne, whom wee acknowledge as king amongst the starres, lightning the vniuersall frame with his beames. The Moone is as it were the Queene, ruling over all moistures, and among other maruels, shewing her manifest power over the flowing and ebbing of the Ocean seas. Wee see among the Elements that the Fire and Aire through their first qualities are Actiue, and that the water and earth are Passiue, as beeing more materiall. Amongst all kindes of birdes the Eagle is president, amongst beasts the Lyon. In fresh and salt waters the mightiest fishes rule, as the Whale in the sea, and the Pike in pooles. Man ruleth over all living creatures, and in man compounded of bodie, soule, and vnderstanding the soule commaundeth over the bodie, and the vnderstanding over the desire. Wee haue also seene by proceeding from one particular man to a familie made of many persons, how the head commandeth diuersly over the parts of his house. Euen so it is necessary, that euery ciuill society, which is made one of many families tending to a generall good, should bee kept in by some policy consisting in commanding and obeying. In many places of the world there are countries where the cities are not inclosed, where there is no vse of learning, and where there are no kings. Other people there are that dwell in no houses, that vse no money, that liue with rawe flesh: in a word, that seeme to holde more of the nature of beastes than of men. And yet there are none that haue no kinde of policy established among them, or that vse no lawes or customes, whereunto they

they willingly submit themselves. Neither are they without some apprehension and reverence of the diuine nature, vsing praier and sacrifices, although damnable: so straightly are these two things, *Diuine Iustice and humane Politie* ioyned together, that the one cannot in any sort remaine amongst men without the other. Therefore *Plutarke* saith, that a city will sooner stand without a foundation, than ciuill policy can bee framed and established without any religion and opinion of God, or without the preservation thereof after it is once receiued. Moreover the first agreement of people forsaking their barbarous and rusticall life, to ioine in ciuill society, was to this end, that they might haue a place of Religion to keepe them together. Religion surely is the foundation of all common-wealths, of the execution of lawes, of the obedience of subiects towards their Magistrates, of their feare towards Princes, of mutual loue amongst themselves, and of iustice towards others. *Lycurgus* reformed the estate of the Lacedemonians, *Numa Pompilius* of the Romanes, *Solon* of the Athenians, and *Dionysius* of all the Græcians generally, by making them deuout and affectionate towards the gods in praier, oathes, oracles, and prophesies, through the meanes of feare and hope of the diuine nature, which they imprinted in them. *Polybius* gouernour and lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus*, and taken for the wisest Politician of his time, saith, that the Romanes had neuer any greater meanes than religion to extend the borders of their Empire, and the glory of their famous acts ouer all the earth. Desiring therefore that religion, the truth and the law of God, all which are one, & published by the mouth of God, may continue and dwell amongst vs, let vs see what Policy is, whereunto it ought chiefly to tend, and what sundry sorts there are of establishing it, by the contrary kinds of government vsed amongst the Ancients. Policy is a word deriued of this Greeke word *πολιτια*, which signifieth the regiment of a citie or common wealth: and that which the Grecians call Politicall government, the Latines call the gouernment of a common-wealth, or of a ciuill societie. This word *Politie* hath bene taken in many significations amongst the ancients: sometime it signifieth a Burgesie, that is to say, the participation and enioying of the rights and priuiledges of a towne: sometime the manner of life vsed by some politicall person: as when one commendeth the policy of *Pericles*, or of *Bias*, that is, their kinde of gouernment: sometime also when they would note some worthy deede in the gouernment of the common-wealth, they said, *That man hath wrought an act of politie this day*. But the chiefe signification of this word, and that which answereth to our present discourse, is, *The order and estate whereby one or many townes are gouerned, and publike affaires well managed & administrated*. But before we begin to speake of the diuers sorts of Policies, that is to say, of governments of townes, of which all common wealths and Monarchies are compounded, let vs speake a word of the end of Policy, and of that marke whereat it ought especially to ayme. As all Cities and ciuill societies are appointed for the obtaining of some good, so all policie respecteth the same, and tendeth to no other thing, than to vnite & frame vs to the company of men so long as we liue amongst them: to conformance our manners to a ciuill iustice, to set vs at agreement one with another and to maintaine and preserve common peace and tranquillity, by procuring that euery one may haue his owne. It is the cause that men doe communicate together without fraud or hurt, that the insolencie of the wicked is bridled and punished: briefly, that not onely all duties of humanity are vsed amongst men, but also that some publike forme of religion appeareth, and that blasphemies against the diuine nature, and other offences which trouble common quietnesse, are not openly broched. For although it falleth not within the compasse of mans power, as we said, to prescribe and appoint by their authority any regiment and gouernment ouer soules, yet euery one is not to bee suffered to forge at his pleasure lawes concerning religion, and the manner of seruing God. But ciuill ordinance must carefully provide, that the true seruice of God be not publickly violated and polluted through an vncontrolled liberty, especially considering that the conuersation of euery well ordered policy dependeth thereupon. But we shall vnderstand this matter more at large hereafter in the particular handling of the parts of an estate, which we will diuide into three principall and generall heads, following therein the ancient Politiks, namely, into the Magistrate, the law, and the people. Now to goe on with that which was propounded vnto vs, let vs speake of those kinds of governments which were amongst the ancients. The ordinance of a city, or order amongst Magistrates, especially amongst them that had the soueraigne rule ouer all, was called of the ancients, *Commonwealth*, or as some others will haue it, *Weale publike*, which in her kinde of gouernment was named according to the quality of the chiefe rulers thereof. And those commonwealths that tended to common benefite, were said to be right, and simply iust: but if they respected the profit of the

Diuine iustice and humane policie alwaies linked together.

Religion is the foundation of all estates.

The ancient lawmakers established their ordinances through the meanes of religion.

Religion the greatest meanes of enlarging the

Romane Empire.

What Politie is, and from whence the word is deriued.

The diuers significations of this word Politie.

Of the end of policie.

Ciuill ordinance ought to maintaine the worship of God.

Euery estate consisteth of three parts, of the magistrate the law and the people.

When commonwealths are right and when corrupt,

superious

superiours onely, they were said to bee corrupt, and were called transgressions of right Common wealths, these beeing the cause of as much euill to the whole body of the city, as the others are of *Good*. For as the good or euill of an house dependeth of the father of the family; the safety or losse of a ship, of the Pilot or master; the good or ill successe of an army, of the Generall thereof: so the happinesse or unhappinesse of Townes and peoples dependeth of magistrates, and yet so that God ruleth ouer all. Common wealths then are either good or bad, right or corrupted. That is a good Common wealth, wherein the gouernours seeke the publike profit of the citizens, and the benefit of the whole ciuill society. It is called right and iust, because it hath such an ende, and seeketh after the same, taking no counsell about any thing, but onely about the preferuation of iustice. A corrupt common wealth is that which repugneth and is directly contrary to that which is good and iust, and chiefly to the ende thereof. For it seeketh onely the increase of priuate commodity, having no care of publike profit. There are three kinds of good common wealths, and three of bad, whose gouernment alwaies consisteth in the superiours of the estate, taking their appellation and name of them, as hath beene said. The first kinde of good common wealths is a Monarchy which taketh place when the soueraignty is in one alone: This respecting publike profit onely, and preferring common benefit alwaies before her owne priuate and particular commodity, taketh vpon her the name of a kingdome, or of kingly power. But if shee looke vnto his particular benefite that ruleth, seeking to reigne by an absolute will without any obseruation of iust lawes, then shee hath the name of tyranny, which is the first bad kinde of common wealth. Now forasmuch as wee liue in this kingdome, vnder the first kind of common wealth, called a kingly monarchy, we will dilate this matter, and consider thereof at large in a severall treatise, that we may the better know the excellency of it, when it is well and iustly ordained. The second kinde of a right and good common wealth is of a Greeke word called an Aristocracy, which in our language wee may interpret, *the power of the best men*, whom wee call in Latine *Optimates*, because they are accounted for the best and most vertuous men. This forme of gouernment taketh place, when a few tried and approoued men for manners and learning haue the soueraignty iointly together, and make lawes for the rest of the people, whether it bee generally or particularly, directing their thoughts to no other marke than to publike vtility and profit. This was seene most excellently among the Lacedæmonians, whose common wealth surpassed all others of her time, as well for her policie and establishment, whereof there was neuer the like, and wherein shee continued about 500. yeares, as also for the glory of her warlike acts, whereby shee held the Empire of Græcia a long time, vnder the lawes of that happy Aristocraticall gouernment, which *Lycurgus* established there. This man seeing their estate to incline one while to tyranny, when the kings had too much power, and another while to popular confusion, when the common people began to vsurpe too great authority, deuised with himselfe to giue them a counterpoize, that should bee healthfull for the whole body of the Common wealth, by establishing there a Senate, which was a strong barre, holding both the extremities in equall ballance, and giuing firme and steadfast footing to their estate. For the 28. Senators making the body of the Senate, sometimes tooke part with the two kings who were deprived of all soueraignty, so farre forth as was thought needfull to resist the rashnesse of the people: and contrariwise, sometimes they strengthened the peoples side against the kings, who had then but the voices of two Senators in the councell, thereby to keepe them from vsurping any tyrannicall power. True it is that their estate was not purely Aristocraticall, vntill one hundred yeares after the first establishment thereof by *Lycurgus*, because hee had left the confirmation and abrogation of the aduice and decrees of the Senate in the peoples power. But *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* beeing kings, and seeing how hard a matter it was to assemble all the people together, and how they ouerthrew many times the sacred decrees of the Senate, holpe themselues with an Oracle from *Apollo*, whereby it was signified that the Senate of thirty should from thence forth haue all power in matters of estate, in so much that of Senators they became soueraigne Lords. And to content the people, they appointed five Ephories who were chosen out of the people, as Tribunes to keepe away tyrannie. That policie then is truly Aristocraticall, wherein vertue onely is respected in the distribution of magistracies, and the benefite of the subiects is chiefly considered in the gouernment thereof. *Oligarchie* is opposite and contrary to this, and is the second kind of a corrupted common wealth. This is when a few noble or rich men occupie the authority and administration of the common wealth, reiecting the poorer and baser sort, and aiming at nothing but at their owne priuate and particular profit, without all care of publike commodity. These men

The good or euill estate of common wealths dependeth of the magistrates next vnder God.
The diuision of common wealths in generall.
The subdiuision of them.
Of a Monarchie.

Of a tyranny.

Of an Aristocracy, & what it signifieth.

The Lacedæmonian estate was an excellent pattern of this gouernment.

Why the Senate of Lacedæmonia was first instituted

What power the kings of Lacedæmonia had.

The policy of Polydorus & Theopompus to get the power out of the peoples hands.
Why the Ephories were appointed in Lacedæmonia
Of an Oligarchie.

men alwaies vse to take part with their like in nobility or riches, to the treading downe and oppression of the meane sort of people. Moreover, they rule all matters according to their affections, and through ambition and couetousnes take them into their owne handes, vntill some one that is mightiest among them, finde the meanes to rule absolutely, and to change the Oligarchy into a tyranny. *Aristotle* affirmeth that all the ancient gouernments in Sicilia were Oligarchies, among which that of the Leontines was translated into the tyranny of *Panicus*, that of *Gela* into the tyranny of *Cleander*, that of *Rhegium* into the tyranny of *Anaxilas*, and so of many others. The third kind of a good and right common wealth, is of a Greeke word called Timocracy, which wee may call *The power of meane to indifferent wealth*. This kinde of gouernment was after a peculiar sort called of the Ancients by the name of *Common wealth*: because this police tended most of all to publike profite, and was guided by laws and * compounded of an Oligarchy and a Democracy, which are two extreames, and of themselves vicious and corrupt. For of their mediocrities this forme of commonwealth was instituted after three sorts. First, by taking the lawes and institutions of both: secondly, by holding the mediocrity of things commanded by them: thirdly, by following the constitutions, partly of the one, and partly of the other. *Aristotle* speaketh of this kinde of commonwealth when he saith, That ciuill society consisting of meane persons is very good, and that those cities are well gouerned wherein there are many of the middle sort, who haue more power then both of the other parties, or at least than any one of them. For whereas many are passing rich, or extreme poore, there followeth either an extreme Democracy, or an intolerable Oligarchy, or else through their excessse, a tyranny. Now the last kind of corrupt commonwealths remaineth to be seene, which is called Democracy, where free and poore men being the greater number, are Lords of the estate. There were five sorts of them, the first, where the gouernment was equally communicated to all, the second where regard was had to wealth, although it was but small, the third, where all the citizens were partakers of the gouernment vnder the ruling of the law: the fourth, where euery one might attaine to the magistracy, so that he were a citizen, and the law ruled: the fifth, where other things being equall, the multitude commanded and not the law: and then the people onely gouerned, according to their fantasie by decrees and prouisoies, which they gaue out daily, oppressing the vertuous, rich and noble, that they might liue in all liberty. This kinde is not to be called a common wealth, seeing the lawes beare no sway, but being answerable to a tyranny, it is passing ill, and vnworthy to be numbred among Common wealths. *Plato* and *Xenophon* wrote that the Democratic of Athens was such a one, where the people was giuen ouer to all licentiousnes without either feare of Magistrates, or obseruation of lawes. Now of the three kinds of good Common wealths mentioned by vs, *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* and *Cicero*, compound another, that is partaker of all three: saying, that euery kinde of Common wealth established simply, and alone by it selfe, soone degenerateth in to the next vice, if it be not moderated and kept backe by the rest. Therefore they say that a common wealth erected with a right gouernment to continue long, must haue the vertues and properties of the other Common wealths, ioyned together in her, to the ende that nothing grow out of proportion, which may cause her to degenerate into her next euill, and so consequently overthrow her. Likewise many ancient and late Politikes haue maintained, that the Commonwealths of the Lacedaemonians, Carthaginians, Romanes, and others that are famous, as that of the Venetians, were compound and mildly intermingled with the royall, Aristocraticall, and popular power. But this subiect deserueth well a seuerall discourse, which being needlesse for the vnderstanding of the matter here propounded vnto vs, wee will not stay any longer in the curious searching out of fundrie other kinds of estates and policies, which the Ancients haue drawne out of these already described. We will note therefore for the conclusion of our speech, that the reason why so many kinds of Common wealths are mentioned by the Ancients is this, because euery city is compounded of many parts, the diuersitie of which, according as they were in greater number and power, caused them to varie the names of gouernments. But to auoide confusion and obscuritie, we may say, that if the soueraignty consisteth in one only Prince, the Estate is Monarchicall: if all the people haue interest in it, the Estate is popular: and if onely the least part of them haue the chiefe power, the Estate is Aristocraticall. But if their forme of gouernment be contrarie to their nature, they take another qualitie, but change not their essence. Moreover wee say, that the preleruation of euery publike societie dependeth of the policie well ordained, without which there can be nothing but disorder and confusion among men. Wee say, that policie is the order of a city in the

How an Oligarchy is changed into a tyranny with examples thereof. Of a Timocracy. His meaning is, that it is ruled by some lawes taken from each of these.

Of a Democracy. Five kinds thereof, according to *Aristotle* in his 4. booke of Politic. cap. 4.

Athena a Democraticall Estate.

Of a mixt kinde of common-wealth.

Examples hereof.

The perfectest distinction of common-wealths. There is difference betwene the estate and the gouernment of a commonwealth.

Examples of
the popular
estate.
Of the Ari-
stocraticall.
Of the Mo-
narchie.

offices of Magistracie, namely, in the chiefe of all, in whose government the whole Common-wealth consisteth: which if it be in the peoples hands, is called Popular, as in the Cantons of Switzerland, and leagues of the Grisons, in many free townes in Germany, and in old time was in Athens: if in the hands of certaine persons, as of the gentlemen of Venice, and of some families in Genes, it is called Aristocraticall: if it dependeth of the will of one alone, it is called a Monarchy, as in France, Spaine, Portingale, England, Scotland, Sweathland, Polonia. Further we say, that the diuersitie of government among cities and peoples, dependeth of their end: if they tend to a good end, which is to publike benefite, they are good and iust: but if to an ill end, namely, to the particular profite of such as command, they are euill and vniust.

*Of the soueraigne Magistrate, and of his authoritie
and office. Chap. 54.*

What right i.
T O B.

The founda-
tion of euery
estate is the
soueraignie
thereof.
Euery estate
consisteth of
three parts.

The magi-
strate is the
image of God

The wisest
must rule.

Why God di-
stributeth his
gifts diuersly
to diuers men.

A well gouer-
ned family
resembleth
the kingly
regiment.

Gen. 10. 10.
Of the origi-
nall of king-
domes.

A C H I. **V** E commonly say that that thing is rightly done, which is done according to the order and institution of policy. Neither is right any other thing amongst vs, than the order of that estate vnder which we liue, the soueraignty whereof is the sure foundation, vnion and bond of all the particulars in one perfect body of a common-wealth. And when iudgements are exercised by the Magistrates, when the will of iustice is declared by the exposition of the lawes and of right, and when we direct our actions vnder iustice, then is the order of ciuill societie duly obserued. Hereupon in our last discourse we said, that the estate of a Common-wealth was compounded of three generall parts, of the Magistrate, of the Law, and of the People. Thus following our purpose, let vs intreate particularly of these parts, whereof euery Common-wealth consisteth: and first let vs consider of the chiefe Magistrate, and of his authority and office.

A S E R. All ciuill superioritie is a holy and lawfull vocation before God. And as iustice is the end of the law, and the law a worke of the Magistrate, so also the Magistrate is the image of God, who ruleth and gouerneth all, according to which mould and patterne hee must fashion himselfe through the meanes of vertue.

A M A N A. As in a man that is well disposed both in body and soule according to nature not corrupted, the soule ruleth and commandeth with reason, being the better part, and the body with the affections thereof serue and obey, as the worse part: so is it in euery humane assembly. It belongeth to the wisest to rule, and to such as are lesse aduised to obey. Therefore the Magistrate must aboue all things labour, that hee be not vnworthy of that person which he sustaineth. But let vs heare **A R A M** discourse of this matter which is here propounded vnto vs.

A R A M. God being carefull of all things, euen of the very least, and comprehending in himselfe the beginning, end, and midst of them, according to his good pleasure, and making all in all by his onely Spirit, respecting the common good of this whole frame, and preservation of humane societie, hath from time to time distributed to sundry persons distinct and different graces, that in exercising diuers estates, charges, administrations, offices, handicrafts, and occupations, they might through mutuall succour and interchangeable helpe preserve and maintaine themselves. This is that which wee see in cities amongst ciuill companies, which is as much to say, as a multitude of men vnlike in qualities and conditions, as rich, poore, free, bond, noble, vile, skilfull, ignorant, artificers, laborers: some obeying, others commanding, and all communicating together in one place their arts, handicrafts, occupations, and exercises, to this end that they may liue the better, and more commodiously. They obey also the same Magistrates, lawes, and soueraigne counsell, which *Plato* calleth the Anchor, head, and soule of the citie: which naturally tendeth to some order and rule of dominion, as that which tooke beginning and increase from persons acquainted with a government that resembleth the royall regiment, as appeareth in euery well ordered familie, and hath already beene touched of vs. The first soueraigne government was established either by the violence of the mightiest, as *Thucydides*, *Cesar*, *Plutarke*, and others write: and the holy historie testifieth the same vnto vs, and putteth this opinion out of doubt, where it is said, that *Nimrod Chams* nephew, was the first that brought men into subiection by force and violence, establishing his principalitie in the kingdome of Assyria: Or if any will beleuee

Demosthenes

Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero, the first soueraigne was instituted vpon their will and good liking, who for their owne commodity, rest and securitie, submitted themselves to such as excelled most in vertue in those times, which they called heroicall. Who knoweth not (saith *Cicero* in his oration for *Seftius*) that the nature of men was sometimes such, that not hauing naturall equity as yet written, they wandred vp and downe beeing disperfed in the fields, and had nothing but that which they could catch and keepe forceably by murders and wounds? Wherefore some excellling in vertue and counsell, and knowing the docilitie and vnderstanding of man, gathered the disperfed together into one place, and brought them from the rudenesse wherein they were, vnto iustice and gentlenesse. Then they established those things that belonged to common profit, which wee call publike, and appointed assemblies, afterward called cities, and walled about, their buildings ioyned together, which wee call townes, hauing first found out both diuine and humane equitie. At the same time the authoritie of Magistrates tooke place, who were instituted by the consent of the people, for that excellent heroicall vertue, which they saw in those first Rectors and Ordainers of ciuill societie, to whom was committed the iurisdiction of lawes, or receiued customes, and the disposition of written equitie to rule and gouerne their people thereafter. But not to stay long about the diuersitie of those opinions, which wee haue here alleadged for the establishment of the soueraigntie, this is out of question, that the foundation of euery common wealth dependeth thereupon, and that it is the absolute and perpetuall power of the common wealth, and is not limited either in power, or charge, or for a certaine time. This soueraigntie is in him or them that are chiefe of the Estate: and a little king is as much a soueraigne as the greatest Monarch of the earth. For a great kingdome (saith *Cassiodorus*) is nothing else but a great common wealth, vnder the keeping of one chiefe soueraigne. But before wee intreate more amply of his authoritie and office, it behooueth vs to render a reason of the name of *Magistrate*, which is heere giuen vnto him. This word *Magistrate*, hath bene taken of the Ancients in diuers significations: and *Plato* maketh seuen teene sorts of them, calling some necessary Magistrates, others honorable. *Aristotle* said, that they ought chiefly to bee called Magistrates, that haue power to take counsell, to iudge, and to command, but especially to command. And this doth the Greeke word *ἀρχαι* and *ἀρχοντες*, sufficiently declare, as if hee would say, *Commanders*; and the Latine word *Magistratus*, being a word of commanding, signifieth to master, and to exercise dominion. Also the Dictator, who had the greatest power to command, was called of the Ancients, *Magister populi*. Therefore albeit the name of Magistrate hath bene heretofore, and is yet giuen to all that haue publike and ordinary charge in the Estate, yet wee will as it were abuse this name a little, by transferring it to the Soueraigne of all, of whom all Magistrates, lawes, and ordinances of the Common wealth depend. Now let vs see whether this vocation of the Magistrate bee lawfull and approoued of God. Wee haue not onely infinite testimonies in the Scripture, that the estate of Magistrates is acceptable before God, but which is more, it is adorned with honourable titles, that the dignitie thereof might bee singularly commended vnto vs. When wee see that all men placed in authoritie are called gods, wee must not esteeme this title to be of small importance, seeing it appeareth thereby, that they are authorized by him, and represent his Maiestie in the ruling and gouerning of vs. If the Scripture (as that heauenly Word saith) called them gods, vnto whom the word of God was giuen, what is that else but that they haue charge and commission from God to serue him in there office, and (as *Moses* and *Iosaphat* said to their Iudges, whom they appointed ouer euery city of Iudah) to exercise iustice, not in the name of men, but in the name of God? By mee (saith the wisdom of God) kings reigne, and princes decree iustice. By mee princes rule, and the nobles, and all the iudges of the earth. Moreouer wee see, that many holy men haue obtained kingdoms, as *Dauid, Iosias, Ezechias*: some governments and great estates vnder Kings, as *Iosaphat* and *Daniel*: others the guiding of a free people, as *Moses, Iosua*, and the Iudges, whose calling and estate was acceptable to God, as hee hath declared by his Spirit. Wherefore no man ought to doubt of this, that ciuill superiority is not onely a holy and lawfull calling before God, but also the holiest and most honourable of all other, whereunto all the people is subiect, as well by the establishment of the right of the estate, as by the holy and heauenly ordinance of God. And if the Magistrate bee perswaded (as it is most certaine, that many Estates haue had that foundation) that the cause of his first institution, and voluntarie subiection whereunto the people submitted themselves for their common benefite, was that excellencie of vertue, which appeared in some about the rest, ought he not to thinke himselfe

Cicero his opinion therein.

What soueraigntie is.

A little king almost as much a Soueraigne as the greatest Monarch. Of the name of Magistrate.

The Dictator of Rome was called *Magister populi*.

The calling of Magistrates preued to be lawfull. *Psalm 82.6.*

Ioh 10.39.

2. Chron. 19.6.

Pro. 8.15.16.

The calling of the magistrate is most holy.

He is the minister of Gods justice.
Good counsellor for magistrates

The Magistrate compared to the heart of a living creature.

And to a carpenters rule.

The Magistrate is in the Common wealth that which reason is in the soule. The example of the magistrate is the best way to teach the people. Whereunto the prince is bound as well as his subiect.

The duty of the Magistrate consisteth in three things. The art roiall Philosophical and political is all one.

unworthy of so honorable a title, if hee want the cause of the beginning thereof? But further, if the magistrate know that hee is appointed the minister of Gods justice, unto what great integritie, prudence, clemencie, moderation, and innocency, ought hee to conforme and frame himselfe? With what confidence dare hee suffer any iniquitie to haue entrance into his seate, which hee vnderstandeth to bee the throne of the living God? With what boldnesse will hee pronounce any vniust sentence out of his mouth, which hee knoweth is appointed to bee an instrument of the truth of God? With what conscience will hee subscribe to, or seale any euill statute with his hand, which hee knoweth is ordained to write the decrees of God? To be short, if the Magistrate call to minde, that as God hath placed the Sun and Moone in the heauens as a token of his diuinitie, so he is also appointed in the earth for the like representation & light, will he not think that he is to imploy & bestow al his care and study, that he may represent unto men in all his doings: as it were an image of the providence, defence, goodnes, clemency, & iustice of God? It is certain that the Magistrate is the same thing in the Common wealth, which the heart is in the body of a living creature. If the heart be sound & pure, it giueth life vnto the whole body, because it is the fountain of the blood, and of the spirits: but being corrupted, it bringeth death and destruction to al the members. So fareth it with the Magistrate, who is the soule of the people, their glas, and the white whereat all his subiects aime. If he liue vnder right reason, truth, & iustice, which are the proper will of God onely, he is not vnlike to a line or rule, which being first right it self, afterward correcteth all other crooked things that are applyed vnto it. For nothing is more naturall, than that subiects should conforme themselves to the maners, deeds, & words of their prince. The wise Hebrew, *Plato*, *Cicero*, and *Titus, Liuius*, haue left this Maxime vnto posterity as an infallible rule of Estate. And *Theodericus* king of the Gothes, writing to the Senate of Rome goeth yet farther, vsing these words, as *Cassiodorus* rehearseth them: *That the course of nature would sooner faile, than the people would leaue off to be like their prince.* but further, as the heart in the bodies of living creatures is last corrupted, inso much that the last relicks of life seeme to abide therein, so it is meet, that, if any disease corrupt the people, the soueraigne Magistrate should continue pure and sound vnto the end from all that pollution. If there bee any euill in the soule, it proceedeth from the wickednes of the body, beeing subiect to peruerse affections, and looke what good thing soeuer is in the body, it floweth from the soule, as from the fountain therof. Now as it would be against nature, if the euils of the body should come from the soule, and the good gifts of the body should bee corrupted by the vices of the spirit, so would it be very absurd, that corrupt maners, euil laws, vice, and vngodlines should proceede from the Magistrate vnto the people, seeing (as *Plato* saith, hee holdeth the same place in the common wealth, that reason doth in the soule, which guideth the other parts by wisdom. And forasmuch as the whole Common wealth representeth but one certaine body compounded of diuers members, whereof the Magistrate is the Head and most excellent of all, he must also vse such equity, that he profite every one of them, and beware that he be not contagious to the whole publike body through his euil example. The people (saith *Seneca*) giue more credite to their eyes, than to their eares, that is to say, they beleue that which they see, sooner than that which they heare. And to instruct the people by precepts, is a long and difficult way; but to teach them by examples is very short, and of greater efficacy. I therefore the Magistrate must be more carefull of that which he doth, than of that which he speaketh. And that which he prescribeth his subiects for a rule, as it were by law, must be confirmed of him by his workes and deeds. For as he is chiefly bound to follow the lawes of God and nature, so he must make all those lawes and statutes, which he establisheth in his estate, according to that patterne. And therefore one of the Auncients saide very well, that the prince together with his subiects, had one and the same God to serue, one lawe to keepe, and one death to feare. We will then briefly comprehend the duty of the Magistrate in these three things, in ruling, in teaching, and in iudging his people: which are so neerely knitte and ioyned together, that the one cannot bee well exercised without the other, and he that faithfully dischargeth one, fulfilleth them all. For this cause *Plato* saith, that the art & science of the King, of the philosopher, and of the Politian, is one and the same, because they consist all three in knowing how to rule, to teach, and to iudge well. Hee saith also, that the onely way to procure true quietnesse and most happie felicitie in Common wealths is when by some diuine providence the soueraigne authority of Magistracy meeteth with the will of a wise Philosopher in one person, that vertue may bee superiour, and vice suppressed. And if such a gouernour ouer people is to be accounted very happy, they are

are no lesse happie that may heare the excellent discourses, and good instructions which proceed from his mouth. Besides, when they see vertue after a lively sort imprinted in a visible patterne, and that the Magistrates life is such an example, they become wise of their owne accord. Then is force, constraint, or threatening, needlesse to bring them to their duty, as they that conforme themselves to an upright and good life in friendship, charitie, and concord, one with another. So that we may boldly say, that hee is by nature most woorthie of soueraigne authoritie, who is able by his vertue to imprint in mens hearts the like disposition and affection to liue well and vertuously. But forasmuch as few vertuous men are found, and soueraigne Magistrates are not commonly chosen out of that small number, but come to that authoritie for the most part by succession: it is no maruell if there bee but few such Magistrates, as wee haue heere described: nay, it is rather greatly to bee wondered at, if any one among a great manie become very excellent. Notwithstanding, as their soueraignie is nothing lesse ouer their subiects, who owe fidelitie and obedience vnto them: so are they alwaies bound to doe their dutie and office toward them, which consisteth in ministring iustice, counsell, comfort, aide, and protection. Moreover, because insolencie and rebellious wickednesse is alwaies to bee found in some corrupt persons, who neither by teaching, nor by example of good life will bee brought to vertue, but perseuere in committing a thousand impious and vniust actions: for the punishment of such, the sword is put into the Magistrates hand, both by the law of God and man, that as the Minister of God hee should serue his wrath, and take vengeance of them that doe euill. This is that which is so expressly commanded to Magistrates in infinite places of the Scripture, vnder these words: *Doe iudgement and iustice*: iustice in deliuering him that is oppressed by force, from the hand of the oppressor, in not grieuing strangers, widowes, and orphants, in offering no iniurie to any, in shedding no innocent blood, and in dealing vprightly with euery one: and Iudgement in resisting the boldnesse of the wicked, in repressing their impudency and violence, and in punishing their faults. *It is an abomination to kings* (saith the wise man) *to commit wickednes: for the throne is established by iustice. A king that sitteth in the throne of iudgement, chaseth away all euill with his eyes. A wise king scattereth the wicked, and canseth the wheele to turne over them. Take the drosse from the silver, and there shall proceede a vessell for the finer. Take away the wicked from the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness. As well he that iustifieth the wicked, as he that condemneth the iust, is an abomination vnto God. The people and nation curse him that saith to the wicked, thou art iust.* Yea, an offence is to bee imputed as much or more to him that suffereth it to be done, when he may and is bound to slay it, than to him that committeth the same. And if it be a point of true iustice in Magistrates to persecute the wicked with drawne sword, let not them that wil needs (forsooth) abstaine from al severity, and keepe their hands pure from blood, whilest the swords of the wicked are drawne out to commit murder and violence: I say, let them not doubt but they themselves shall bee iudged guiltie of great iniustice before the diuine Maiestie. It is true, that gentlenesse and clemencie most of all becometh a great and excellent man, and is one principall vertue necessary for a Magistrate. Notwithstanding it must be so ruled, that for the benefit of the Commonwealth, severity and rigor bee ioined therewith: because it is vnpossible to rule and gouerne a multitude without this. And yet it is not the part either of a wise Physitian, or of a good gouernour of an estate, to set hand to the iron, except in great necessity, when there is no other remedy. For if they doe otherwise, as there is want of discretion in both, so most of all in the Magistrate, because iniustice also is ioined with crueltie. So that it is necessary both in clemency and rigor to keepe some honest meane by right reason, and prudence, to the end that the inconueniences of both may beeschued. This is that which *Isoocrates*, speaking of the manner of reigning well teacheth, when he saith, that man must be seuer in searching out of faults, and merciful in imposing punishments that are lesse then the faults, gouerning men more by clemencie and prudence than by rigor and cruelty. And seeing it falleth out so, that an ouerseuer Magistrate becometh odious, and that he is contemned and despised who is too gracious, a wise man must be both ciuill and graue: grauitie being comely in commanding, and ciuility necessary for him that conuerseth with men. For the conclusion therefore of our discourse, we learne, that both by the establishment of euery estate and policie, and by a holy and heauenly decree, we are subiect to the soueraigne Magistrate, who is lawfully ordayned to rule, to teach, and to iudge vs in all things that respect this present life, and the preservation of ciuill society. We learne that seeing he is the image of God vpon earth, he must conforme himselfe as much as hee is able to the perfection of all goodnes and iustice, that hee may bring on them that are committed to his charge, to godlinesse and vertue by his example

Who is most worthy of soueraigne authoritie. Why there are so few vertuous Princes.

Wherein the duty of the chiefe Magistrate consisteth.

Why the sword is put into the Magistrates hand Ier. 22. 3.

What is meant by this precept.

Doe Iudgement and Iustice.

Pro. 16. 12. & 20. 8, 16.

Pro. 23. 4, 5.

He that suffereth euill, is culpable as well as he that committeth it

Severity and clemency are to be linked together in a Magistrate.

Ciuility and grauity must be ioined both together in a Magistrate. The dutie of the Magistrate.

ample: and that it is his duty to honor the good, and to punish the euill, declaring thereby that he is the protector and preseruer of publike tranquility, honesty, innocency, and modestly, and appointed to maintaine the common safety, and peace of all men.

Of the Law. Chap. 55.

All motions contained vnder one, & all causes vnder the first.

ARAM.

AS wee note in the vniuersall frame of the world, that many vnlike motions are contained within one heavenly motion, which is alwaies to it self, and all causes by the first cause, as in every living creature many sundry members distinct in office, are comprised and brought into vnion and agreement by the soule & hart: so in every Common wealth compounded of many differing parts, necessary for the establishment thereof, the law is the blood that giueth vertue and life vnto it, the bond that reduceth all the parts thereof to vnitie, and the firme preseruer of ciuill society. Therefore seeing (my Companions) wee haue discoursed of the first part of every ciuill estate and government, which is the chiefe Magistrate, let vs consider now of the second, no lesse necessary therein, which is the law, wherby he is loyned and vnited to the rest of the publike body for the maintenance and preservation thereof.

The law is the blood and bond of the Common-wealth.

ACHITOB. The law is in the city, as the spirit is in the body. For as the body without the spirit vndoubtedly perisheth, in like manner every citie and Common wealth that hath no law, falleth into ruine and perdition. Therefore *Cicero* calleth lawes the soules of Common wealths.

The law is the spirit and soule of the common-wealth.

ASER. As the soule guideth the body, and induceth it with ability to worke: so the Law is the direction and maintenance of every estate. By the Law is the Magistrate obeyed, and the subiects kept in peace and quietnesse. Bus let vs heare *AMANA* handle this matter.

All creatures are sociable by nature.

AMANA. Wee see that naturally all living creatures, whether earthly, aery, or flying tame, or wilde, seeke after the companies and assemblies of their kindes, to liue with them, as Sheepe by flockes, Kine Oxen, Harts, and Hindes, feeding by heards, Horses, Asses, and Mules by companies: Choughs, Srares, Cranes, & other birds by Flights, Fishes both in fresh and salt waters following one another in shoales, Bees dwelling in hives, Pigeons in dove houses, Ants in little hollow places. No maruell therefore if men singularly adorned with an immortall soule, with reason and speech, and by these prerogatiues more communicable than other creatures, as borne to honour God, to loue one another, to liue together in a ciuill policy with laws, Magistrates, and iudgements, hauing proper to themselves only the knowledge of good and euill, of honesty, and of dishonesty, of iustice and iniustice, knowing the beginnings and causes of things, their proceedings, antecedents, and consequents, their similitudes and contrarieties, no maruell I say, if they liue more commodiously and happily together, and do that by right and equity, which other living creatures doe onely by a naturall instinct, seeing also they may be assured (as *Cicero* saith) that nothing here below is more acceptable to God the gouernour of all the world, than the congregations and assemblies of men linked together by right and equitie, which we call cities. Now we are to note, that all those which obey the same laws & Magistrates, make iointly together but one city, which (as *Aristotle* saith) is every company assembly together for some benefit. If a city be assembled in a Monarch wise, it is to be defended against strangers, and to liue peaceably among themselves, according to law: if Aristocratically vnder certain chiefe lords, it is to be respected according to their riches, nobility & vertue, if in a popalar community, it is to enioy libertie & equality, & the better that the city is guided by policy, the greater benefit they hope for thereby. Therefore as the *Venetians* make but one citie, liuing vnder an Aristocraticall gouernment: the *Bernians* another, liuing vnder a Democracy, whether they liue within or without the wals, or far from the chief towne: so all the naturall subiects of this Monarchy, acknowledging one king for their souerain lord, and obeying his commandements, and the decrees of his counsell, represent one city & political communion, compounded of many villages, townes, and provinces, prouostshippes, baliweekes, Seneshalships, governments, Parliaments, Barronies, Counties, Marquesies, Dukedomes, Cures, Bishoprickes, Archbishoprickes, beeing in and of it selfe sufficiently furnished with all necessary and honest things, for the leading of a good and vertuous life, and obeying the statutes, lawes and ordinances established therein, according to which the Magistrate ought to rule and to gouerne his subiects, shewing thereby

What a city is The diuers end of the three good Common-wealths.

thereby, that albeit they be not subiect to the law, yet hee will (as it becometh him) liue and gouerne himselfe vnder the law. Therefore the Magistrates is very well called by some a *living law*, and the law a *mute Magistrate*. Moreover, the marke of a soueraigne prince, of which dependeth whatsoeuer he doth by his imperiall authority, is the power to prescribe lawes vnto all in generall, and to euery one in particular, and not to receive any but of God, who is the iudge of Princes, (saith *Marcus Aurelius*) as Princes are the iudges of their subiects; yea it is God (saith the wise man) that will proceede with rigour against them for the contempt of his law. So that they which say generally, that princes are no more subiect to lawes, than to their owne covenants, if they except not the lawes of God and of nature, and those iust covenants and bargains that are made with them, they are iniurious to God. And as for their power to abrogate such lawes by their absolute authority, it is no more permitted vnto them than the other seeing the power of a soueraigne is onely ouer the ciuill or positue lawes. But that wee may haue some certaine vnderstanding of the matter here propounded vnto vs to intreate of, we must first see what the law is, into how many kindes it is diuided, whereunto it ought to tend, the profit of it, and how we must obey it. The law is a singular reason imprinted in nature, commanding those things that are to be done, and forbidding the contrary. Wee haue both the law of nature, and the law written. The law of nature is a sense and feeling, which euery one hath in himselfe, and in his conscience, whereby he discerneth betweene good & euill, as much as sufficeth to take from him the cloke of ignorance, in that he is reprooued euen by his owne witnes. The written law is double, diuine, and ciuill. The diuine law is diuided into three parts, that is, into Manners, Ceremonies, and Iudgments. That of manners was called of the auncient writers the Morall law, being the true and eternall rule of Iustice, appointed for all men, in what country or time soeuer they liue, if they will direct their life according to the will of God. And as for the Ceremonies and Iudgements; although they haue some relation to manners, yet because both of them might bee altered and abolished without the corruption or diminution of good manners, the auncients did not comprehend those two parts vnder the word Morall, but attributed his name particularly to the first part of the law, of which the sincere integrity of Manners dependeth, which neither may nor ought in any sort to be altered or changed, and whereunto the end of all other lawes is to be referred, in honouring God by a pure faith, and by godlines, and in being ioyned vnto our neighbour by true loue. The ceremoniall law was a Pedagogie of the Iewes, that is to say, a doctrine of infancy giuen to that people to exercise them vnder the obedience to God, vntill the manifestation of these things which are then figured in shadows. The Iudiciall law giuen vnto them for policy, taught them certaine rules of iustice and equity, whereby they might liue peaceably together without hurting one another. Now, as the exercise of ceremonies appertained to the doctrine of piety, which is the first part of the Morall law (because it nourished the Iewish Church in the reuerence of God) and yet was distinct from true piety: in like manner, albeit the Iudiciall law tended to no other end than to the preservation of the selfe same charity that is commanded in the Morall law, yet it had a distinct property, which was not expressely declared in the commandement of charity. As therefore the ceremonies were abrogated, and true religion and piety, I meane Christian, substituted in place of the Iudiciall law: so the iudiciary lawes were cancelled and abolished, without violating in any sort the duty of charity. So that all nations haue liberty to make for themselves such lawes as they shall thinke expedient for them, called of vs ciuill lawes, which must be squared according to the eternall rule of charity, and differing onely in forme, they must all haue one end, commanding alwaies honest and vertuous things, and contrariwise forbidding those that are dishonest and vicious. Now of these ciuill lawes, there are two chiefe kinds amongst vs. The first consisteth in lawes that are ratified and established, vpon which euery Monarchy and publike gouernment is first grounded, and hath his beginning, which ought not in any wise to be infringed or changed: such are those which we call the lawes of the French men: namely, the Salicke law, established by *Pharamond*, who was the first that tooke vpon him the name of king ouer them. Such lawes also are annexed & vnited to the crown, & therefore the prince cannot so abrogate them, but that his successor may disanull whatsoeuer hee hath done in preiudice of them, much lesse are subiects permitted to attempt any such matter, yea al those that go about it, seeke nothing but to moue sedition in the Estate, and to cause subiects to reuolt from their superiors. As for the other ciuill lawes, as Constitutions, Ordinances, Edicts, and Customes, which haue bene made and receiued according to the condition and circumstance of times and places, they are in the power of the soueraigne Prince, to

A king must liue vnder a law, albeit he be not subiect to the law. The marke of a soueraigne. W 163. How far princes are subiect to lawes. Wherein the absolute power of princes consisteth.

The definition of the law. The diuision of it. What the law of nature is. The diuision of the written law. The diuision of the law of God. Of the Morall law.

Of the Ceremoniall law. Of the Iudiciall law.

Of ciuill or positue lawes. The diuision of ciuill lawes. What ciuill lawes may not be changed. The Salicke law immutable.

What ciuill lawes may be changed.

A prince may deny the request of his three estates, hauing reason and iustice on his side.

The change of lawes in a well settled Estate is dangerous.

A seuer decree of the Locrians against such as would bring in new lawes.

Mischiefes in a commonwealth must be resisted in the beginning.

The Law is the foundation of ciuill societies.

Bias.

We must not iudge of the law but according to the law

Why the Lacedæmonian lawes might not bee changed.

The ancient lawmakers.

No law before the law of God.

The necessity and profite of a law.

change and to correct them as occasion shall serue. And yet in the generall and particular customes of this Realme, none haue beene commonly changed, but after the lawfull assemblie of three generall Estates of France, or else of the particular Estates of euery Province: not as if the king were necessarilie bound to stand to their aduice, or might not doe contrarie to that which they demand, if naturall reason and iustice stand with his will. And then whatsoever it pleaseth him to like or dislike, to command or forbid, is held for a Law, an Edict, and Decree, and euery subiect is bound to obey it. But to speake generally of the lawes of an Estate, the changing and gainsaying of them is a very pernicious plague in euerie commonwealth. This auncient rule and Maxime of wise Politickes, is well woorth the marking: *That nothing is to bee changed in the lawes of a Common wealth which hath a long time preserved it selfe in good estate, what apparant profite soeuer a man may pretend.* And for this cause in the popular gouernment of the Romans vnder *Publius Philo* the Dictator, that Athenian Edict was receiued, and past by force of Law, whereby it was not lawfull for any to present a request to the people, without the aduice of the Senate. But there was a farre more strict and seuer decree amongst the Locrians. For it was to this effect (as *Demosthenes* rehearseth) that euery citizen that was desirous to bring in a new law, should come and declare it publikelie before the people with a halter about his necke, to the ende that if his new lawe was not thought meete to bee receiued, and very profitable for the common wealth, hee might presently bee strangled as a worthie reward for his rashnesse. In euerie societie (saith *Aristotle*) that is well instituted and ordained by lawes, great care is to be taken that no part of the law, although neuer so little be diminished or changed: yea, most heed is to be had of that which is done by little and little. For if resistance bee not then made, it falleth out in the Common wealth, as in the diseased bodie of a man, wherein the disease, if speedy remedie bee not vsed in the beginning thereof, increaseth by little and little, and that which might easily haue beene cured, through negligence is made incurable. Men neuer begin (saith *Paulus Æmilius* the Romane Consell) to alter and change the estate of a Common wealth, but by making their first entrance with some notorious resisting of the lawes. And therefore we must thinke that the preservation of the principall foundation of a Politike Estate is left at random, when men neglect the care of keeping diligently the constitutions thereof, how light, or of smal importance soeuer they seeme to bee. For seeing the law is the sure foundation of euery ciuill societie, if that faile, it must needs be, that the whole politicall building will fall to ruine. Therefore *Bias* the wise said, that the Estate of that Commonwealth is happy, wherein all the inhabitants feare the law as a seuer Tyrant. For then whatsoever it requireth, is vndoubtedly performed. After the law is once established and approoued (saith *Isidorus*) we must not iudge of it, but iudge according vnto it. That is the best policy (saith *Chilon* one of the Sages of Gracia) where the people harken more to lawes, than to the Oratours. This also was the cause that *Pausanias* the Lacedæmonian made this answer to one who demanded of him, why it was not lawfull in their countrey to alter any of their ancient lawes. Thereason is (quoth hee) because the lawes must bee Mistresses ouer men, and not men Maisters ouer the lawes. Moreouer, the antiquitie and profit of lawes are so euidēt, that it is so needlesse to make any long discourse thereof here. *Moses* was the first lawmaker of the Hebrewes; *Mercurius Trismegistus* one of the Egyptians; *Phoronius* the king of the Gracians; *Solon* of the Athenians; *Lycurgus* of the Lacedæmonians; *Anacarsis* of the Scythians; *Numa Pompilius* of the Romans. Tenne noble men were chosen by the Senate and people of Rome, to translate and to expound the lawes of the twelve tables. We haue already declared how *Pharamond* made ours. The greatest and best part of the lawes of Germanie was established by *Charles* the great, Emperour and King of France. And so all regions haue had diuers lawmakers, according to the condition and circumstance of time, place, and countrey. True it is, that before the publishing of the law of God, there was no lawmaker of whome we haue any knowledge: and surely not so much as one word of a law is to be found in all the workes of *Homer*, or *Orpheus*, or of any before *Moses*. But Princes iudged and commanded all things by their soueraigne power, which kinde of gouernment beeing more tyrannicall than kingly, could not be of any continuance or assurance, because there was no bond to knit the great with the small, and so consequently no agreement. Besides, this is out of doubt, that all the subiects of an Estate stand in neede of a law, as of a light to guide them in the darknesse of humane actions: especiallie it is necessarie for the terrifying of the wicked, who might pretend some true cause of their ignorance, or some probable colour of their wickednesse, or at least some shewe why they should escape the punishment, which is not imprinted

in our hearts, as things forbidden by nature. Neuerthelesse it is not the lawe that maketh a right government, but vpright iustice, and the equall distribution thereof, which ought to bee surer ingrauen in the mindes of good kings and princes, than in tables of stone. And it is to small purpose to multiply Edicts and Decrees, if they bee not seuerely obserued: yea the first signe that a man may haue of the losse of an Estate, is when there appeareth an vbridled licence and a facilitie in dispensing with good statutes, and when new decrees are daily consulted of. And if the estate be already troubled, the heaping vp of lawes vpon lawes is no lesse dangerous for it, than a multitude of medicines in a weake stomacke; whereas contrariwise, new introductions and abuses are then especially to be taken away, and things brought backe againe to their first and ancient forme. Histories teach vs, that when Edicts and decrees were most of all multiplied, then did tyranny gather greatest strength. As it fell out vnder the tyrant *Caligula*, who published decrees of all sorts both good and bad, and those written in so small a letter, that men could not reade them, to the end that hee might thereby snare those that were ignorant. His successor *Claudius* made twenty edicts in one day, and yet tyranny was neuer so cruell, nor men more wicked than at that time. Therefore let the lawes and good ordinances of an estate bee inuiolable, straightly kept, and subiect to dispensation, not fauourable to great men, but common and equall to all, and then shall the bond of ciuill society bee surely tyed. Now whereas I saide, that all nations haue liberty to prescribe and frame ciuill lawes for themselues, my meaning was not to approoue certaine barbarous and beastly lawes receiued of some people: as those lawes which allowed theeeues a certaine reward, which permitted the companie of men and women indifferently, and innumerable others more dishonest, which are not onely void of all iustice, but euen of all humanity. But these two things must bee kept inuolably in all lawes, namely, *The ordinance of the Law, and the equity of it*, vpon the reason whereof the ordinance is grounded. Equitie is alwaies one and the same to all people, because it is naturall. Therefore all the lawes in the world, of what matter soeuer they are, must meete in the same equitie. Concerning the ordinance of the law, because it is ioyned with circumstances, no inconuenience letteth but that it may bee diuers among fundry nations, provided alwaies, that they all tende alike to the same marke of equity. Now seeing the diuine lawe which wee call morall, is nothing else but a testimony of the law of nature, and of the conscience that is imprinted in all mens hearts, no doubt but this equity whereof wee now speake, is wholly declared and comprehended therein. Therefore it is meete that this equity onely should bee the white, rule and end of all lawes. For (as *S. Augustine* saith in his booke of the city of God) every law that beareth not the image of the diuine law, is a vaine censure. And iustice is the end of euery law well established; which is the cause why *S. Paul* so greatly extolleth the vigour of the law, calling it the bond of perfection. Those lawes then which are squared out by this heavenly rule, which tend to this end, and are limited out by this measure, ought to bee receiued and followed cherefully, albeit they differ from the Mosaicall law, or otherwise one from another. For many haue denied (and some amongst vs are yet of that opinion) that no common wealth can bee well and iustly instituted and ordained, if leauing the policie of Moses, it bee gouerned by the common lawes of other nations: which is so absurd a thing, and would bee the cause of so great confusion in the policies of the world, that there needeth no great store of arguments to prooue it vaine and friuolous. Moreover, by that distinction of the law which wee haue already set downe in our discourse, it appeareth sufficiently, that the opinion of these doters is grounded vpon a meere ignorance of the will of God. The Lawe of God forbiddeth stealing, and diuers paines and punishments are appointed for the same in the policy of the Iewes, according to the kinde, time, and place of the theft. The ancientest lawes of other nations punished theeeues by causing them to restore double that which they had stolne. Those lawes which followed made a distinction betweene open & secret theft: others vsed banishments, & some death. The law of God forbids false witnes bearing which was punished amongst the Iewes with the same punishment that the partie falsely accused should haue incurred, if hee had bene found guilty. In some other Countries there was no punishment for it but publike ignominie and shame: and in some also the gibbet. Briefly, all the lawes in the world with one common consent, how different soeuer they bee, tend to one and the same ende, pronouncing sentence of condemnation against those crimes that are condemned by the eternall Law of God: onely they agree not in equality of punishment, which is neither necessary nor expedient. There is some such countie that would speedily become desolate through murders and robberies, if it did not

The vpright & equal distribution of the law maketh a good government.

To dispence with good statutes, & daily to make new, is a token of the decay of a commonwealth. Examples thereof in *Caligula*, and in *Claudius*.

How laws may be kept inuolable.

Two things required in the keeping of euery law.

Equitie is alwaies one & the same to all people. The equitie of the morall law ought to be the end and rule of all other lawes.

Their opinion is confuted, who would tie all nations to the policies of Moses.

These punished diuersely in diuers nations. How false witnes was punished among the Iewes.

Ciuill ordi-
nances de-
pend onely of
the soue-
raigne ruler.

The ende
whereunto all
lawes are to
be referred,

exercise horrible and grievous punishments vpon the offenders in those crimes. There falleth out some such time as requireth increase of punishments. Some such nation there is that standeth in neede of some grievous correction to bee appointed for some speciall vice, wherunto otherwise it would bee more giuen than other nations. Hee that should bee offended at this diuersity, which is most meete to maintaine the obseruation of the Law of God, would bee not bee thought to haue a malicious minde, and to enuy publike benefit and quietnesse. For the conclusion of our present speech, let vs learne, that ciuil lawes and ordinances depend onely of the soueraigne ruler, and that he may change them according to the occurrence and benefit of state affaires. Let vs learne that all lawes must bee referred to the infallible rule of the iustice and will of God, and to the common profit of ciuill society: that he which commandeth vs to obey Magistrates not onely for feare of punishment, but also for conscience sake, requireth of vs such obedience to their lawes and ordinances: so that he is accursed that infringeth or contemneth them. Therefore we must voluntarily submit our selues vnto them, so that their generall end be to set an order and policy amongst vs, and not dispute of their reason and cause, as long as their iurisdiction extendeth not to our soules to lay vpon them a new rule of iustice.

*Of the People, and of their obedience due to the Magistrate,
and to the Law. Chap. 56.*

A M A N **V** E haue hitherto seene, that the preservation of policies dependeth on the obseruation of the law; that the soueraigne magistrate ruleth thereby, and vseth it as a bond to reduce to vnity and agreement all the Citizens of one Commonwealth, beeing vnlike in calling, and liuing vnder his dominion: at which marke every good politicke gouernor ought chiefly to aime. Now (my Companions) wee are to intreate of this third part of a city, which maketh the politike body perfect and absolute, namely, of the people, and of that obedience which they ought to yeeld to the magistrate and to the law.

The Magi-
strate is the
head, the law,
the soule, and
the people,
the body of
the common-
wealth.

A R A M. The whole common wealth fareth well or ill, as all her parts, euen to the least, are ruled, and containe themselves within the compasse of their dutie. For all of them together make but one body, whereof the magistrate is the head, and the law the soule that giueth life vnto it. Wherefore it is very needefull that these should alwaies commaund, and the other obey.

A C H I T O B. Whatsoeuer profiteth the whole, profiteth the part, and that which is commodious to the part, is also commodious to the whole: and so contrariwise. Wherefore to obey well, which is necessarily required of the people, is greatly auailable to the whole politticall body. Now let vs heare **A S E R** handle this matter vnto vs more at large.

The noun &
verbe are no
parts of Lo-
gike but of
Grammar.

A S E R. In every discipline the beginning is commonly taken from the least parts thereof. Grammer taketh his beginning from letters, which are the least things in it: Logicke from the two least parts thereof, namely, the Nowne, and the Verbe. Geometrie from the point: Arithmeticke from Vnity: Musicke from the Minnem and Sembrie, which are likewise the least parts thereof. Therefore hauing seene that policy is the order and life of the city, and that the city is a multitude of citizens, before wee speake of the whole body of them, we must (as I thinke) intreate first of a citizen, who, although he differ according to the diuersitie of common wealth, yet to take him properly, may bee said to bee every one that hath right to iudge in his city, and hath a deliberative voice in the generall or common councill thereof. This definition of a citizen cannot fitly bee applied to all citizens of all Commonwealths, but onely to those that are ruled popularly, wherein they are all equall, and gouerne themselves by assemblies, in which every one hath libertie to speake his aduice. Some define a citizen to bee hee whose parents are citizens: or else, to bee a free subiect holding of the soueraigntie of another: wherein they adde this word Free, to distinguish him from slaues and strangers. But generally wee may say, that whosoever may beare offices, or magistracy, in what forme of government soeuer, it is reputed and taked for a citizen: & such are all the naturall Frenchmen in this monarchy, amongst whom there is not one, how base soeuer he be, that may not be made noble by vertue, or that may not by skill and integrity of life attaine to the greatest estates of iustice, of treasury, & of other publike charges. This is not seene in all common wealths. For in the Seigniorie of Venice it seemeth that none are truly citizens

The definitio
of a citizen in
a popular state
Other defini-
tions of a citi-
zen.
A generall
definition of
a citizen.

citizens; but the lords and nobles, who onely enjoy the office of magistracie, and may enter into the great Councell after they have attained the age of five and twentie yeares. As for the people they intermeddle not with any matter of government, this onely excepted, that they may be Secretaries and Chancellors, as *Contarenius* reporteth. The citie of Rome having many times sundry governments, the appellation of a citizen was likewise diuers therein. Foraslong as the first kings ruled, the common people were altogether excluded from publike honors and offices. But after when the regall power was changed into the government of a certaine number of men, chosen by suffrages and common voices, the people were admitted to magistracies, and to the managing of affaires, being present at the publike assembly had in Mars his fiede, which was distributed by tribes, wards, companies; and centuries, to deliberate of the common estate, to create magistrates, and to decree new lawes: where he was reputed for a citizen indeed, that was a free man, that had both house and tribe, and possibilitie to attaine to honour, enjoying besides many other priuiledges and prerogatiues. But when the soueraigntie came into the Emperors hands, those assemblies continued onely vnder *Iulius* and *Octavianus*, and after were abrogated by *Tiberius*, and translated to the Senat, and to the absolute power of the Prince, taking away all authoritie from the people in publike matters. Now to returne to our former assertion, wee say, that all they are citizens to whom the gate that leadeth to the government of the citie lieth open, I meane the whole company of them that liue vnder the same lawes and soueraigne magistrates. Such are all the subiects and naturall vassals of our king, of whom the people and the nobility are the two orders of estates, and of them is the estate of the Church compounded, which maketh one part of the common wealth of France. This selfe same distinction of citizens is obserued almost throughout all Europe. But besides this generall diuision, there are some more speciall in many common wealths, as at Venice, into the *Gentlemen, Burgeses, and Common people*. And our ancient Gaules, had the *Druides, the Horsemen, and the inferior people*. In Egypt were the *Priests, the Souldiers, and the Artificers*. And although *Plato* laboured to make all the citizens of his common wealth equall in rights and prerogatiues, yet hee diuided them into three estates, into *Gardes, Souldiers, and Labourers*. Whereupon we must necessarily infer this conclusion, that there neuer was, nor can be Common wealth, wherein the citizens were equall in all rights and prerogatiues, but that some had more or lesse than others, and yet so, that wise Politikes haue carefully provided, that the meanest should haue no cause to complaine of their estate. Moreover, the conueniency and proportionable agreement of our French estates, hath bene the cause why this kingdome (vntill this our infortunate age) hath continued and prospered so long amongst other kingdomes both of ancient and late times, namely, when *Goods, Honours, and publike charges* were ordinarily distributed, according to the condition of euery estate, and their rights and priuiledges preserved: especially when it was carefully provided, that one estate should not grow too great above the other, I meane, that the nobility should not keepe the people too much vnder, and bring them to a desperate estate: and that the people through their trafficke, offices of iudgements, and receipts for the prince which they exercised, and benefits which they enjoyed, should not excessively enrich themselves, to the preiudice of the Nobility, nor get into their hands, the land of the Nobles, who being impouerished could not sustaine the charges of warre, nor serueth the king in his armies. But the neglect of this foresight, and the great inequality of riches among the estates (that one part which was wont to be poorest, being now become richer than both the other two) is the cause of great wounds in the bodie of this monarchie. The poore people being oppressed by both the other estates, is fallen vnder the burthen like to *Aesops* asse, And the horse that would carry nothing, I meane the nobility and clergy, are constrained, some to beare their tenth and extraordinary subsidies, and others to sel their living to goe to warre at their owne charges. But this thing deserue a long discourse by it selfe, and may hereafter be touched more fitly than at this time. Let vs then generally consider of our proposition, namely, of the duty of all those subiects which liue vnder one estate and policie. First, it is necessary that they should haue the estate of the magistrate in great estimation, acknowledging it to bee a commission and charge given by God, and therefore they must honour and reuerence him, as one that representeth vnto them the heauenly Empire over all creatures. For as God hath placed the Sunne in the heavens as an image of his diuine nature, which lighteth, heateth, quickneth, and nourisheth all things created for mans vse, either in heauen or earth: so the soueraigne magistrate is the like representation of light in a citie or kingdome, especially so long as the feare of God, and obseruation of

Of the state
of Venice.

Of the ancient
estate in
Rome.

Who are truly
citizens.

The diuision
of the whole
people into
three orders
or estates.

The diuision
of citizens in
Venice and
Florence.

In Egypt and
among the
ancient
Gaules.

These gardes
were the Se-
nate & coun-
cell for state
affaires, consti-
tuting of 400.
Burgeses.

Of the agree-
ment that is
to be kept be-
tweene the
estate of a
common-
wealth.

One cause of
the misery of
France at this
present.

The office
and duty of
subiects.

The soue-
raigne magi-
strate compa-
red to the
Sunne.

iustice

Against them
that think the
magistrate to
be a necessary
euill.

Prou. 24. 31.

What is
meant by ho-
nouring the
king.

Rom. 13. 5.

Subjects must
obey their
prince for the
feare of God.

Of the ser-
uice due to
the prince.

Rom. 13. 1, 2.

Tit. 3. 1.

1. Pet. 2. 13,

14.

1. Tim. 2. 1, 2.

Private men
must not bu-
sic themselves
in publike
affaires.

The counsell-
ors of a
prince are his
eyes and eares:
and his offi-
cers are his
hands.

Two kinds of
publike
power.

The differ-
ence be-
tweene the
prince, the
magistrate,
and the pri-
uate man.

How far sub-
jects are bound
to obey their
prince and
his lawes.

The titles of
a good magi-
strate.

injustice are imprinted in his heart. Some are obedient ynough to their magistrates, and would not but that there should be some superiour vnto whom they might be subiect, because they know it to be expedient for common benefit: yet they haue no other opinion of a magistrate, but that he is a necessary euill for mankind. But when wee know that wee are commanded to honour the king, to feare God and the king, which we finde often in the Scripture, we must vnderstand that this word to honour, comprehendeth vnder it a good opinion and estimation, which we must haue of the soueraigne magistrate, and that the ioyning of the king with God, must cause vs to attribute great dignity and reuerence vnto him, in respect of that power which is giuen him from his maiesty. Likewise when it is said, that we must be subiect to the higher powers, not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake, it is to honour them with an excellent title and to binde vs to obey them for the feare of God, and as wee will obey his ordinance, because their power dependeth of him. Of this honour and reuerence it followeth, that we must submit our selues vnto them in all obedience, whether it be in yeelding to their ordinances or hefts, in the payment of imposts and subsidies, or in receiuing such publike charges, as it shall please them to commit vnto vs. Briefly, every subiect is bound to serue his prince with goods and life, which is the personall seruice of a naturall subiect, not as a hireling that serues at will, whereas the other seruice is necessary. Let every soule (saith Saint Paul) be subiect to the higher powers. For whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. He writeth also to Titus in this manner. Put them in remembrance that they bee obedient and ready to every good worke. Submit your selues (saith S. Peter) vnto all manner ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the superiour, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are sent of him for the punishment of euill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well. Moreover, to the end that subiects should testifie, that they obey not dissemblingly, but of a free and willing minde, Saint Paul addeth, that they must by prayers to God recommend their preservation and prosperity vnder whom they liue. I exhort (saith he) that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giuing of thanks be made for all men, for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may leade a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty. Neither let any man deceiue himselfe herein. For seeing no man can resist the Magistrates without resisting God, howsoever some may thinke, that a weake and powerlesse magistrate may be contemned without punishment, yet God is strong and mighty to reuenge the contempt of his ordinance. Besides, vnder this obedience is contained that moderation which all private persons ought to obserue in publike affaires, namely, that they must not of their owne motion intermeddle in the government or reformation of them, nor take vpon them rashly any part of the magistrates office, nor to attempt any publike thing. If there be any fault in the common policie that needeth amendment, they must not therefore stirre at all therein, nor take to themselves authority to redresse it, or once to put too their helping hands, which in that respect are as it were bound behind them. But they are to shew it to the superiour, who onely hath his hand vnbound to dispose and order publike matters, and if he then command them to deale therein, they may put it in execution, as beeing furnished with publike authoritie. For, as we vse to call the counsellors of a prince, his eyes and eares, because they must be vigilant for him, so we may also call those men his hands, whom hee hath appointed to execute such things as are to be done. And to these we owe honour and obedience, seeing the force of the lawes consisteth in their commandement. These are the magistrates and officers established by the soueraigne, and armed with power to compell the subiects to obey his lawes, or else to punish them. Whereby wee see two kinds of commanding with publike power, the one in chiefe, which is absolute, indefinite and aboue the lawes, aboue magistrates and priuate men: the other is lawfull, subiect to the lawes and to the soueraigne, which power properly belongeth to them that haue extraordinary power to command, as long as their commission lasteth. The soueraigne prince acknowledgeth (after God) none greater than himselfe: the magistrate holdeth his power (after God) of the soueraigne prince, and is alwaies subiect to him and to his lawes. Private men acknowledge after God (who must alwaies be first) their soueraigne prince, his lawes and his magistrates, every one in his place of iurisdiction. They are bound to obey them, even then (which is repeated in many lawes) when they command any thing contrary to publike profite, or against ciuill iustice, so that it be not against the law of God and of nature. Now forasmuch as when we intreated of the soueraigne magistrate, we described him such a one as he ought to be, answering truly to his title, that is to say, a father of the countrey which he gouerneth, a sheepeheard of his people, the gardian of peace, protector of iustice, and preseruer of innocencie, that man might well be iudged

judged to be beside himselfe that would reprehend such a government. But because it commonly falleth out, that most princes wander farre out of the right way, and that some having no care to doe their duty, sleepe in their delights and pleasures, others fixing their hearts upon covetousnesse, set to sale all lawes, priviledges, rights and iudgements: some spoile the poore people by overcharging them with imposts and exactions to furnish their prodigalitie and vnmeasurable dissolutenesse: others exercise open robberies, in sacking houses, violating of virgins and married women, in murdering innocents, or suffering such violence to be done vnder them by the ministers and bauds of their pleasures: some also oppresse the nobilitie, even the princes of their blood, to shew fauour to base persons, and those strangers, despising worthy men that are their naturall subiects and vassals: I say, considering these things, it will be very hard, yea altogether impossible, to perswade a great many, that such are to be acknowledged for princes and true superiours, and that we must of necessity obey them so farre as we may without offending our consciences consecrated to God onely. For this affection is rooted in the hearts of men, to hate and detest tyrants no lesse than they loue and reuerence iust kings. So that when amongst such lothsome vices, so farre estranged not onely from the duty of a magistrate, but also from all humanitie, they see in their soueraigne no forme of the image of God, which ought to shine in him, no shew of a minister giuen from aboue for the praise of good men, and execution of vengeance vpon the wicked, they are easily driven forward to hate and to contemne him, and finally, to rebell against him. But if we direct our sight to the word of God, it will leade vs a great deale further. For it will make vs obedient, not onely to the rule of those princes which execute their office according to iustice, but to them also that do nothing lesse than their duty. It telleth vs, that whatsoeuer they are, they haue their authoritie from God onely: the good, as mirrors of his goodnesse; the bad, as scourges of his wrath to punish the iniquitie of the people: but both the one and the other, authorized from him with the same dignitie and maiesty in regard of their subiects. Therefore in respect of obedience and reuerence, we owe as much to the vniust, as to the iust Prince. Which thing because it is so hardly beleued amongst men, and lesse practised now than euer, I will insitt a little longer in the ptoofe of my saying by testimonies of the Scripture, then we haue vsed to doe in our other discourses. First, I desire every one diligently to consider and mark the prouidence of God, and that speciall working wherby he vseth to distribute kingdomes, and to establish such kings as he thinkes good, whereof mention is often made in the Scripture. As it is written in *Daniel*: *He changeth the time and seasons: he taketh away kings: he setteth vp kings, that lining men may know, that the most High hath power ouer the kingdome of men, and giueth it to whomsoeuer he will, and appointeth ouer it the most abiect among men.* It is well knowne what manner of king *Nebuchadnezzar* was, euen hee that tooke *Ierusalem*, namely, a great theefe, and a robber: Notwithstanding God affirmeth by the prophet *Ezechiel*, *That he gaue him the land of Egypt for the reward of his worke, and for the wages of his armie wherewith he had serued him in spoiling and sacking Tyrus. And Daniel said vnto him: O king thou art a king of kings: for the God of heauen hath giuen thee a kingdome, power, strength and glory. When wee heare that he was appointed king by God, we must withall call to minde the heavenly ordinance, which commandeth vs to feare and honour the king, and then we will not doubt to yeeld to a wicked tyrant that honour which God hath thought him meet for. When *Samuel* declared to the people of *Israel* what they should suffer of their kings, not onely according to the rights and priuiledges of his maiesty, but by tyrannicall customes and fashions, namely, that they would take their sons and daughters to serue them, their lands, vines and gardens, to giue them to their seruants, contrary to the commandement of the law of God: yet he enioyned them all obedience, leauing them no lawfull occasion to resist their king. I haue (saith the Lord in *Jeremy*) made the earth, the man, and the beast that are vpon the ground, by my great power, and by my outstretched arme, and haue giuen it vnto whom it pleased me. But now I haue giuen all these lands into the hand of *Nabuchadnezzar* the king of *Babel* my seruant, and the beasts of the fields haue I also giuen him to serue him. And all nations shall serue him and his sonnes sonnes, vntill the very time of his land come also. And the nation and kingdome which will not serue the same *Nabuchadnezzar* king of *Babel*, and that will not put their necke vnder the yoke of the king of *Babel*, the same nation will I visite (saith the Lord) with the sword, famine, and pestilence. Wherefore serue the king of *Babel* and liue. We know by these words with what great obedience God would haue this peruerse and cruell tyrant to be honoured, only for this reason, because he was lift vp by his hand vnto that roiall maiesty. Now if wee are bound to beleue as much of all the kings of the earth, these foolish & seditious thoughts should neuer come vnto our minds, that a king must be handled according as he deserueth,*

The behauiour of euill princes.

Tyrants are naturally hated.

We must obey and reuerence vniust princes as well as iust.

Dan. 2. 21.

& 4. 14.

Nabuchad-

nezzar.

Eze. 29. 18. 19

Dan. 3. 37.

1. Sam. 8.

Ier. 27. 5 &c.

A tyrant called the seru-
uant of God

and that it standeth not with reason, that we should account our selues his subiects, who for his part behaueth not himselfe towards vs as a king. There is in the same prophet a commandement of God to his people to desire the prosperity of Babylon, wherein they were held captiues, and to pray for it, *because in the peace thereof they should haue peace.* Behold how the Israelites were commanded to pray for his prosperity, who had spoiled them of their goods and possessions, carried them into exile, and brought them into miserable bondage: so farre off is it, that they were permitted to rebell against him. Although *Dauid* already elected king by the will of God, and annointed with holy oyle, was vniustly pursued of *Saul*, yet hee said.

1. Sam. 24. 7.
& 26. 10.

Dauid would
not lay vio-
lent hands vp-
on Sauls per-
son.

These *Essai*,
or *Essau*, were
a superstitious
sect among
the Iewes,
that pretended
to leade
a most perfect
kinde of life.

Exod. 22. 28.

A gentleman
iudged to die,
because he
once thought
to haue killed
his prince.
A seuerer law
against trea-
son.

How we must
behaue our
selues vnder
a tyrant.
Psal. 82. 1.
& 2. 12.
Elsay 10. 1.

The Lord keepe me from doing that thing to my master the Lords annointed, to lay my hand upon him. For who can lay his hand upon the Lords annointed and bee guiltlesse? As the Lord liueth either the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into battell and perish. The Lord keepe me from laying my hand upon the Lords annointed. This word is directed to vs all, and it ought to reach vs not to lift out the life of our soueraigne prince, but to content our selues with this knowledge, that by the will of God he is established and set in an estate, that is full of inuio-
lable maiesty. Moreouer, we read in *Iosephus*, that the holiest men that euer were among the Hebrewes, called *Essai*, that is to say, true practisers of the law of God, maintained this, that soueraigne princes, whatsoever they were, ought to bee inuio-
lable to their subiects, as they that were sacred and sent of God. Neither is there any thing more vsuall in all the holy Scriptures, than the prohibition to kill or to seeke the life or honour, not onely of the prince, but also of inferiour magistrates, although (saith the Scripture) they be wicked. And it is said in *Exodus*, *Thou shalt not rase upon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of thy people.* Now, if he that doth so is guilty of treason, both against the diuine and humane maiesty, what punishment is sufficient for him that seeketh after their life? According to mens lawes, not onely that subiect is guilty of high treason that hath killed his soueraigne prince, but he also that attempted it, that gaue counsell, that consented to it, that thought it. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the manner, in this point of the soueraigne the law accounteth him as condemned already: and iudgeth him culpable of death that thought once in times past to haue seized vpon the life of his Prince, notwithstanding any repentance that followed. And truly there was a gentleman of Normandy, who confessed to a Franciscan frier, that he once minded to haue killed king *Francis* the first, but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterward told the king thereof, who sent the gentleman to the Parliament of Paris there to be tryed, where he was by commou consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the Macedonians there was a law that condemned to death five of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conspiracy against their prince. We see then the straight obligation whereby we are bound vnto our princes both by diuine and humane right. Wherefore if it so fall out that we are cruelly vexed by a prince voide of humanity, or else polled and burthened with exactions by one that is couetous or prodigall: or despised and ill defended by a carelesse prince, yea afflicted for true piety by a sacrilegious and vnbeleeuing soueraigne, or otherwise most vniustly and cruelly intreated, first let vs cal to minde our offences committed against God, which vndoubtedly he correcteth by such scourges. Secondly, let vs thinke thus with our selues that it belongeth not to vs to remedy such euils, being permitted onely to call vpon God for helpe, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, & alteration of kingdomes. It is God, who (as *Dauid* saith) sitteth among the gods, that shall iudge them: at whose only looke all those kings and iudges of the earth, shall fall and bee confounded, who haue not kissed his Sonne Iesus Christ, but haue decreed vniust lawes, to oppresse the poore in iudgement, and to scatter the lawfull right of the weake, that they may preie vpon the widowes, and poll the orphans. Thus let all people learne, that it is their duty aboue all things to beware of contemning or violating the authoritie of their superiours, which ought to be full of maiesty vnto them, seeing it is confirmed by God with so many sentences and testimonies, yea although it be in the hands of most vnworthy persons, who by their wickednesse make it odious (as much as in them lieth) and contemptible. Moreouer, they must learne that they must obey their lawes and ordinances, and take nothing in hand that is against the priuiledges and markes of soueraigntie. Then shall we be most happy, if we consecrate our soules to God onely, and dedicate our bodies, liues and goods, to the seruice of our Prince.

The end of the fourteenth daies worke.

THE

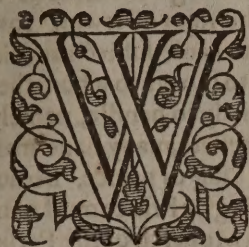
Of a Monarchie.

The fifteenth daies worke.

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Of a Monarchy, or Regall power. Chap. 57.

ASER



When we began yesterday to intreat of the sundry kinds of estates and governments that haue beene in force amongst men, and of the excellency or deformitie of them, wee referred to a further consideration the monarchy or kingly power, vnder which we liue in France. This forme of regiment by the common consent of the worthiest Philosophers and most excellent men, hath beene alwaies taken for the best, happiest, and most assured common wealth of all others, as that wherein all the

lawes of nature guide vs: whether we look to this little world, which hath but one body, and ouer all the members one only head, of which the will, motion and sense depend, or whether we take this great world, which hath but one soueraigne God, whether we cast vp our eyes to heauen, we shall see but one sun, or look vpon these sociable creatures below, we see that they cannot abide the rule of many amongst them. But I leaue to you (my Companions) the discourse of this matter.

The lawes of nature lead vs to a monarchy.

In euery kind of thing one excelleth.

AMANA. Among all creatures, both with & without life, we alwaies finde one that hath the preheminence aboue the rest of his kind. Among all reasonable creatures, Man: among beasts the Lion is taken for chief, among birds, the Eagle, among graine, wheat, among drinks, wine among spices, baulme among all mettals, gold: among all the elements, the fire. By which naturall demonstration wee may iudge, that the kingly monarchicall government draweth nearest to nature of all others.

ARAM. The principality of one alone is more conformable, and more significant to represent the diuine and ineffable principalitie of God, who alone ruleth all things, than the power of many ouer a politicall body. Notwithstanding there hath bin many notable men that haue iudged a monarchy, not to be the best forme of government that may bee among men. But it is your duty (ACHITO) to handle vs this matter.

A Monarchy most significantly representeth the diuine regimē

ACHITO. This controuersie hath alwaies beene very great among those that haue intreated of the formes of policies and governments of estates, namely, Whether it bee more agreeable to nature, and more profitable for mankind to liue vnder the rule of one alone, than of many, neither side wanting arguments to proue their opinion. Now although it be but a vain occupation for priuat men, who haue no authority to ordain publik matters, to dispute which is the best estate of policie, and a greater point of rashnesse to determine thereof simply: seeing the chiefest things consisteth in circumstances, yet to content curious mindes, and to make them more willing to beare that yoke vnto which both diuine and humane nature and equity hath subiected them, I purpose here to weigh their strongest reasons that haue misliked a Monarchy, to the ende that by contrary concluding arguments, which maintaine and defendit, both they and wee may bee so much the more stirred vp, to range our selues willingly vnder the happie and lawfull rule of our king, considering the agreement and participation which it hath with all the good pollicies that can be named, as also the happinesse and certaine benefit that commeth to vs, as wel in respect of this our our priuate life, as of the common prosperitie of the publike bodie, vnto which we owe our selues. First, wee will note that a Monarchy, a kingdom, or royal power, signifie one and the same thing, namely, one kinde of Common wealth, wherein the absolute soueraignty consisteth in one onely Prince, who may not bee commanded by any, but may command all. If there be two princes of equall power in one estate, neither the one nor the other is soueraigne. But a man may well say, that both together haue the soueraignty of the Estat, which is comprehended vnder this word Oligarchy, and is properly called a Duarchie, which may continue so long as these two princes agree, otherwise it must needs be that the one will overthrow the other. Therefore to auoide discord, the Emperours divided the estate into two parts, the one taking himselfe for Emperour of the East, the other of the West: and yet the edicts and ordinances were published by the common consent of both princes, to serue both their Empires. But as soone as they fell in debate, both the Empires were indeede diuided, both for power, for laws, and for estate. He therefore may be called a Monarch that of himselfe alone hath power to prescribe lawes to all in generall, and to euery one in particular.

What a Monarchy or kingly power is.

Of a Duarchie, that is of the rule of two.

The deuision of the Empire

Y

And

Eight marks
of soueraignty

Their reasons
who mislike a
Monarchy.
What excel-
lency is requi-
red in him
that ruleth
others.

The persian
councell held
for the esta-
blishing of
their estate.
Otanes orati-
on,

The effects of
a Tyrant.

Megabyfes
oration for
an Aristocracy

The dangers
of a Monar-
chy.

And vnder this power are comprehended all the other rights & marks of soueraignty, which the lawyers call legal rights, & handleth severally, which neuertheles we may comprehend vnder eight soueraigne marks: namely, to make and to abrogate a law: to proclaime war, or to make peace, to take knowledge in the last appeale of the iudgment of all Magistrates, to appoint or to dis appoint the greatest officers, to charge or discharge the subiects of taxes and subsidies, to grant tolerations and dispensations against the rigor of lawes, to enhance or to pull downe the title, value, and constant rate of money, to cause subiects and liege people to sweare that they will bee faithfull without exception, to him vnto whom the oath is due. Now, to enter into that matter, which we purposed especially to handle, namely, whether a Monarchy be more profitable, than any other forme of estate, many haue maintained that it is a dangerous thing to liue vnder the rule of one onely king or prince, because it is a very hard matter to finde one perfect in all points, as every King or Prince must of necessity be, if he will deserue that name, according to that which *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians said, *That it belonged to none to command, if he were not better than all those ouer whom hee commanded.* Moreover, although it were possible to finde one of that perfection which is required, yet were it a thing alwaies to be greatly feared, that by reason of humane frailtie, and of the great licencethat kings haue to execute their wils, he would change both condition and nature, and of a king become a tyrant, of which there are infinite examples set downe in histories, yea it is certaine and granted by the greatest part of them that haue written of state matters, that every kind of common wealth that is established simply, and alone by it selfe, quickly degenerateth into the next vice, if it be not moderated and held backe by the rest. As a king dome is soone changed into a tyranny, an Aristocracy into an Oligarchy, and so of the other. But this danger is greater in a Monarchy (as they say that mislike it) than vnder the rule of many, because it is vnlikely, that all of them should bee wicked, and if any one bee so, the good men may bridle him. And so they conclude, that it is not so dangerous a matter to liue vnder the government of many, as of one, who may more easily corrupt his nature, becoming a Monarch, than many can doe that are elected in an Aristocracy, as the Areopagiticall Lord in Athens, the Ephories in Lacedemonia, and the Senate in Rome. After the death of *Cambyfes* Monarch of the Persians, when the chiefe Lords of the kingdome had slain that *Magus* who vnder the name *Smerdis*, had vsurped the rule of the estate, they deliberated of the affaires, and helde a generall Councell, wherein (as *Herodotus* writeth) many very woorthie and memorable speeches were vttered. *Otanes* mooued this, that the affaires might bee gouerned in common by the Persians, speaking vnto them in this manner. I am not of opinion, that one of vs from hence forward should be sole Monarch ouer all, because it is neither pleasant nor good to haue it so. For ye know to what insolency *Cambyfes* was growne, yee haue also thoroughly seene the boldnesse of the *Magus*, and ye may thinke with your selues how perillous a thing it is to haue a Monarchy, which may doe what it list, not being subiect to correction. The best man in the world placed in his estate, will soone bee carried away with his woonted thoughts. Insolency possesseth him, because of present prosperitie and hatred is soone bred in such a man. Now hauing these two vices, he aboundeth in all iniquitie, & committeth great iniustice, one while through insolency, another while of hatred. Although a tyrant, hauing abundance of all good things, should be farre from enuie, yet the contrary faileth out in him towards his subiects. For he hateth good men that liue and prosper well, he delighteth in the wicked, and gladly heareth euill reports of other men. And which becommeth him very ill, if you admire and praise him moderately, hee is angry that you doe it not excessiue, and yet if you doe so, hee wil mislike it, thinking that you flatter him. Besides, which is woorst of all, he changeth the lawes and customes of the countrey, forceth women, killeth good men, not taking knowledge of their cause. This did this persian lord conclude, that a Monarchy was to be left, and a Democracy to be chosen. *Megabyfes* one of his companions, liked well the abolishing of a Monarchy, but perswaded the Aristocraticall government, saying, that nothing was more ignorant, or more insolent, than an vnprofitable multitude. Therefore it was in no wise tolerable, that eschuing the insolency of a tyrant, they should fall into the hands of an vnbrideled and disordered people. Many others haue noted great dangers and discommodities in a Monarchy, especially in the change of the Monarch, whether it be from ill to good, or from good to better. For wee commonly see at the changing of princes, new deuices, new lawes, new officers, new friendes, new forme of liuing. Because princes ordinarily take delight in changing, and in remouing almost all things, that men might speake of, them, which many times bringeth great

great discommodities to their subiects. But if this were not so, and the prince as wise as heart could wish, yet the alliances, and leagues made by a mans predecessour, and with him which is the cause that alliances ending, the neighbours betake them to armes, and the strongest assaulteth the weakest, or else prescribeth him lawes. For many maintaine, that the successours of Princes are not bound to the treaties and obligations of their Predecessours, if they bee not their heires. Another inconuenience to bee feared in a Monarchy, is the danger of falling into ciuill warre, through the diuision of those that aspire to the crowne, and namely, if there bee right of election, which oftentimes draweth after it the ruine of the estate. But put the case there where no strife for the Monarchy, yet if the Monarch bee a childe, there will bee diuision for the government of him, betweene the mother and the Princes, or betwixt the Princes themselves. Also when God purposeth to bee reuenged vpon nations, hee threatneth to giue them children for princes. And although the Childe hath a tutour by the appointment of the predecessour, or by custome yet is there danger of making himselfe soueraigne Lord, of which thing histories set downe many examples before our eyes. If a yong Prince freed from tutours, come to the crowne, his government is no lesse to bee feared. For beeing then set at libertie when his lusts are most violent, you shall see nothing in his court but fooleries, maskings, and loose behauiour. If he be warlike, he wil hazard his subiects, his estate, & his person, to make triall of his valure. Briefely, a crafty and wicked Monarch will establish a tyranny: a cruell man will make a slaughter house of the Common wealth: a whoore master will make it a stewes: a couetous wretch will pull off both haire and skinne from his subiects: a prodigall prince will sucke the blood and marrow, to glut a dozen of horse leaches about his person: a foolish and ignorant prince will doe woorse, falling easily into the most of these vices, for want of iudgement to knowe and to make choice of counsell, necessary for the government of his Estate. These are the chiefe reasons of them that mislike a Monarchy. Now wee will alleadge the other reasons in the defence of it, and beginne with *Darius* his declaration vpon the speeches of his companions, rehearsed by vs in the generall Councell of the Persians, because it is well woorthy to bee remembred, according vnto which the Monarchie was concluded of in the councell. In my iudgement (saide hee to the assemblie) *Megabyfes* saide well concerning the multitude, but ill in that which belongeth to an Oligarchy. For although there be three kinds of Policies, a Democracy, an Oligarchy, and a Monarchy, and all good, yet I say this last is farre better than the other, because there is nothing so good as the government of one vertuous man alone, who iudging thereafter, gouerneth his people without reprehension. I will not speake of the counsellors which he taketh in like manner against his enemies and ill willers. But in an Oligarchie, where many busie themselves with publike affaires, great enmities arise between them, from whence proceede seditions, and from seditions Murders, and by murders some one attaineth to a Monarchy. Whereby you may easily know how much better a Monarchy is. Astouching the people, it is impossible but that where they rule, there should be much wickednes, which increasing in the euill gouernours of the Common wealth, breedeth not hatred betweene them, but great friendship. For they that are euill affected towards the Common wealth, hide one anothers counsell, vntil some one man being set ouer the people, cause them to giue ouer. Then is that man admired, and therewithall made a Monarch, whereby also it is euident, that a Monarchy is best. Wherefore my aduice is, that, seeing wee haue bene set at liberty by one onely man, wee should maintaine that Estate, otherwise we shall disanul the lawes of our countrey, that are already well established, which will not turne to the best for vs. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in his antiquities of Rome, affirmeth that the like speech was vsed before *Romulus*, where he first established the gouernment in Rome, where *Amulius* concluded for the Monarchy, as *Darius* did among the Persians. The same question was deliberated of by *Augustus* among his friends, because hee desired nothing more than to liue in rest, and to giue ouer the Estate: but it was then concluded, that a Monarchy was best for the Common wealth, and the event prooued the same. For before the Romanes could not liue tenne yeares without ciuill warre or sedition: whereas *Augustus* preserved them almost fiftie yeares in perfect peace, which continued also long time after his death. *Demosthenes* in his first Olynthiacke oration, sheweth the Atheniens what aduantage a Monarch hath in the deliberation and execution of great enterprises, speaking in this manner. It is greatly auailable for the speedy and commodious execution of warlike exploits, when one man alone hath the oversight of all enterprises, both secret and open, and withall is Captaine, Lord, and treasurer, and alwaies present at the affaires. But who can denie, that it is not a great

A child prince
is a token of
Gods wrath.

Darius prati-
on for a Mo-
narchy.

Against an
Oligarchy.

A Monarchie
concluded vp
on in the cou-
cel of the Per-
sians, of Ro-
mulus, and of
Augustus.

The commo-
dities of a
Monarchy.

deale better for great and mightie nations to bee governed Monarchically, to the end that they may maintaine themselves in vnitie at home, and abroade in reputation? Especial-ly those nations where there are Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barrons, and other Gentlemen, who possesse in the highest, lowest, & middle sort of iustice, Villages, Borroughs Townes, Castles, with vassals holding and relying of them by fealtie and homage: as name-ly, in France, Spaine, and other countries, wherein the Monarch by absolute power and force when neede is, holdeth in the greater sort with the lesse, staying the insolency of the one, and releueing others from oppression. Otherwise, if they were diuided into many heads, dis-agreeing among themselves, and acknowledging no soueraigne Lord, who doubteth but that they would be continually troubled with ciuill warres, set vpon by strangers, and spoiled of all sides? Italy prooueth this sufficiently vnto vs, which commanded the greatest part of the world, when it was vnited in one: but being now diuided into many Potentates and Seignories, after vnspeakeable calamities of ciuill warres, which it hath suffered a long time it is yet without doubt exposed for a prey to all the neighbors, if they were not staied with other warres: If wee consider the antiquity of the royall government, and how it hath bin practised of al nations almost either whole, or in part, to their great honor & felicity, wee shall be constrained to prefer it before all others, & to account al those happy that liue vnder a Monarchy. *As men liued in old time (saith Aristotle) vnder kings so they thought that the gods had a king. All nations (saith Cicero) obeyed kings in old times, which kind of rule was at the first bestowed vpon most iust men.* And it hath greatly profited our common wealth, that from the beginning ther- of it hath bin ruled by a kingly government. *The first name of Empire and rule, known in the earth (saith Salust) was the royall estate, but then men liued without countenances, every one being content with his owne. From the beginning (as Trogius Pompeius writeth) of countries and nations, the government was in the handes of kings, who were not lift vp to that high degree of maiesty by popular ambition, but for their modesty, which was knowne and approoued of good men.* Then the people were not kept in awe by any lawes, but the pleasure and will of princes stood for lawes. They were more giuen to keepe the ifrontires of their Empire, than to enlarge them. Kingdomes were boun- ded by his Country, that reigned therein. *Ninus* king of the Assyrians, whom the Scripture calleth *Nimrod*, (that is a rebell) and a mighty hunter, was the first that changed the ancient custome of the nations, through greedy desire of ruling, and that began to warre vpon his neighbours. For finding that the people knew not as yet how to resist, he subdued them al, from his kingdome to the end of Lybia. Almost all the ancient nations of greatest renowne liued vnder the royall government, as the Scythians, Ethiopians, Indians, Assyrians, Medes, Egyptians, Bactrians, Armenians, Macedonians, Iewes, and Romanes, after they were wea- ry of other government. Those also that are most famous at this day, liue after the same sort as the French men, Spaniards, Englishmen, Polonians, Danes, Moscovites, Tartares, Turks, Abissines, Moores, Agiamelques, Zagathians, Cathains, yea the sauage people newly dis- covered, are in manner all vnder kings. And they that liue in other kindes of Common- wealths, as the Venetians, do retaine an outward shew of a King, whom they call a Duke, who is electiue, and to continue his estate as long as hee liueth. In other places they haue Gonfalonners, as at Lucques, the like whereof they were wont to haue at Florence, and at Sienna. In some places they haue Aduoyers, or Bourge maisters, as in the Cantons of Switzerland, and in the free Townes of Germanie, which acknowledge an Emperor. Vpon which name wee will note by the way, that it importeth no more than the name of a king, although amongst the Lawyers and others, there haue beene infinite questions as touch- ing the authority and preheminance of both: namely, that the Emperours haue vsurped ouer other kings vntill this present, albeit the power and Maiesty of the Empire is great- ly diminished, so that nothing else remaineth in a manner but the name and shadowe of it within Germanie. As for this title of Emperour, which the Romane Monarkes tooke to themselves, and before vsed to call their Generals in warre by that name, it was vpon this occasion taken vp. After they had deprived *Tarquine* of the kingdome of Rome, by reason of his pride and insolency, this name of king became so odious amongst the Romanes, that it was forbidden to be vsed, by an edict and solemne oath. Whereupon when their popular Estate was changed into a Monarchy, they would not call their Monarch by the name of king, by reason of their auncient oath, but called him Emperour, as *Appian* writeth. But to continue the discourse of our principall matter, and to answer briefly to the rea- sons alleadged against a Monarchy, wee haue first to note, that the most part of the dangers mentioned doe cease, where the Monarchy goeth by succession, as it doth in ours. For

Italy a prey to
all her neigh-
bors, & why

Of the anti-
quity of a
kingdome.

Ninus was the
first that ex-
tended the limits
of his king-
dome.
What estates
were ruled
Monarchically.

The Duke
dome of Ve-
nice is electiue
What this
word Empe-
ror importeth

Vpon what
occasion the
name of Em-
peror was first
giuen to a
Monarch.
The reasons
alleadged a-
gainst a Mo-
narchy an-
swered.

there

there is no cause of feare in regard of any that might aspire to the crowne, or of the treaties and alliances; which are not broken by the prince his death, but renewed and confirmed by his successor and heire, vnlesse before they were greatly preiudiciall to the Estate: That new princes seeke after nouelties, it may be said of some: but it is much more vsuall in Aristocrati- call and Popular-estates. For Magistrates that are renewed so often, would be very sorrowfull that their yeare should run out before they had done some thing that might cause men to speake either good or euill of them. As for the troubles about the government of a yong king, peraduenture it falleth not out once in a hundresh yeares: whereas if a Gonfalonner of Genes be chosen but onely for two yeares, and the commonwealth will be all on fire. To put into the ballance the cruelties and robberies of a tyrant, whereby to counterpoize many good Princes, there is no shew of reason in so doing. For we know well ynough, that a peace- able Aristocracy wisely guided, if it may be so, is better than a cruell tyrannie. But the chiefe matter subiect to our discourse, is to know whether it be not better to haue one iust and per- fect king, than many good Lords: and by the contrary argument, whether the tyranny of fifty tyrants is not more perillous, then of one onely tyrant. Now, if many Masters, Pilots, how wise soeuer they are, hinder one another, when euery one desireth to hold the rudder, then surely many Lords will do the like, when they seeke altogether to gouerne the common wealth, albeit they are wise and vertuous. And truly no Aristocraticall or Popular estate can be named, that hath lasted above 600. yeares together, and few haue endured so long: But many Monarchies haue continued 1000. and 1200. yeares in the same estate. Moreover, they are agreeable to the vpright lawes of nature, which (as wee haue before discoursed) doe all leade vs to a Monarchie. But there is more to bee considered of in our French kingdome, which ought to moue all French hearts very much to desire the preservation thereof, and to thinke themselves happie, that they may liue vnder it: I meane that which we touched in the beginning of our speech: namely, the agreement and participation, which it hath with all good policies. Many Politicks haue giuen this out, that no common-wealth instituted to continue long, ought to be simple of one onely kinde: but that the vertues and properties of the other estates must meete together in it, to the end that nothing grow out of proportion, which might cause it to degenerate to the next euill, and so consequently ouerthrow it. This was first obserued by *Lycurgus*, who in ordaining the Lacedemonian Common-wealth, mingled the Senate with the kings, and after the Ephories were established aboue the Kings, in- somuch that they were mingled and weighed so equally together, that a man could not well discerne vnder what kinde of government it was erected. The Carthaginian common- wealth also, most flourishing for a long time was so instituted in the beginning thereof. It had kings, the Aristocraticall power of Senators, and the common people, who had their prehe- minence in things belonging vnto them. The Romane Common-wealth, during the time of her greatest glory, had these three parts so equally and proportionably tempered, that a man could not tell, whether it were altogether Aristocraticall, or Democraticall, or Monarchicall. In looking to the power of the Consuls, a man would haue iudged it Monarchicall and Roy- all: to the Senators, Aristocraticall: to the Tribunes and common sort, Democraticall. The Venetians in their Common-wealth represent all these estates. Their great Councell hauing soueraigne power, whereof the Senate and the authoritie of all their Magistrates dependeth, doth represent the Popular estate. The Duke, who is President as long as he liueth, repre- senteth the royall power, because he especially retaineth the grauity and dignity thereof. And the Colledge of ten men, with the Colledge of Ancients, commonly called Sages, represen- teth the Aristocracy, as *Contarenius* writeth. As for our French Monarchy, it may well be said also to be partaker of all 3. in regard of the government thereof, albeit in truth the estate ther- of is a simple and pure Monarchie. For the king is the Monarch, beloued, obeyed, and reue- renced: who although he haue all power and soueraigne authoritie to command, and to doe what he will, yet this great and soueraigne liberty seemeth in some sort to be ruled and limited by good lawes and ordinances: and by the multitude and great authority of Officers, and Counsellors, who are as well neere his person, as in sundry places of his kingdome. The 12. Peeres, the secret and priue counsels, the Parliament and great Councell, the Chambers of accounts, the Treasurers, and Generals of charges, resemble in some sort the Aristocracy. The States yearly held in the Provinces, the Miralties of townes, Shreeualties, Consulships, Ca- pitolats, and Churchwardens, are as it were the forme of a Democracy, as *Steffel* declareth more at large. Moreover the generall Estates of the Realme, which are wont to be gathered together to deliberate (the king being President) of all matters concerning the Estate,

One iust
prince better
than many
good Lords:
and many
Tyrants worse
than one.

Monarchies
haue continu-
ed longer.

The opinion
of many Poli-
tickstouching
a mixt estate
of a Com-
mon-wealth.
The Lacede-
monian estate
mingled.
The Cartha-
ginian Com-
mon wealth
was mixt.
The Romane
estate ming-
led.

The estate of
Venice com-
pounded.

What agree-
ment the
French Mo-
narchy hath
with euery
good policie.

doe they not sufficiently testifie the happy order thereof, drawing neere to the gouernment of a good Oeconomist, when the king (as *Aristotle* saith) commandeth in his kingdome, as a good father of a familie ruleth ouer his children, with loue, and according to right and iustice? Wherefore although all the authority of Officers, Counsellors, Parliaments, and Estates, dependeth (as riuers of a fountaine) of the onely power of their king and prince, yet of his fatherly and royall goodnesse he granteth them such authoritie, that hardly could he doe any thing that were very violent, or too preiudiciall to his subiects. And if some such actions may be noted, they come rather through the fault of his Counsellors, than from his Maiesty. Thus let vs conclude with *Plato*, that the royall gouernment and authority ought to be preferred before all other policies, as that which draweth neere to the diuinitie. But it must haue a Senate of good men ioyned vnto it, after the forme of an Aristocracy, as our kings haue alwaies vsed to haue, of their naturall benignity, which maketh them inclinable to all exercises of vertue, piety, and iustice.

Of diuers kinds of Monarchies, and of a Tyranny. Chap. 58.

Why men are diuersly affected vnto diuers formes of gouernments.

The praise of the French nation for their loue to a Monarchy.

The difference betwene the rule of a king & of a tyrant.

Five kinds of Monarchies.

How the first Monarchie came vp.

Gen. 10. 8. Of the reigne of Nimrod. Nimrod was the first king that warred vpon his neighbors.

A C H I - T O B. The variety of manners, and inclinations to diuers things, which is (wee see) particularly in euery one from his birth, and generally throughout all nations of the world, disposeth without doubt the people as they grow in age and iudgement, and according to their bringing vp, to like one kinde of gouernment rather than another. But Frenchmen haue euen to these last times, carried away the praise of a more naturall and constant disposition, loue, obedience, and fidelity towards the maiesty of a king, than other nations euer shewed to their forme of estate and gouernment. For amongst them all, there is not one nation to be found, that hath so constantly continued in their lawes and ancient customes without any alteration and change, as this flourishing Monarchie, which hath also gone beyond them in all goodnesse and mildnesse of gouernment, as we may see better (my Companions) if we compare with it those sundry sorts of Monarchies, which haue bin heretofore, and doe at this day flourish, of which many come as neere to a tyranny, as ours is farre distant from it. And to make a tyranny appeare more odious, we will consider the pernicious and miserable estate thereof.

A S E R. As it properly belongeth to a royall estate to gouerne and to rule subiects, not according to the sensuall appetite, and disordered will of the Prince, but by maturity of counsell, and by obseruation of lawes and of iustice: so it agreeth with a tyrant to reigne by his absolute will, without all regard either of lawes, or of the precepts of iustice.

A M A N A. A tyrant (saith *Seneca*) differeth from a king in effect, not in name. The one seeketh his owne good onely, and the other, the profite of the common-wealth. Now let vs heare **A R A M**, who will teach vs to discerne them well by their workes.

A R A M. Amongst all the Monarchies that euer were, or are at this day among men, most of the ancient Authors and great Politicks haue noted out five sundry sorts, of which I purpose here to discourse particularly with brieue examples, that the excellency of ours may the better appeare ouer others, especially ouer those that decline much vnto tyranny, whose shame and infamie I will here display. The first and most ancient kinde of Monarchie was that, which was voluntarily offered by the people for some heroicall vertue appearing in those men whom they iudged worthy to gouerne them iustly and vprightly. And when they continued in this sort to declare themselves benefactors of the multitude, in gathering them together, in giuing vnto them territories, and in distributing lands among them, in finding out of arts, in making of warre, and in the administration of iustice vnto them, their authoritie and power did lawfully descend to their successors, who had soueraigne power in time of warre, and were chiefe in certaine solempne ceremonies of their sacrifices. *Herodotus*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, and many others, make mention of this kinde of Monarchie. After the floud, when the number of men increased, *Noah* perswaded his children, and others of his posterity, to disperse themselves in diuers countries, to till the ground, and to build townes, and to this end hee assigned to euery one his Province by lot. *Nimrod* the sonne of *Cush*, whose grandfather *Noah* was, abode with his men in the land of the Chaldeans, and was their first king, and the first king of Babylon. Hee was the first that beganne to extend his boundes by force vpon his neighbours, sending whole companies of people into many and diuers countries, to lay the foundations of other kingdomes, as

histories

histories dogue vs certaine knowledge thereof. This is the cause why many establish the first Monarchy in Assyria vnder him. Wee reade also in good authors that the first and auncient kings of Egypt kept themselves a long time in this heroicall vertue, which had procured vnto them their dignity. They liued not disorderly as those do, who because of their dominion, iudge their owne will to be a iust law for them, but they followed the constitutions of lawes, as well in the gathering of their duties and tributes, as in their manner of life. They vsed the seruice of Noblemens and Princes children onely, who were of the age of twentie yeares, and were instructed in all sciences. The reason whereof was, that the king beeing pricked forward with the sight of them that were about him, might beware howe hee committed any thing woorthie of reproch. And truly there is nothing that corrupteth Princes so much as vicious seruants, who seeke to please their sensuall desires and affecti-
 ons. When the king arose in the morning, hee was bound first to take and receiue all the letters and requestes that were brought vnto him, that answerin g necessarie matters first, al his affaires might be guided by order & reason. Then he went to the temple to offer sacrifice to the gods, where the Prelate & chiefe Priest, after the sacrifice & praiers were ended, rehearsed with a loud voice in the presence of the people, what vertues were in the king, what reuerence and religion towards the gods was in him, and what clemencie and humanitie towards men. Moreover, hee tolde that hee was continent, iust, noble minded, true liberall, one that brided his desires, & punished malefactors with a more milde & light punishment than the greatnesse of their sinne and offence required, rewarding also his subiects with graces and gifts that were greater than their deserts. This done, hee exhorted the king to a happie life agreeable to the gods, & likewise to good manners, by following after honor and vertue, and therewithall propounded vnto him certaine examples of the excellent deeds of ancient kings, thereby to prouoke him the rather thereunto. These kings liued with simple meats, as with veale and birds for all dishes: they kept very exactly all the lawes and ordinances of their countie in every point of their life, which was no lesse directed even in the least things, than the simplest of their subiects. And truly so long as the kings of Egypt were such zealous obseruers of their lawes, and of iustice, and reigned peaceable among their subiects, they brought many strange nations into their subiection, and gathered together infinite riches, whereby they adorned their countrey with great buildings and sumptuous workes, and decked their townes with many gifts and benefits. The barbarian kingdoms were the second kinde of Monarchie: namely the auncient Monarchies of the Assyrians, Medes and Persians, whose princes vsurped lordly rule ouer their goods and persons, and governed their subiects as a father of a family doth his slaues. Which kinde of government fauoreth more of a tyranny, than of a kingdom: besides, it is directly against the law of nature, which keepeth every one in his liberty, and in the possession of his owne goods. Notwithstanding when by the law of armes, and of iust war, a prince is made lord ouer any people they properly belong to him that conquereth, and they that are overcome, are made his slaues by the auncient consent of all nations: and this maketh the difference betweene the Lord like Monarchie, and a tyranny, which abuseth free subiects as slaues. Of the second kinde of Monarchie was the kindome of Persia (as Plato writeth) vnder *Cambyses*, *Xerxes*, and other kings, vntill the last *Darius*. For vsurping more absolute authoritie to rule than was conuenient, they began to contemne their Vassals, and to account of them as of slaues: and putting no more confidence in them, they entertained into their seruice mercenary soldiers and strangers, whereby they made their owne subiects vnfit for warre, and so in the end lost their estate, when it seemed to haue attained to the top of worldly prosperitie. Such is the estate of the Turke at this day, wherein hee is sole Lord, commaunding ouer his subiects in rigorous maner, as wel ouer the Musulmans, as Christians and Iewes. He vseth in his principall affaires, which concerne peace and war, and matters of government, the seruice of runnegate slaues, whome he placeth in authoritie, changeth or deposeth as he thinkes good, without perill and enuie: yea hee stranglet them vpon the least suspition or dislike conceived of them, not sparing his owne children and others of his blood, if they anger him. So did *Sultan Solymán* deale with *Hibrahim Bascá*, who was almost of equall authoritie with him: in so much that hee was there called the Seignior, king of the Janitzaries, the *Bascá*, and king of the men of armes. Neuerthelesse in one night, wherein hee made him stay and sup with him, and lie in his owne chamber, he caused him to bee slaine, and his body to bee cast into the sea. The morrow after he seized vpon his goods, as confiscate: and caried them away: and yet no man euer knew the cause of his death, except it were this, that hee was
 growne

Of the happy
 reigne of the
 auncient kings
 of Egypt.

They vsed the
 seruice only of
 Noble mens
 children, and
 they well lear-
 ned.

The Priests
 of Egypt vsed
 to praise their
 Princes in the
 Temple be-
 fore the peo-
 ple.

The diet of
 the auncient
 kings of E-
 gypt.

Of the second
 kind of Mo-
 narchie.

The diffe-
 rence be-
 tweene a lord
 like Monar-
 chie and a ty-
 ranny.

Markes of a
 tyrannicall
 government.

Of the estate
 of the Turke.

The death of
 Hibrahim Bas-
 chá.

The Turke
disposeth of
all Lordships
at his pleasure

Of the Estate
of Moscouia.

Of the king
of Ethiopia.
The king of
Ethiopia
whipped his
Lords like
slaves.

Of the king-
dome of Peru
Of the third
kind of Mo-
narchie.
Where kings
tooke vpon
the soueraign-
ty of religion

Of the 4 kind
of Monarchie
which is
electiue.
The dange-
rous state of
an electiue
kingdome
when the
prince is dead

Examples
thereof in the
kingdomes of
Thunes, of E-
gypt.
The great dis-
order in
Rome vpon
the death of
the Pope.
In the empire
of Germanie.
In the Pope-
dome.
All electiue
Princes are
either taken
indefinite y,
or out of cer-
taine estates.

growne too great, and consequently suspected of his master, who was a tyrant, rather than a king. Likewise hee keepeth in his hands all the Lordships of his kingdome, which hee distributeth to men of warre, who are charged to maintaine a certaine number of men of armes, and of horses, according to the rate of their reuenue: and when it pleaseth him hee taketh them away againe. Neither is there any man in all the countries vnder his obedience, that possesseth Townes, Castles, and Villages, or dwelleth in strong houses, or that dare build higher than one story or than a Dooue house. The great Knees, or Duke of Moscouia, exceedeth for seueritie, and rigour of commaunding all the Monarchs in the world, hauing obtained such authority ouer his subiects both Ecclesiasticall and secular, that hee may dispose of their goods and liues at his pleasure, so that none dare gaine say him in any thing. They confesse publicly, that the will of their prince is the will of God, and that whatsoeuer hee doth, is done by the will of God. The king of Ethiopia is also a Lordly Monarch hauing (as *Paulus Iouinus* affirmeth) fiftie kinges no lesse subiect vnto him than slaves. And *Frauncis Auarez* writeth, that hee hath seene the great Chancellour of that Countrey scourged starke naked with other Lords, as the very slaves of the Prince, where in they thinke themselves greatly honored. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, hauing brought vnder his obedience the kingdome of Peru, made himselfe soueraigne Lord thereof in regard of goods, which the subiects haue not, but as they farme them, or for terme of life at the most. The third kind of Monarchy, whereof the Auncients made mention, was that of Lacedemonia, wherein the king had not absolute power, but in time of warre out of the countrey, and a certaine prebeminence ouer the sacrifices. Wee made mention of their gouernment before. The first kings in Rome were sacrificers also, and afterward, the Emperours called themselves *Pontifices*, that is, chiefe Bishops, and those of Constantinople were consecrated, as our kings of France are. In like manner the Caliphaes of the Saracins were kinges and chiefe Bishops in their religion, the one in Bagdet, the other in Cayre. The king of Calcuth is chiefe of his religion, and for this cause goeth before the other kings of India in dignity, and is called *Samory*, that is to say, God on earth. The Pope commandeth ouer the temporalities of the Church, called *S. Peters* patrimonie, as king, and is held of the latin Christian churches, as head of religion, I meane in those places, and of those persons, where hee is so taken and acknowledged. The king of England certaine yeares past tooke vpon him the title of king and supream gouernour of the Church. The fourth kind of Monarchy is electiue, not hereditarie. in some places for terme of life, as the Empire of Almaine, the kingdome of Polonia, of Bohemie, and of Hungaria, in other places for a certaine time, as was the Dictatorship at Rome. These estates are not commonly so sure and durable as those that are hereditarie, because of the practises and foreshalling of voices, which are for the most part vsed whereupon seditions arise, to the great detriment of those kingdomes. For the Prince beeing dead, the estate remaineth in a pure Anarchie, without king, without lord, without gouernment, and in danger of ruine, like to a ship without a Pilot, which is ready to bee cast away with the first winde that bloweth. Also a gate is set open to theues, and murderers, who kill and slay at their pleasure vpon hope of impunity, as it is commonly to be seene (as histories rehearse) after the death of the kings of Thunes, of the Soldans of Egypt, and of the Popes of Rome, where the seat being vacant, the first thing that is commonly done, is the breaking open of prisons, the killing of iailers, the letting out of guilty persons, and the reuenging of iniuries by all possible meanes, and this continueth vntill the colledge of Cardinals haue agreed vpon a successeur. And indeede in the yeare 1522. two were executed, against whom it was prooued, that in sundry tumults mooued at this election, they had slaine an hundred and sixteene men. As touching the Empire of Almaine, their histories are full of impouerishments fallen vpon them through the election of their Emperours, as well by ciuil warres as by murders and poysonings. So that within three hundred and three score yeeres since the Empire fell vnder the election of seauen Princes, eight or nine Emperours haue bene slaine or poysoned, besides those that haue shamefully bene thrust out of their imperiall seate. Ecclesiasticall persons also haue not wanted ciuill warres about their elections, where in no such prouision could be made, but that two and twenty Popes were cut off and many thrust out of their seate, as may bee seene in the Registers of the Vatican. Now we must note further, that among the electiue estates, euery election is either of such persons as the Electors like of, as in Germanie they doe not onely choose for Emperours the Princes of Almaine out of their diuers families, but sometime strangers haue bene chosen, as *Alphonse* king of Spaine, and *Richard* Duke of Cornewall, and brother to knig *Henry* the third,

or else it is out of certaine inferiour estates, as the Pope out of the Colledge of Cardinals, and not long since the Souldan of Cayre out of the Mammelucks: vnto which degree of honor none could ascend, except before he had beene a slave and a runnagate Christian: so that afterward he commanded absolutely in Egypt and Soria. This estate hauing continued about three hundred yeares, was not long since quite ouerthrowne by Sultan Selym king of the Turkes, who tooke the last Souldan, and caused him to be carried vpon an old Cammell all along Cayre, and then to be hanged vpon of the gates of that citie. The great Master of Malta is chosen by the chiefe Priors of his religion: as that also of Prussia was before the agreement made with the king of Polonia, by which composition his estate was turned into a Duchie, subiect to the crowne of Poland, and of electione made hereditarie. The fift kinde of Monarchie is hereditarie, and is properly called royall and lawfull: whether the king come to the estate by right of succession, as *Thucydides* writeth of the ancient kings: or whether the kingdome bee giuen by vertue of the law, without regard had to daughters, or to males descending of them, as it is in this kingdome, by the Salicke law: or whether it bee giuen as a meere gift, as the kingdome of Naples and Sicill were giuen to *Charles* of France, and since giuen againe to *Lewes* of France, first Duke of Aniuw: whether it be left by will, as the kings of Thunis, Fez, and Marocke vsed to do, and as it was practised also by *Henrie* the eight, king of England, who left his kingdome to his sonne *Edward*, appointing *Marie* after him, and after her *Elizabeth*, or by what other meanes soeuer the Prince becommeth Lord of the estate, his monarchie is alwaies royall and lawfull, if he in like manner be obedient to the lawes of nature, as he desireth that his subiects should be towards him, leauing to euery one his naturall libertie and property of his goods, and looking to the profit and commoditie of the Common wealth. This kingly government *Aristotle* compareth to Oeconomie. For although a father of a family gouerne his house after his pleasure, yet he respecteth the commoditie of his familie. Vnder this happy forme of government, being the best of all, we may boast that we liue in France, through the goodnesse of our kings, who neither ordaine, nor put any thing in execution, but by mature deliberation and counsell, which they take with the Princes of their blood, and with other notable and graue persons whom they call neare vnto them, as though their soueraigne power were ruled and moderated. For first the king commandeth nothing that taketh effect, if it bee not signed by his Secretaries, and sealed with his great seale: that is to say, seene and approoued by the Chancellor, who is a seuerer controller of all matters that passe. All the kings letters must alwaies of necessitie be approoued by the Iudges to whome they are directed, and examined not onely whether they were obtained by priuie insinuation or fraudulent dealing, but also whether they be lawfull or vnlawfull. Yea in criminall matters, there inabling of such as before were not capable of offices or dignities, writs of repeale from banishment, pardons and remissions, are scanned with such rigor by them, that the procurers of such letters are compelled to deliuer them bare headed and kneeling, and to offer themselves prisoners of what estate soeuer they be in so much that oftentimes men are condemned and executed with their pardons about them. As for the gifts and expences of the king, whether they be ordinary or extraordinary, the chamber of accounts examineth them narrowly, and many times off such as haue no good ground by reason that the officers are sworne to let nothing passe to detriment of the realme, notwithstanding any letters of commandement whatsoever. Among other things the king may not alienate his crowne reuenues without some cause knowne to the said officers of accounts and to the Parliaments. And which is more, publick treaties with neighbor states, edicts, and decrees haue no authoritie before they are published in the high courts. By which moderation his power is not lessened, but made surer, more durable, and lesse burdensome to his subiects, being wholly separated from tyranny, which is hated of God and men, as wee may haue further knowledge by discoursing thereof particularly. So that ouer and besides those fise kinds of monarchies, mentioned of vs, tyranny may be put for the sixt, which wee may call that, wherein the monarch treading vnder foote the lawes of nature, abuseth the libertie of free subiects, as if they were slaves, and other mens goods as his owne. Among the Ancients the name of Tyrant was honorable, and signified nothing else (being a Greeke word) but a Prince that had gotten the gouernment of the estate without the consent of his subiects, and of a companion had made himselfe a master, whether hee were a wife and iust Prince, or cruell and vniust. And indeede most of them became wicked to make sure their estate, life and goods, knowing that they were fallen into many mens hatred, because they had inuaded the soueraigntie. In this respect therefore was this dominion and rule called tyrannicall,

The Souldan
of Cayre cho-
sen out of the
Mammelucks.

The great
mastership of
Malta ele-
ctiue, and that
also of
Prussia.

Of the fift
kinde of Mo-
narchy which
is hereditarie.
The Salick
law excludeth
daughters
and their
sonnes.
Kingdomes
left by will.

Of the happy
government
of the estate
of France.

The Chan-
cellor of
France must
approoue all
matters be-
fore they can
passe.

Officers in
France sworne
to let nothing
passe, that is
hurtful to the
realme, not-
withstanding
the king his
commande-
ment.

Of tyranny
and of the
name of a ty-
rant.

The difference between a good king and a tyrant.

Diogenes gir-
deth Diony-
sus.

Of the misera-
ble condition
of tyrants.

Democles
was quickly
wear e of the
estate of Dio-
nysius.
A tyrant can-
not long con-
tinue.

Tyrants have
commonly
an euill end.

Examples of
the extraor-
dinary deaths
of tyrants.

Rewards ap-
pointed for
murderers of
tyrants.

tyrannicall, because it gouerned in lord-like manner without right ouer free men, compelled and forced to obey. But generally we may call that a tyranny, when the prince accounteth all his will as a iust law, and hath no care either of pietie, iustice or faith, but doth all things for his priuate profite, reuenge, or pleasure. And as a good king conformeth himselfe to the lawes of God and nature, so a tyrant treadeth them vnder foote: the one striveth to enrich his subiects, the other to destroy them: the one taketh reuenge of publike iniuries and pardoneth his owne, the other cruelly reuengeth iniuries done to himselfe, and forgiveth those that are offered to others: the one spareth the honour of chaste women, the other triumpheth in their shame: the one taketh pleasure to bee freely admonished, and wisely reprooued when hee hath done amisse, the other misliketh nothing so much, as a graue, free, and vertuous man: the one maketh great account of the loue of his people, the other of their feare: the one is neuer in feare but for his subiects, the other standeth in awe of none more than of them: the one burdeneth his as little as may bee, and then vpon publike necessitie, the other suppeth vp their blood, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the marrow of his subiects to satisfie his desires: the one giueth estates and offices to meete with bribery and oppression of the people, the other selleth them as deere as may be, & careth not for the oppression of his subiects: the one in time of warre hath no recourse but to his subiects, the other warreth against none but them: the one hath no guard or garrison but his owne people, the other none but of strangers: the one reioyceth in assured rest, the other languisheth in perpetuall feare: the one is honoured in his life time, and longed for after his death, the other is defamed in his life, and rent in peeces after his death. Examples hereof are in euery mans sight. And therefore *Diogenes* the Sinopian meeting one day in the city of Corinth with *Dionysius* the yonger, tyrant of Syracuse, who was then brought into the estate of a private man, banished from his countrey, and fallen from his dignity, spake thus vnto him: Truly *Dionysius* thou art now in an estate, vnworthy of thee. The tyrant standing still withall, made him this answer: I like thee well *Diogenes*, because thou hast compassion of my miserable fortune. What? (replied the Philosopher) doest thou thinke that I pitie thee? I am rather grieved to see such a slave as thou, who deseruest to grow old and to die in that cursed estate of a tyrant, as thy father did, to take thy pleasure in such safetie, and to passe away thy time freely amongst vs without feare. And to say truth, tyranny is such a miserable condition, that euen they that practise it and glorie therein, are constrained many times to confesse with their own mouth, that no kind of life is so wretched as theirs. This self same tyrant *Dionysius*, when he was in the greatest glorie of his estate, declared as much to *Democles*, one of his familiar friends, who had said that he was most happie. Wilt thou (quoth *Dionysius* to him) enioy my felicitie but for one day onely? Whereunto when *Democles* agreed, he caused him to be serued at the table as himselfe was wont to be, with all the magnificence that could be deuised, hanging in the meane while a sword right ouer his head, which was tyed to the roofo aloft onely by one haire of a horse taile. When *Democles* perceiued that, he was well contented to make a short dinner, and to passe away the rest of the day in his former estate. Loe, (quoth the tyrant then vnto him) how happie our life is, which with all our armed garde hangeth but by a little threede. Moreover, the reigne of tyrants being without measure and reason, and guided onely by violence cannot be of any long continuance, This is that which *Thales* the wise man said, that there was nothing so strange or rare, as an old tyrant. And albeit they liue miserably in perpetuall distrust of every one, yea, of their kindred, yet there end is more wretched. For there were few of them that died not a cruell and extraordinary death: most of them being slaine and murdered, and others persecuted with strange griefes, died like mad and desperate men, through the remembrance of their corrupt life, and of the cruelties which they had committed. In ancient time tyranny was detestable, that euen schollers and women sought to winne the reward of honour by killing tyrants: as *Aristotle* the Logitian did, who slue a tyrant of Sicinia, and as *Thebe*, who killed her husband *Alexander*, tyrant of the Phereans. Thirty tyrants were slaine in one day in the citie of Athens, by *Theramenes*, *Thrasybulus*, and *Archippus*, who had but threescore and ten men to execute that enterprise. *Leander* tyrant of Cyrena, was taken alive, and being sewed into a lether bagge, was cast into the sea. *Aristodemus* tyrant of Cumes tooke *Xenocrita* by force, beeing a wealthy citizens daughter whom he had banished, and keeping her with him as his wife, shee stirred vp *Thymoteles* and others to recover the libertie of their countrey, who being safely let into the tyrants chamber by her, slue *Aristodemus*. Besides, the Ancients had appointed great rewards and recompences for the murderers of tyrants, namely, titles of Nobilitie, of Prowesse, of Chualrie,

Chivalrie, images, and honourable titles: to be short, the goods of the tyrants were given vnto them, as to the true deliuerers of their countrey. Now albeit we said, that this word, Tyrant, was taken amongst them for him that made himselfe soueraigne prince of his owne authoritie, without election, or right of succession, or lot, or iust warre, or speciall calling of God; yet we must not inferre this consequent, that therefore it is lawfull to kill euery Prince that exerciseth tyranny. For it belongeth in no wise either to any particular subiect, or to all in general, to seeke the honour or life of the Prince that is absolutely and lawfully soueraigne, as we haue already discoursed. Now to conclude our present speech, wee may see how farre the establishment of this French Monarchie is from any inclination, and from all things that may seeme to giue any entrance, life and preservation to a tyrannie: nay it is cleane contrary thereunto, and goeth beyoud all monarchies that euer were or are amongst the sundrie nations of men, for goodnesse and mildnesse of gouernment: which ought wonderfully to stirre vp Frenchmen to perseuere in loue, obedience, and fidelity towards their king: for which strangers haue alwaies praised them.

Of the Education of a Prince in good manners and conditions. Chap. 59.

A R A M. **T**He effect of custome is wonderfull, yea it is so powerfull, that it passeth nature, especially, in vice and dissolutenesse. Wherein if men bee once plunged, it is a very hard matter, especially if they bee yong, to draw them out of it. But further when they know that they haue in their hands an vnbrideled license, and a soueraigne authoritie to enioy their lusts and desires at their pleasure, a man may then say, that all hope of amendment is vtterly perished in them, and that it is altogether impossible to gaine any thing of them by counsell, instruction or reason. Therefore it is very certaine, that the principall hope and expectation of a Prince (after request made to God, that by nature he may be of a good and teachable disposition) ought to bee grounded alwaies in his education and first institution, which beeing either good or bad, will bring forth like effects, to the great good or hurt of his subiects. Now then (my Companions) let vs discourse of that which we thinke ought to be obserued in the right instruction of a Prince in all kinde of good manners, and commendable conditions, as well for his owne profite, as for the common vtility of all those ouer whom he is to command.

Custome goeth beyond nature in that which is euill.

The chiefe hope of a prince dependeth next to God of his institution.

A C H I T O B. Men are commonly carefull to strengthen with rampires the bankes of riuers, which receiue into them great quantity of waters. But it is needful that more diligence be vsed in preserving and fortifying the minde of a yong prince with strong reasons, graue sentences, and most learned precepts of wisdom, against the greatnesse of his fortune, the great abundance of wealth, riot, delights, and flatterie, disguised with fidelitie; which, like to a mighty streame, fall from some rocke to ouerwhelme and to drowne the weake seedes of vertue naturally in a Prince.

A notable comparison.

A S E R. Men must be so much the more carefull in the dressing and tillage of that spirit and soule, which they know ought to be vigilant, wise, prudent, and iust for the benefite of many. Such a one is the king or magistrate, or any other man that is to deale in gouernment, and in publike affaires. For to fill that soule with vertue and goodnesse, is to profite an infinite number by the meanes of one. Now let vs heare **A M A N** A discourse vpon this matter.

Why great care is to be had in the institution of a prince.

A M A N A. All kingdomes vnder which men do liue at this day, are either hereditary, or giuen by election. Some that are hereditary goe by succession from male to male onely, as this kingdom of France. And this did the Frenchmen wisely ordaine in the beginning of their Monarchie by the Salicke law, by which prouidence and foresight, they haue continued in the same kinde of gouernment almost one thousand and two hundred yeares, so that the crowne neuer went out of their nation, neither hath the royall linage changed oftener than thrise in so long continuance: which thing neuer happened to any other Monarchie or Seignory to any mans knowledge. In other kingdomes, when males are wanting daughters succede, as in Spaine, England, and Scotland. Moreouer in hereditary kingdomes where males succede, in some places that honour is alwaies reserued for the eldest, who giueth an honest pension to his yonger brethren, as it is in France: or if no regard be had to birthright, either

The kingdom of France goeth onely from male to male.

The barba-
rous cruelty
of Selim.

The custome
of electing of
a king in Ethi-
opia.

The custome
of succession
in Calcuth.

When a prince
may best be
corrected.

The best to-
ken of remem-
brance that a
prince can
leave behinde
him.

How a prince
ought to liue
himselfe, and
to bring vp
his children.

What teachers
a yong prince
must haue.

either he is preferred that is fittest to gouerne, or he that is most warlike, and in greatest fauour with the souldiers, as in Turkie, *Selim* the first of that name, beeing the third and yongest sonne of *Baiazet* the second, vsurped the Empire by the aide of the laniezaries vpon his father, whome he caused to be poisoned, and slue, *Achmeth* and *Corcuth* his two eldr brothers, with all his nephewes, and others of *Ottomans* race, saying that nothing was pleasanter than to rule when all feare of kindred was taken away. In some places they kill not their brethren and kindred, but shut them vp in some most sure and safe place of custody, as they vse or are accustomed to doe in Ethiopia, where he that must beare rule, is kept alone, the rest are sent to a very high and strong mountaine, called the mountaine of the Israelites: from whence none of the male kinde may euer come forth, except *Prestor Iohn* die without heire of his body to succede him in the crowne: for then he that is next vnto it, and knowne to be woorthiest and fittest, is taken forth. By this meanes that great kingdome hath continued very long without ciuill warre or murder, and neuer wanted offspring of the royall race. In *Calcuth*, when the king dieth, although he haue male children, or nephewes by his brother, yet none of them succeed in the kingdome, but his sisters sonne: and if they faile, the next of the blood royall commeth to the crowne. They ground this vpon a foolish and fond superstition which they haue in causing the Queene to be defloured by some yong priest called *Bramen*, in whose custody she remaineth euer after, so long as the king is abroad. Whereupon they presume, and peradventure not without good cause, that the children which descend or are borne of that lady, holde more of the priest than of the prince. Concerning kingdomes that go by election, wee haue spoken of them already. Now because it is a very hard matter to change him that is once chosen in such a kingdome, greater consideration must be had in making the election, least the oversight of one houre procure a perpetuall repentance. But where the prince is by nature and not by election, men must labour by carefull industry and diligence to bring him vp, and to instruct him well in replenishing his minde with sound opinions from his infancie, and by casting vpon his new ground seeds of vertue and honesty which by little and little may grow and waxe ripe with age, and hauing once taken roote, may abide stedfast and firme to his liues end. For there is no time better and fitter to frame and to correct a prince in, than when he knowes not that hee is a prince. For if hee learne to obey from his infancie, when he commeth to the degree of commanding, he applieth and behaueth himselfe a great deale better with his subiects, than they that from their youth haue bene alwaies free and exempted from subiection. For by such education or bringing vp, a prince addeth to his royall greatnesse, and to those fashions which great men haue by nature, curtesie and gentle behauiour, which cannot but be very acceptable to his people, and containe them more willingly in the duty of obedience. Therefore the prince in his yong and tender yeares must be diligently imployed, not onely in withdrawing him from dishonest things, but also in causing him to taste of vertue, and to haue some precepts thereof ingrauen in his braine, vntill in the ende he vnderstand all that belongeth to his duty, and what soeuer else may helpe him forward to leade a good and happy life. If wise fathers with great care bring vp, and instruct their children, who shall succeed them but in the gouernment of some little house in the countrey, how much greater care and labour ought to be taken in teaching him well and wisely, who is to succeed in the Empire ouer much people, and whose life ought to be the discipline of their manners and conditions? For this cause a good and prudent prince must take paines in causing his children to be brought vp, that hee remember he hath begotten them for the Commonwealth, not to serue his priuate affections. Let him know, that although he erect a great number of images, build sumptuous houses, establish good and wholesome ordinances, yet he cannot leaue a more excellent marke of his, than a sonne, who degenerating in nothing, representeth the goodnesse of his father by vertuous actions. For hee dieth not that leaueth behinde him a liuely image of himselfe. And truly it is the perfection of an excellent prince to rule in such sort, as if he would strue, that his like for goodnesse and iustice could not succede him, and so to bring vp his children, as if he desired that they should surmount him in vertue. To this end therefore let him make choice of al his subiects, yea from what place soeuer, and gather together vertuous and sincere men, vncorrupted, graue and such as are learned not onely through precepts, but also through the experience of many things, to whom their age breedeth reuerence, their good life authoritie and their mildnesse and gentle behauiour loue, and good will: that the tender spirit of the yong prince, offended with the rough dealing of his teachers, may not begin to hate vertue before he know it, nor yet corrupted through their ouer great gentlenesse,

elenesse, degenerate and start aside where it ought not. Wherefore *Seneca* said, that a Prince his teacher must haue these two properties. *He must know how to chide without shaming of him, & how to praise him without flatterie.* Moreouer, great care must be had in making choise of all such persons, whether they are men, women, children, or seruants, as come neare about him, either to gouerne, or to serue him, or to keepe him company. For seeing the most part of mens mindes encline to euill, and no childe is so happily borne, but he may be corrupted through wicked education: what may a man looke for but very great euils from that prince, who, of what nature and spirit soeuer he be, presently after he is out of his cradle, is stuffed with foolish and false opinions, nourished among fond women, brought vp in the midst of lasciuious maidens, of lost children, vile and abiect flatterers, of iuglers and players, of drunkards, of dice plaiers and inuenters of pleasures: briefly, in the midst of such caitifes, amongst whom he heareth and learneth nothing but pleasure, delight, pride, arrogancy, couetousnes, choler and tyranny, and so departing from this schoole, takes vnto him the scepter and gouernment of his Empire? Now he that is elected and chosen to vndertake such a great and difficult charge, as is the education and instruction of the prince, must bring with him a will worthy the same, considering with himselfe, not how many benefices and bishopricks he may get into his hands, but how he may deliuer vp a vertuous prince into his country, which putteth al his trust and confidence in him. Let him know that they do good to all the people, who make them good men whom the people cannot want: as contrariwise, they that marre and corrupt princes and kings, ought to be an abomination to all men, and punished no lesse than they that put poison, not into a cup, but into a common fountaine, of which they see every body drinke. First then hee that hath taken this charge vpon him, must narrowly note wheerunto the nature of the prince is inclined, seeing it may be knowne by some signes even in his yong yeares: as whether he be not given to anger, to ambition, to desire of renowne, to riot, to play, to couetousnes, to reuenge, to war, or to tyranny. After, when he knoweth to what vice he is inclined, he must fortifie his minde against the same with good opinions and with holy resolutions, and labor to change his hart which is yet tender into a habit that is contrary to his nature. And when he perceiueth that his tender nature inclineth to honest and commendable things, or to such vices as will easily change into vertues in princes well brought vp, as to ambition and prodigality, he must prick him forward, and helpe his good nature by diligent trauell. Neither must he vse precepts only to withdraw the prince from dishonest things, and to procure in him a longing desire to doe those things that are vertuous, but hee must labour to imprint and to roote them in his memory by diuers formes, now by sentences, another while by fables, after by comparisons, then by examples, or by some notable sayings, ingrauen in rings, and planted in tables. Briefely, if there be any other thing wherein this age taketh pleasure, let that be a meane to worke in him a tast of vertue. Aboue all things specially regard is to be had, what opinions are ingrauen in the Prince his braine. For the whole order of his life proceedeth from that fountaine. And therefore he must labor immediatly to imprint in his minde holy and good opinions, which may serue for a counterpoison against the common errors of the ignorant people: hut chiefly to instruct him thoroughly in Gods truth, and in that which concerneth his saluation. He must perswade him, that whatsoeuer is taught in the law of God, belongeth to none so much as to the prince, and that as he is to raigne by him, so likewise it belongeth to his office to raigne according to his will, that he may enioy prosperity in this world, and eternall felicity in the blessed life to come. Let him be taught to loue vertue as the only good and to hate vice as the only euill: let him know that the one is followed no lesse with shame and dishonour, than the other with glory and honour, especially in a prince, in whom if vertue take place, as it were in a high watch tower, it shineth so cleerely, that the brightnes thereof remaineth long after his death. As for all worldly pompe, antiquity of petigree, imagery, and riches, they are but meere vanity and folly, not worthy to be cared for, or to be admired by a vertuous prince. Let him be perswaded that dignity, greatnes and maiesty are not to be sought after by the helpe of fortune, or by humane meanes, but by wisdom, integrity of life and manners, and by vertuous and noble deeds. *Plato* saith not without cause, that a Common wealth will neuer be happy vntill princes play the Philosophers, or Philosophers take the rudder of the Empire in hand. Now his meaning is not to cal him a Philosopher, that is learned in Logicke, in naturall Philosophy, and in the Mathematicks, but him, who with an vntamed heart despiseth the vaine shadowes of things, and followeth after true goods. A Philosopher and a Christian differ but in name: and a prince well instructed in piety, is truly

Two properties requisite to him that teacheth a prince. What manner of person must be about the prince.

The duty of him that is chosen to bring vp the prince.

To make a good prince is to do good to all his people. The inclination of a yong prince, must first be known.

How a yong prince must be taught.

Deut. 17. 18.

The law of God belongeth to the prince.

When a commonwealth is happy.

The agreement between a Philosopher & a Christian.

truly both the one and the other. Therefore hee ought to learne nothing sooner (next to the law of God) than the morall Philosophie of the auncients, which teacheth all vertue. Is there any thing more foolish than to esteeme highly of a prince if he vault well, if he play well at Tennis, if he be stout and strong: briefly, if he be cunning in some things, which peradventure a peasant would doe better than he, and in the meane while he is puffed vp with pride, hee polleth his people, and sporteth himselfe in all kind of dissolutenesse and pleasure? What honour is it for a prince to goe farre beyond the common sort in precious stones, gold, purple, traine of seruants, and in other ornaments of the body, and in euery thing that is fasly called good, and in the meane while to be farre inferior in the true goods of the soule to many of his people, and those of lowest calling? These opinions, as holy and inuiolable lawes, must be ingrauen in the heart of a yong prince, and must bee, as it were the first lines that are to be drawne in the void table of his soule, namely, that hee must strue that none excell him in the goods of the soule, in wisdom, magnanimity, temperance and iustice. Frugality, modesty, and sobriety in other men may be attributed either to pouerty or to niggardlinesse, but in a prince they cannot but be a note of temperance, I meane, when he vseth good modesty, who hath as much as hee will. Ancient men called that prudence miserable, which was gotten by the experience of things, because it is bought with publike losse and calamity. But such kind of experience ought to be farthest off from a prince, because the longer it is a learning, the greater cause is it of many euils unto all his people. If *Scipio Africanus* had reason to say, that this speech, *I had not thought it*, did not beleeue a wise man, how much more vnseemly is it for a prince, who cannot vtter the same without his great harme, and greater to the common-wealth? For as in a voyage the fault of a comon Mariner (said *Agapetus*) doth but little hurt, whereas the slip of a Pilot bringeth shipwracke: so in Monarchies the offence of a priuate man is more hurtfull to himselfe than to the common-wealth, but if the Prince begin to faile, hee hurteth euery one. This is the cause why the mind of a prince must especially be instructed with good resolutions and sentences, to the ende hee may bee skilfull by reason and not by vse. For then the counsell of aged men will supply that experience of things which is wanting in him. He must be giuen to vnderstand, that his life is in the face of all the world, that hee can doe nothing that will bee hid, and therefore if he be good, it must needs turne to the great benefit of many; if wicked, to their hurt likewise, because the prince is alwaies the very portarature after which subiects conform themselves. He must know that the greater honor is giuen vnto him, the more he is to strue that hee may be woorthy of it, looking more to his owne doings and actions, than to the praises that men giue him, which he must beleeue and receive according as he behaueth himselfe. For if he rule well, they are due vnto him, if ill, he is honored and praised, either through constraint, or of flattery, or else it is to shewe him vnder hand what hee ought to bee. Let him know that as God hath placed the Sunne and the Moone in the heauens for a resemblance of his diuinity: so a prince is the like representation and light in a kingdome, as long as hee hath the feare of God, and the obseruation of iustice imprinted in him. For these two things make their life diuine and celestiall, that are in placed in high degree of power and authority: as contrariwise, the contempt of piety and iustice, maketh it beast like and sauage. As God the giuer of all things standeth not in neede of any mans seruice to receive a good turne of him: so it is the duty of a worthy prince, who representeth the figure of the eternall king, to profit euery one without respect of his owne commoditie and glory. As God is not touched with any affections or passions, but ruleth and gouerneth all things perfectly by his prouidence: so after his example a Prince laying aside the perturbations of his soule, must follow reason onely in all his doings. As there is nothing more common than the Sunne, which imparteth of her light to all the celestiall bodies, so a Prince must be alwaies ready to profit the commo wealth & haue within him the light of wisdom, to the end that if others loose their brightnes, yet he may neuer bee overtaken with darknesse. As the Sunne when it is highest in the zodiacke moueth slowest, so the higher that a prince is lift vp in greatnesse and authoritie, the more gentle and gracious he ought to be, keeping himselfe from dooing any thing that becometh not a prince. Therefore let him thinke, that nothing is more vile and abiect, than for him that is called a king and prince of free men, to become a slaue to riot, choler, couetousnes, ambition and other vices of like qualitie, which are most vile & cruell masters. Hee must bee so affected towards his subiects as a good father of a familie is toward those of his household, because a kingdome is nothing els but a great familie, and a king the father of a great many. For although he passe them in greatnes & authoritie, yet he is of one & the same kind with them, a man

Wherein a Prince ought to excell others.

The fault of a prince is much more hurtfull than that of a priuate man. A prince ought to bee skilfull by reason and not by vse

How a prince is to receiue the praises that are giuen him.

Good precepts for princes set out by comparison.

A kingdome is but a great family.

man commanding men; and free over those that are free, not over beastes or slaves, as *Aristotle* saith very well. And if hee would haue that excellent title, which wee giue to God, the prince of all men, calling him *Our Father*, hee must procure it not by threatnings and feare, but by good deeds, by meekenes and humanity, which will stand him in steade of a sure Guard to preferue his estate. For the loue and loyalty of his subiects will greatly increase thereby, of which the assurance of Monarchies dependeth. When the nobility and common people vse to feare, not him, but for his sake that commandeth them; then hee seeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and perceiueth a far off whatsoeuer is done. Let the prince haue this saying of *Plutarke* alwaies ingrauen in his soule: *That nothing beere below please God more, or draweth nearer to his diuine nature, than to rule well in all iustice and equity, which is the chiefest charge of his vocation, and that vnto which hee is straightly bound in respect of his subiects.* For as the subiect oweth obedience, aide, and reuerence to his Lord: so the prince oweth iustice, defence, and protection to his subiects. When a Prince sheweth himselfe vpriight, indifferent, and true of his word to all, it is the greatest felicity that can happen to a Common wealth, and that which crowneth the Monarch thereof with greater glory and honour. And truely a prince ought to be more carefull to obtaine that praise and reputation which proceedeth of goodnesse and vertue, than that which commeth of strength and power. For as the diuine nature, vnto which kinges must endeavour to conform their workes and actions, excelleth all other essences and natures chiefly in three things, that is, in immortality, power and goodnes, so a prince must strue to excell his subiects, not so much in the immortality of his name, or in power, as in goodnes, which vertue is certainly much more venerable, and draweth neere to the diuinity. For to be incorruptible and immortall, the fowre Elements, and the whole frame are indued with that quality, as naturall Philosophers maintaine. And as for strength and power, earth quakes, lightnings, tempestuous whirlle winds, floods and inundations of waters, are full of force and might: but nothing is partaker of iustice, vpriightnes, and equity, except it be diuine and that by the meanes of reason and vnderstanding. So that (as the same *Plutarke* saith) we only are capable of that Good of vertue that commeth from God. To be short, let the prince bee diligently taught whilest hee is young, and labour to know how he may adorne his name with workes answerable to those excellent Epithites and titles, wherewith *Iulius Pollux*, who was gouernour to the Emperour *Commodus* in his yong yeares, setteth forth a good king. He calleth him *Father*, gentle, acceptable, mercifull, prudent, iust, courteous, noble minded, free, a conseruer of money, not subiect to passions, but commanding ouer himselfe, one that ouercometh pleasures, and useth reason, quicke of iudgement, sharpe, prouident, good in counselling, iust, sober, godly and full of good religion, carefull ouer the welfare of men, constant, firme, no deceiver, minding great things, decked with authority, industrious, a quicke dispatcher of affaires, carefull ouer those whom hee commandeth, a Saviour, ready to doe good, slowe to reuenge, alwaies one and the same without turning aside, inclining greatly to iustice, easie to haue access vnto, courteous in speech, gentle to them that haue to deale with him, plaine, a lover of a vertuous and valiant man, who neuertheless are desirous of warre, a lover of peace, a peace maker, a precise observer thereof, borne to correct the manners of people, skilfull in discharging the dutie of a king and prince, hauing knowledge to make good lawes, borne to profite euery one, and of a diuine forme. A prince of noble birth shall feele himselfe greatly prouoked to desire and seeke after these excellent giftes and graces, through the consideration of examples propounded vnto him, concerning the liues and deedes of so many famous and woorthy men, as are at this day after innumerable ages receiued againe by meanes of histories. And it cannot bee but he wil be greatly pricked forward to conforme himselfe vnto them, thereby to giue like occasion to good wittes, to write, sing, and publishe his praises. What Prince will not burne with a iealous desire of vertue when he heareth that the onely fame thereof in the person of *Scipio Africanus* allured and rauished theues and robbers with such an admiration, that when they vnderstood that hee was in a house far from any towne, they did beset it round, and as he stood in his defence to drive them away, they threwe downe their weapons, assuring him, that they came thither onely to see and to reuerence him, as indeede they did? What Prince will not be possessed with ioy when he heareth that *Menander* king of the Bactrians was so beloued of his subiects for his iustice and vertue, that after his death the cities were in great contention, which of them should haue the honour of his buriall, for the appeasing of which strife, order was taken that each of them should make a tomb? Who will not be moued with loue towards the goodnes of *Traian* Emperour of the Romans, when he heareth his Panegyricall Oration, wherein *Plinie*, *Traian*, after he had extolled him to heauē, concludeth thus. *That the greatest happines, which could come*

The safetie of Monarchies dependeth of the loue and loyalty of subiects.

The mutuall duties of the Prince & his subiects. What praise a prince is to seeke after.

The whole world is immortal in respect of substance, but not of qualities.

Excellent titles of a good Prince.

Examples of former ages must be propounded to princes.

Scipio Africanus

Menander

Agefilans.

Aristides.

Deut. 17. 19.

to the Empire, was, that the Gods tooke example by the life of Traian. Who will not desire the honor that king Agefilans receiued when he was fined by the Ephories, because he had stolen away the hearts, and woone the loue of all his citizens to himselfe alone? Who will not wish to haue the surname of *Aristides the Iust*, as diuine and small a title as ever king could obtaine, rather than as many vse to bee called *Conquerors, Besiegers, Thunderers*? Briefly, vnto these examples oppose the reprehension and marke of perpetuall infamie, which histories set vpon euill Princes, and it cannot bee but that a Prince well brought vp, and exercised in the loue and studie of vertue, will be very desirous to shew forth the fruits and effects thereof, especially if he be well instructed in the feare of God, and knowledge of his duty, whereof hee shall haue perfect vnderstanding in the law of God, which hee is commanded by the foueraigne King of all to haue with him, to reade in it all the daies of his life, and to obey it, to the end he may reigne happily in earth, and finally in heauen.

Of the office and dutie of a King. Chap. 60.

A M A N A

It is as hard a matter to gouerne well as to get an Empire.

Why princes are placed in their thrones.

The good will of the people dependeth of the integritie of religion. The sayings of the seuen wise men of Græcia touching the estate of princes.

Traians letters to the Senate touching the carefull estate of princes. To what false surmises a prince is subiect.

Augustus Caesar hearing some rehearse, that Alexander the Great after hee had finished most of his conquests at two and thirty yeares of age, said that he tooke great care to know what he should doe afterward: *I wonder* (said the wise Monarch) *at the speech of that great Prince, whereby it seemeth he thought that there was lesse to do in well ordering, ruling, and preserving a great Empire once intirely gotten, than in conquering the same.* And surely to speake truth, there is nothing more difficult than to reigne well. Moreover it is better for a prince to gouerne prudently and to rule according to his estate, than to invade and possesse another mans countrie: namely, if he consider, that God, beeing so gracious vnto him as to bring innumerable persons vnder his obedience, hath chiefly established him to keepe them in the knowledge and obseruation of true religion, to rule them by good lawes, to defend them by armes, and in all things to bee so carefull of their good, that they may esteeme of him, as of their father and shepheard. Now seeing we haue summarily intreated of the education and institution of a Prince vnder the charge of a teacher and gouernour, let vs in this place (my Companions) consider of his office and dutie, when he reigneth with full authoritie over his subiects.

A R A M. Forasmuch as integritie of religion, and the good will of the people are two principall pillars vpon which the safetie of euery Estate standeth, the king ought to procure the first, being therefore appointed by God over so many millions of men: and the second without doubt dependeth of the former, which is the onely difference betweene a king and a tyrant, who ruleth by constraint.

A C H I T O B. In a king is seene the ordinance of God, who is the author and preseruer of policies, and of good order. Therefore his feare, and reason, must neuer depart out of his mind to the end that seruing God, he may profite all those that liue vnder his dominion. But from thee **A S E R**, we looke for the discourse of this matter.

A S E R. The seauen Sages of Græcia being invited to a feast by Periander prince of Corinth, were requested by him to enter into the discourse of the estate of great men. Solon speaking first, said, *That a soueraigne king or Prince cannot any way procure greater glory to himselfe than by making a popular estate of his monarchie: that is to say, by communicating his soueraigne authority with his subiects.* Bias speaking next said, *By submitting himselfe first of all to the lawes of his countrey.* Thales, I account that Lord happy that attaineth to old age, & dieth a naturall death. Anacharsis, If he be the onely wise man. Cleobulus, If he trust none of these that are about him. Pittacus, If he be able to preuaile so much, that his subiects feare not him, but for him. Chilon, a prince must not set his mind vpon any transitory or mortall thing, but vpon that which is eternal & immortall. Periander concluding vpon these opinions said, that all these sentences seemed to him to dissuade a man of good iudgement, from desiring at any time to command ouer others. The Emperour Traian writing to the Senate of Rome, among other things vsed these very words. *I freely confesse vnto you, that since I began to tast of the trauels & cares which this imperiall estate bringeth with it, I haue repented me a thousand times that I tooke it vpon me. For if there be great honor in hauing an Empire, there is also very great paine and trauell in gouerning the same. But ouer and besides, to what enuy is he exposed, and to how many mislikings is hee subiect that hath others to gouern? If he bee iust, hee is called cruell: if pittifull, hee is dispersed: if liberall, hee is thought to bee prodigall: if he lay vp money, hee is taken for conetons: if hee bee addicted to peace, hee is supposed to bee a coward: if hee bee couragious* he

hee is iudged ambitious: if graue, they will call him proud: if affable and courtous, hee is tearmed simple: if solitary, an hypocrite: and if hee be merrie, they will say hee is dissolute. After many other speeches, this good Emperor concluded, that although hee willingly accepted of his estate at the first, yet hee was very sorrowfull afterward that hee had so great a charge: because the Sea and the Empire were two pleasant things to looke vpon, but perillous to taste. Diuine Plato wrote also, that none was fit to gouerne an Empire, and to be a Prince, but he that commeth vnto it through constraint, and against his will. For whosoeuer desireth the charge of a Prince, it must needs be, that hee is either a foole, not knowing how dangerous and full of care the charge of a king is: or if he be a wicked man, that he mindeth nothing but how hee may reigne to satisfie his pleasure and priuate profit, to the great hurt of the Common-wealth: or else if he be ignorant, that hee considereth not how heauy the burden is which hee taketh vpon him. Therefore a wise prince will not thinke himselfe the happier because he succeedeth in a greater Empire and kingdome, but remember rather, that hee laieth so much the more care and paine vpon his shoulders, and that he beginneth then to haue lesse leisure, lesse rest and happinesse in passing away his time. In other persons, a fault is pardoned in youth, and growing old, they are suffered to take their ease: but he that is Head of a Common-wealth, because he is to trauell for all, must be neither yong nor old. For he cannot commit a fault how small soeuer it be, without the hurt of many men, nor yet rest from his study, but it will turne to the miserie of his subiects. This caused the Philosphers to say, that a prince ought not to dedicate the Common-wealth to himselfe, but to addict himselfe to the Common-wealth, and for the profit thereof alwaies to be diligent, vertuous, and wise, and so to gouerne his Empire, that he may be able easily to giue a reason of his charge. And because no man asketh an account of him in this life, he ought to be so much the more stirred vp to demand a straighter reckoning of himselfe, being assured that the time will come, and that speedily, wherein hee must yeeld it vp before him, with whom there is no respect of princes, except in this, that they shall haue the Iudge more rigorous against them, that haue abused greater power and authoritie. To begin therefore to handle the duty and office of a Prince: first he must haue the law of God continually before his eyes: hee must ingraue it in his soule, and meditate vpon the words and ordinances thereof, all the daies of his life, desiring of God to graunt him the spirit of vnderstanding to conceiue them well, and according to that diuine rule to direct all his intents and actions to the glory of that great, eternall, and Almighty King of kings: as well for the saluation of his owne soule, which hee ought to preferre before the rule of the whole world: as for the good of those that are committed to his charge to gouerne, teach and iudge them. For it is most certaine, that of the knowledge of the truth in the Prince his heart, all good order of his Estate dependeth: and that his piety is of great force to awaken his subiects to their duty: namely, when they see him follow and cleaue to true religion without faining and dissimulation. Therefore hee must carefully provide, that false doctrines, heresies, blasphemies against the name of God and his truth, with other offences in matters of religion, be not openly broched and sowne amongst the people, but that some publike forme of Christian religion may alwaies be seene in his kingdome, which is the sure foundation of euery well established Monarchy. But herein that which I said before, is diligently to be noted: namely, that the Prince through wisdom craued before at the hands of God, must be well assured of his diuine iust, and eternall will, and according to that, take order that true piety may not be publicly violated and polluted by an vncorrected libertie. Next, wee will briefly comprehend all those pointes, which auncient men, both Philosophers and Christians, haue required in an absolute and perfect Prince, into three principall duties and actions: that is, in ruling, iudging, and defending. Hee must rule by good lawes, and by good example; iudge by wisdom, prouidence, and iustice; and defend by prowesse, care, and vigilancy. These duties, that excellent Greek Orator and Philosopher, *Isocrates* seemeth to haue covertly contained in these words: which he wrot to *Nicocles* the prince. *This may prooue vnto thee that thou hast reigned well, if thou seest that the people, which is subiect vnto thee, increase in modesty and wealth vnder thy government. For good lawes, iustice, and good example of life, make subiects better, and prouidence ioyned with fortitude and prowesse, richer.* Now that a good prince (I call him good and iust that imployeth all his power to be such a one, being ready to spend his blood and life for his people) may attaine to these excellent qualities, his loue and affection towards his subiects is very necessary, as that which is able to preserue the indissoluble bond of mutuall good will betweene them and him, which is one of the surest meanes to maintaine great estates and Monarchies. Next, hee is to begin the good ordering of

Who is fittest to rule.

The Prince must giue account to none but to God. The first and principall duty of a prince is to haue the law of God before his eyes *Psal. 119.*

The piety of the prince is of great force with his subiects to stirre them vp to their duty.

The Prince must be sure that the religion he maintaineth is the iust will of God.

The duties of a prince comprehended in three points. *Isocrates* argument, whereby he proueth the good reigne of a Prince. A prince must loue his subiects.

- Hee must begin reformation at himselfe. his Estate at himselfe, and reforme first of all, all disorder in his owne life and manners, and correct those things that are most secret in his court: knowing that from thence forward he must liue as it were in an open Theater, where he is seene on euery side, so that his life will be a discipline and instruction of good or ill liuing vnto others. Therefore let him strue to excell those whom he ruleth, and to surmount them as farre in vertues, as he surpasseth them in riches and honour. Amongst all those that follow him, he must alwaies haue the wisest next his person, and all other from all parts neere vnto him, not refusing or contemning any man of skill and reputation. He must often heare them, learne of them, and being a Iudge amongst such as are lesse skillfull, strue to goe beyond the best learned through diligence and study. By which kinde of exercises he shall know how to gouerne the estate of his kingdome vprightly, and cannot but doe such things as are praise-worthy. And forasmuch as common tranquillitie and publike quietnesse is one principall end of ciuill society, the first dutie of a good king towards his subiect, is to maintaine them in peace and concord. For it is vnpossible that a Common-wealth should flourish in religion, iustice, charity, integrity of life: briefly, in all things necessary for the preservation thereof, if the subiects enioy not an exceeding great and assured peace. Let the prince then without intermission, seeke after the safest meanes to keepe his kingdome in quietnesse and rest: let him deliuer his subiects from calamity: let him be carefull of all things which may be profitable and commodious vnto them, and let him command them with mildnesse, and teach them obedience by the vprightnes of his commandements. Let him not suffer his people to be very insolent, nor yet to bee troden vnder foote and oppressed: but let him take order, that such as are most honest may be preferred to honors and offices, and that the rest may not any way be wronged. He must alter those ciuill lawes and customes of liuing, which beeing ill established, are preiudiciall to his subiects, and ordaine all iust and profitable lawes, agreeing with themselves, and such as breeding but few suites among his people, may briefly iudge and decide them according to right and equi-ty. In this point a good prince must vse great care and diligence that iustice may be well administred, to the preservation of euery mans right, and to the punishment of the wicked. This is that which the Spirit of God so often commandeth: namely, *To execute iudgement and righteousnesse, to deliuer the oppressed from the hands of the oppressor, not to vex the stranger, the fatherlesse, nor the widdow, to doe no violence, nor shed innocent blood.* And these selfe-same things must he cause to be obserued by them that are appointed to exercise iustice in his name. Which because it was neglected by many kings, they lost both life and kingdome, as we reade of *Philip* king of Macedonia, a very milde prince, and of an excellent nature, who was neuerthelessse slaine by *Pausanias*, because he delaied a long time to let him haue right and iustice, concerning an iniury which another had offered him. *Demetrius* also lost his kingdome, because he could not abide to heare his subiects, but especially for this matter. One day when many supplications were presented vnto him, he put them into the plaits of his cloake, and passing ouer a bridge he threw them all into the water, and would not once vouchsafe to reade them: whereupon the people being filled with indignation, rebelled against him. On the other side, a good prince ought freely, & at all howers of the day, to heare the complaints of his subiects, and to provide thereafter, as one that is truly zealous of iustice, clemency, & goodnes, which are rather diuine than humane qualities, and most proper to him that will conforme himselfe as much as may be (as it becommeth him) to that heavenly vertue, which is alwaies iust and mercifull, and (as *Plutarke* saith) ruleth all things without compulsion, mollifying the necessitie of obeying by admonition and perswasion of reason. Nothing is more conuenient for a soueraigne than gentlenes, for a princethan clemency, for a king than mercy: and yet severity and rigor of iustice are no lesse necessary ornaments, for the discharge of his duty, and the good of his subiects. Therefore in that which concerneth diuine and naturall right, and the punishment established for the transgression thereof, he must alwaies vse iustice and beware lest his facility in granting fauour and dispensations, make him a promoter of euill, which (as *Seneca* saith) (if he leaue unpunished), is transferred vnto his posterity. But when the prince onely is offended through somelicht contempt, or excusable breach of his Edicts, it cannot but bee commendable in him to vse pardon and pity. These are those strong and mightie chaines, which (as *Dion* said to *Dionysius* the king of Syracuse) will preserve his kingdome in a happie, flourishing, and peaceable estate, I meane goodnesse and iustice. For force, feare, and the multitude of his gard, assure not the estate of a prince so well, as the good-will, affection, fauour, and loue of his subiects, which he may obtaine by goodnesse and iustice. They onely (said *Marcus Aurelius* instructing his sonne) are to hold a kingdome long time without danger,
- Hee must haue the wisest next his person.
- The first duty of a king towards his subiects.
- Good precept for a Prince.
- What manner of lawes are to be established in a Common-wealth.
- Jerem. 22. 3.
- Philip lost his life because he delaied iustice.
- Demetrius threw the supplication of his subiects into a water.
- A Prince must execute iustice vpon the transgressors of the law of God & of nature.
- When it is commendable in him to shew mercy.
- How a Prince may preserve his kingdome a great while without danger.

danger, who by good behavior and iust dealing imprint in the hearts of their subiects, not a feare of their power: but a mutuall loue of their vertue. For those subiects are to bee suspected that serue through constraint and extremitie, not they that obey beeing mooued with reason and gentlenesse. These holy precepts were so well put in practise by this good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, that all his subiects had very easie access vnto him: insomuch that albeit hee were a great Monarch, yet hee had neuer any garde, no not so much as a Porter to his Palace. Likewise king *Numa* put from him those three hundred Archers, which *Romulus* vsed to haue for his guard: saying, that hee would not distrust that people which put their trust in him, nor commaund ouer that people that distrusted him. To this purpose when *Plato* sawe the aboue named *Dionysius* compassed about with many souldiers of his garde, hee saide vnto him: What? Hast thou committed so many euils, that thou standest in neede of such a guard of armed fellowes? Now it is most certaine, that the obedience of the subiect springeth and proceedeth from the loue of his Lord, as also that the loue of the Lord encreaseth through the obedience of the subiect. But because the wickednesse of men is so great at this day, that they which strue to bee very gracious, are contemned and despised, it is very necessary that the prince should shewe forth a certaine kinde of grauity and severity, and according to the times, places, persons, and occasions that are offered, cause his power, and the maiestie of his commandements to bee perceiued, beeing alwaies the stronger: because in matters of Estate a man may holde this for an vndoubted principle, that hee is master of the estate, who is master of the forces. Thus the gentlenesse of the prince accompanied with severity, his bounty mingled with rigour, and his facility with austeritie will bee the meanes that his vertue shall attaine to a harmonicall iustice, which distributeth vprightly that which appertaineth to euery one: reward to whome reward, and punishment to whom punishment belongeth. From these duties and offices of a good prince towards his subiects, already mentioned, proceedeth the fatherly care which hee hath of their prosperity in the preferuation and increase of their commodities and riches, so farre off is he from all headlong desire to inuade and spoile them. Hee considereth wisely, that although he hath authority and power ouer the goods of his subiects, yet not in such sort as he hath ouer his owne demaine, or as if the property thereof belonged to him, but onely to this end to demaund aide and succour for the good and profit of the Common wealth. *Homer* bringing in *Achilles* offering great iniuries to *Agamemnon*, against whom he was fore incensed saith that he called him *Devourer of the people*: and contrariwise when hee would in other places praise the king, he termeth him *Shepherd of his people*. And truly they are vnwoorthy of the title of Prince, that lending their eares to such as inuent new subsidies, impose them daily on their subiects, and hauing against all humanity spoiled them of their goods and riches, consume them miserably vpon pleasures, or cruelly in war, when they might as well suffer their poore subiects to liue in peace. When *Marcus Antonius* was in Asia, he doubled the taxe, and laid a second charge vpon them, that he might haue wherewith to furnish his immoderate expences. The estates of the countrey sent *Hebreas* to shew him how the case stood with the, who vsing a marvellous freedome of speech, spake vnto him in this manner, If thou wilt haue power to lay vpon vs two taxes in one yeare, thou must also haue power to giue vs two summers and two Autumnes, two haruests and two Vintages. Further, hee added this, Asia hath paid thee 200000. Talents, (that was sixe score millions of gold) if all this sum came not into thy coffers, call them to account that haue receiued it. But if thou hast receiued it, and yet hast nothing left, we are cast away and vndone. These words ought to be well noted of a prudent prince, that he may thoroughly consider with himselfe and keepe a register of all that is leuiued of the poore people in his name: least some few about him sat themselves with the oppression and ouerthrow of many as it commonly falleth out, and let him be so carefull of the blood and substance of that body whereof he is head, that he profit all the members equally. *Ezechiel* crieth out against such princes as deuoure the substance of their Vassals by loanes and taxes. *Apollonius* saith, that the gold which is taken from subiects by tyranny, is more vile than iron, because it is wet with the teares of the poore subiects. *Artaxerxes* saide, that it was a great deale more seemelier for the maiesty of a king to giue, than to take by polling, and to cloath than to vnclouth, the one belonging to theeues, and not to Princes and Kings, vales they will falsifie and staine their name. King *Darius* sent for all the gouernors of the Princiues under his subiection, and inquired of them among other things, whether the taxes and tributes were not to excessiue, whereunto when they made answer that they thought them moderate, he presently commaunded that they should raise but the one

Marcus Aurelius stood not in feare of his subiects. *Numa* refused the guard of three hundred archers which *Romulus* had.

Plato his speech to *Dionysius* concerning his guard. Grauity and severity requisite in a Prince.

A principle in state matters. The effects of harmonicall iustice.

What authority a Prince hath ouer his subiects goods.

Hebreas freedome of speech in reproouing *Antonius*.

Some gold more vile and base than iron.

Darius diminished his tribute.

Lewes the 9.
was the first
that raised a
tax in France.

His exhortati
on to his el-
dest sonne.

Liberality ne-
cessary in a
prince.

The differēce
between a re-
ward and a
benefit.
A king must
be as good as
his word.

The saying of
Theopompus

A prince must
discerne wise-
ly betweene
faithfull ser-
uants and
flatterers.
Wisedome
necessary in a
King.

Temperance
requisite in a
Prince.
What manner
of exercise a
prince must
use.

halfe thereof: esteeming the loue of his subiects a richer treasure, than all the heaps of gold, which he might haue gathered. We may not here forget to propound to kings the example of that good king. *S. Lewes* the ninth of that name, who was the first that raised a tax in his kingdome, but it was onely by way of a necessary subsidie during the warre, not vsing it as an ordinary receipt. Directing his speech to *Philip* his eldest sonne and successour, he vttered these words in his Testament, which is yet to be found in the treasury of France, and is registred in the Chamber of accounts. Be deuout in the seruice of God, haue a pitiful and charitable heart towards the poore, and comfort them with thy good deedes. Obserue the good lawes of thy kingdome: take no taxes or beneuolences of thy subiects, vnles vrgent necessity, and euident commodity force thee vnto it, & then vpon a iust cause, & not vsually, if thou dost otherwise, thou shalt not be accounted a king, but a tyrant, &c. I leave the rest of the clauses in his Testament. Moreouer liberality wel vsed, as wee haue else where hand led the same, is a very comely ornament for a Prince. *Socrates* said, that it was the duty of a king to be beneficiall to his friends, and of his enemies to make good friends, to which purpose nothing will helpe him more than Liberality. Neither must hee be only liberall, but magnifical also and sumptuous, provided alwaies that of magnifical, he become not prodigal which would soone make him an exactor, and in the endea tyrant. But a soueraigne prince must especially haue an eie to this, that the rewards of vertue due to worthy men be preferred before all his gifts and good turnes, and that he recompeuce such as haue deserued any thing, before he giue to them that haue deserued nothing. For an vngratefull prince wil hardly retaine an honourable and vertuous man any long time in his seruice. Neither is the estimation of a reward, and of a good turne all one: because a reward is giuen for a desert, and a benefit by grace. Besides, a prince must be alwaies true, and as good as his promise, that men may giue greater credit to his bare word, than to another mans oath. For it ought to be as an oracle, which looseth his dignity, whē men haue conceived such an euil opinion of him, that he may not be beleeued vnlesse he sweare. And if he pawne his faith at any time, he must account it sacred and inuiolable: because faith is the fonnation and stay of iustice, vpon which the estate of great men is grounded, as we discoursed else where. That saying of *Theopompus* king of Sparta, is also to be well noted by the prince. When a friend of his asked him how a king might keepe his kingdome in safety, he answered: *By granting liberty to his friends freely to tell him the truth.* He must take their aduice in doubtfull matters, that he may gouerne his estate more assuredly, waighing and iudging of their opinions with great prudence. Neither must he thinke them his best seruants that praise al his sayings and doings, but those that with modesty reprocue his faults: he must discerne wisely betweene them that cunningly flatter him, and those that loue and serue him faithfully, that wicked men may not be in greater credit with him than good men. For this cause also he must carefully inquire after his household seruants and familiar friends, that he may know them well: because all other men will take him to be such a one as they are with whome hee conuerseth ordinarily. *Osiris* king of Egypt had for his Armes a Scepter with an eie in the top of it: noting thereby the wisedome that ought to be in a king: namely, that it belongeth not to one that wandereth out of his way, to direct others; that seeth not, to guide: that knoweth nothing, to teach: and that will not obey reason, to commaund. Likewise in all his actions hee must vse reason as a heauenly guide, hauing chased away the perturbations of his soule, and esteeme it a greater and more royall matter to commaund himselfe, than others. Hee must thinke that it is the true and proper office of a king, not to submit himselfe to his pleasures, but to containe his owne affections rather than his subiects. Further, hee must vse to take pleasure in those exercises, which may procure him honour, and cause him to appeare better to the world. Hee must not seeke for reputation in vile things, which men of base estate and naughty behaviour commonly practise, but follow after vertue onely, wherein wicked persons haue no part. Let him remember alwaies that hee is a king, and therefore that hee must strue to doe nothing vnworthy so high a dignity, but continue his memory by valiant and noble acts. This is that wherein one of the wise Interpreters knew well how to instruct king *Ptolomie*, who demanded of him how he might behaue himselfe, that neither idlenesse nor pleasure might distract him. It is (said he) in thine owne power, as long as thou commandest ouer a great kingdome, and hast so many great affaires to manage continually, which will not suffer thee to distract thy minde vpon other matters. If priuate men, borne to vertue, are willing many times to die, that they may purchase honour: much more ought kings to doe those things which will procure them honour, feare, and estimation every where during their life, and also through their

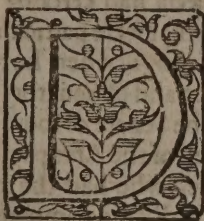
their brightnes shine a great while after their death. Moreouer, a Prince must be warlike, and skilfull in warfare, prouiding carefully all things necessarie for warre, and yet hee must loue peace, and vsurpe nothing that belongeth to another man contrarie to right; nor enter into warre, but to repell violence in extreame necessitie. Above all things he must feare ciuill dissensions, as most pernicious to his Estate, and take aduice prudently concerning the means whereby all occasions of their entrance may be taken from his people. Herein learning will helpe him well, and the knowledge of Histories, which set before his eyes the adventures that haue befallen both small and great, and cal to his remembrance the times past, whereby he may better prouide for the time to come. Vnto which if he adde the counsell of wise men as wee haue already touched, he shal know more perfectly whatsoeuer concerneth the good of his estate. But aboue all he must know how to make choice of men, and not thioke them wise that dispute curiously of smal things, but those that speake verie aptly of great matters. Neither let him account those men best, and worthiest of credit, that haue gotten most authoritie, but trie and iudge them by their profitable workes: namely, if he see that they giue him wise and free counsell, according as occasions concur, and affaires require: and then let him alwaies with speed execute those things, which by their counsell he findeth good and necessarie. For the conclusion thereof of our present discourse, wee will comprehend the office and dutie of a good Prince in few words: namely, if he serue God in sinceritie and puritie of heart, if he inquire diligently after the truth of his word, and cause his subiects to liue thereafter: if he prouide for their profit, redresse their miseries, and ease them of oppression, exaction, and polling. If he be pliable to heare the requests and complaints of the least, indifferent and moderate in answering them, readie to distribute right to euerie one, by propounding reward for vertue, and punishment for vice. If he be prudent in his enterprises, bold in his exploits, modest in prosperitie, constant in aduersitie, stedfast in word, wise in counsell: briefly, if hee gouerne in such sort, and reigne so well, that all his subiects may haue what to imitate, and strangers to commend.

The end of the fifteenth daies worke.

The sixteenth daies worke.

Of a Councell, and of Counsellors of estate. Chap. 61.

A SER.



Ioeliasan the Emperour said: That the condition of Princes was miserable and dangerous, because they were commonly deceived by them whom they trusted most, being themselves almost alwaies shut up in their pallaces, and vnderstanding no more of their affaires, than their Ministers would declare vnto them, who consulte manie times together how they may disguise the truth of their estate.

For this cause although it be necessarie for a Prince to haue manie eyes and eares, for which intent we say that his Counsellours serue, yet he must looke himselfe as much as he can euen to the depth of his affaires. And truly it belongeth to the dumbe, blind, and deafe, to speak, see and heare nothing, but by the mouth, eyes, and eares of other men. But in those things wherein the Prince is constrained to relie upon another mans report, he must vse great prudence to discerne flatterers and disguisers of matters, who are not touched but onely with their private profit, from those that are moued with the zeale of publique benefit, and of his seruice; and vse these men in matters of counsell, which is most necessarie for the sound preservation of all estates. And indeed there was neuer any estate but vsed counsell and counsellors in the establishing and gouernement thereof, as wee may vnderstand more of you my companions, if you thinke good to discourse of this matter.

A M A N A. Counsell (said *Secrates*) is a sacred thing, and (as *Plato* calleth it) the anchor of the whole Citie, whereby it is fastned and stayd, as a ship in the water. Yea, all the great and goodly exploits of armes and Lawes, are nothing else but the execution of a wise counsell.

A R A M. Counsell (saith the same *Plato*) hath the selfesame place in a Common-wealth that the soule and head hath in liuing creatures. For the vnderstanding is infused into the soule,

A prince must be skilfull in warre, and yet loue peace. A prince must carefully auoid ciuill dissention.

What counsellors a prince must vse.

The summe of the dutie of a prince.

A common misery incident to the estate of Princes.

Counsellors are the eyes and eares of a prince.

What counsellors are to be vsed by princes.

Counsell is the anchor of the Citie.

The excellencie of counsel.

soule, and sight and hearing are placed in the head: so that the vnderstanding being ioyned to these two goodly senses, and reduced into one, preserveth every thing. But of thee (*ACHITOB*) we expect a whole discourse vpon this matter.

- All common-wealths consist chiefly of two things.** *ACHITOB.* All Common-wealths consist chiefly of two things, of counsell and of iudgement, according to the disposition of which, the affaires of the estate are well or ill handled. Therefore to enter into this matter here propounded, and to leave iudgements to bee considered of hereafter, wee must first know that the ordinary Councell of an Estate, which the Auncients commonly called a Senate, is the lawfull assemblie of Counsellors of estate, to giue aduice to them that haue soueraigne power in euery common-wealth. When wee say a lawfull assemblie, it is to bee vnderstood of that power which is giuen vnto them by the soueraigne to meete together in time and place appointed. And whereas we call them counsellors of estate, it is to distinguish them from other counsellors and officers, who are often called to giue aduice to princes, euery one according to his vocation and qualitie, and yet are neither counsellors of estate, nor ordinarie counsellors. Of this Councell all the rest of the publike government dependeth, and by this all the parts the Common-wealth are tied, vnited, and knit together, through that direction of religion, iustice, warre, treasures, lawes, magistrates and manners, which proceedeth from it. Therefore the Senate is very well called by *Cicero*, the soule, reason, and vnderstanding of a common-wealth: whereby hee meaneth, that it can bee no more maintained without a counsell, than a body without a soule, or a man without reason. The Hebrewes likewise called the counsell a foundation whereupon all goodly and commendable actions are built, and without which all enterprises are ouerthrowen. Now forasmuch as there hath beene, and are at this day among sundry nations, sundrie sorts of governments and policies, so there is no lesse difference in the establishment of a counsell in them, as also many alterations in the institution and power thereof. And namely, among the auncient Græcians, beside the seuerall counsell of euery Common-wealth, there was the sacred counsell of the Amphictions, so called, because it was instituted by *Amphiction* the sonne of *Deucalion*. This counsell was as it were the generall assemblie of the estates of all Græcia, and was held twice a yeare, in Spring time, and in Autumne, at Delphos in the Temple of *Apollo*, for the commodity of the seate thereof, being as it were in the middelt of all Græcia. The authoritie thereof was so great, that whatsoever was concluded vpon there, the Græcians obserued and kept it inuolable, whether it were in matters concerning religion and piety towards their gods, or peace and vnity among themselves. The Lacedæmonians and Messenians met together certaine daies in the yeare at the Temple of *Diana* vpon the borders of Laconia, and thereafter sacrifice, consulted of their weightiest affaires. And yet both they and the rest of Græcia had certaine generall counsels concerning the government of their estate, besides those that were particular, which they vsed daily. The Senate of thirty counsellors established by *Lycurgus* when he reformed the Lacedæmonian estate, obtained the soueraignty not long after, and of Senators became absolute Lords. *Solon* ordained amongst the Athenians, besides the Senate of foure hundred which was changeable euery yeare, a priuy and perpetuall counsell of the Areopagites, compounded of threescore of the wisest, and of such as were blamelesse, who had the managing of those affaires that were most secret. *Romulus* the first founder of Rome, compounded the Senate of a hundred of the notablest citizens: and hauing received the Sabines into his protection, he doubled the number of Senators, which after *Brutus* increased with another hundred. As long as the happy popular government of the Romanes lasted, the Consuls, albeit in dignity they represented a royall person, yet they had no other power but to leade the armies, to assemble the Senate, to receiue the letters of Captaines, and of their allies, and to present them to the Senate, to heare Embassadors before the people, or before the Senate, to assemble the great estates, and to aske the peoples aduice concerning the creation of officers, or publishing of lawes. But the Senate disposed the reuenues of the Empire, and the common expences: appointed lieutenants to all gouernours of prouinces, determined of the triumphs, ordered religion, received and licenced Embassadors of kings and nations, and tooke order for such as were sent to them. The punishment of all offences committed throughout Italy, which deserued publike execution, as treason, conspiracie, poysoning, wilfull murder, belonged to the Senate. If any private person or any citie stood in neede of some special fauour, or of reprehension, or of succour and protection, the Senate had all the charge thereof. It was forbidden vnder paine of high treason to present any request of the people without aduice taken of the Senate. Neuertheles, the soueraignty alwaies belonged to the people, who
- What a Councell is**
- The profit of counsell.**
- A counsell or Senate is the soule of the Common-wealth.**
- The Hebrewes compared it to a foundation.**
- The counsell of the Amphictions**
- The Senate of the Lacedæmonians.**
- The Senate of the Athenians.**
- The Senate of the Romans.**
- The power of the Consuls of Rome.**
- The power of the Senate of Rome.**

who might confirme or infringe the decrees of the Senate. Since that time according to the sundrie alteration of their estate and gouernement, the counsell varied in forme. *Augustus* established a particular counsell of the wisest Senators, and those but few in number: and after that another strict counsell of *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, with whom he decided the chiefest matters. In Turkie the counsell is kept foure dayes in a weeke by the Bassaes wheresoeuer the Prince sojourneth. If it be in time of peace, at Constantinople, or in some other towne within his dominion: If in warre, it is kept within his pauillion. In this counsell called *Diuhan*, where audience is open to euerie one, they consult of embassages and of answers to be made vnto them, of matters of estate, and of soueraigntie, of the meanes how to provide for decayed prouinces, of murders, and condemnations. The suppliant, complainant, or suter, speaketh without an aduocate, and is forced to answer presently to the obiection of his aduersarie if he be present, or to prooue his saying by witnesses: and forthwith the definitiue sentence is given, which may not be reuoked. When the counsell hath continued seuen or eight houres, the *Bassa Viser* maketh true relation to the Prince of all that hath bene handled: if he lie it is present death. For the Prince oftentimes listeneth at a Window, called *Dangerous*, right against the *Diuhan*, which is made in such sort, that he may heare and see, and not be perceiued: and although he were neuer there, yet they thinke he is alwaies there. After he hath heard the discourse and aduice of his counsell, he seldome gainsayeth, but confirmeth or moderateth the same. These things beeing thus ordered, they are written and registered by officers appointed thereunto. Concerning his treasure, the Bassaes meddle not therewith, but two generall treasurers are ouerseers and chiefe dealers therein, the one beeing of Romania, the other of Anatolia. Two Cadelisquers haue the administration of all iustice, who sit with the Bassaes in the *Diuhan*: neither doth any other sit there but the twelue Bellerbeis, the Prince his children beeing Presidents in their fathers absence. The Muphtie is chiefe of the Religion, and looketh vpon matters of conscience. At Venice the generall assemblie of Lords and Gentlemen is called the Great Council, which hath the soueraigne power of the estate, and of which the Senate and the authoritie of all their magistrates dependeth. Besides this Great Council and Senate compounded of threescore persons, there are foure other counells, that is, the counsell of Sages for Sea matters, the counsell of Sages for land matters, the counsell of tenne, and the counsell of seuen, where the Duke maketh the seventh, and this is called the Seignorie. If there arise anie hard matter among the Sages, it is referred to the counsell of tenne, and if they be diuided, the counsell of seuen is ioyned to the counsell of tenne. But if the matter be of great weight, the Senate is called, and sometimes also (albeit rarely) the great Council of all the Venetian Gentlemen, in which the last resolution is made. At Rhagufium they create a President from moneth to moneth, who dwelleth in the palace, and hath twelue counsellours, which assemblie is called the little counsell. There is also another counsell called the counsell *de Pregadie*, into which a hundred of the auncientest citizens may enter. Next, there is the great counsell, at which all the Nobilitie aboue twentie yeares of age are present. At Genes the whole common-wealth is gouerned by them that are borne of eight and twentie families: neither is anie man called to heare anie office whatsoeuer, vnlesse hee be of this assemblie, which they call an *Aggregation*. Out of this are taken foure hundred, which make the great counsell, that hath all the power and authoritie of the estate, and is chosen from yeare to yeare. They create the Duke and the eight gouernours of the Common-wealth, who are renued from two yeares to two yeares. In Switzerland there are two counells in euerie Canton, a little one, and a great one. But if anie great matter fall out, that is common to all the leagues, they hold their generall counsell, called a Iourney, or a Diet. The like is vsed in Almaine, where the Emperour can ordaine nothing that concerneth the common benefit of Germanie, or the authoritie and preservation of the Empire, without the counsell and consent of all the Estates, especially of the seuen Electours. Hee may not of himselfe vndertake any warre at his pleasure, neither leuie tributes, nor raise souldiers of that nation, nor call in anie foraine souldiers. They haue also a counsell established at Spira, which is called the Imperiall chamber, beeing as it were a Parliament of Almaines, for the administration of iustice among them. In Polonia there is an assemblie of estates euerie yeare, especially for these two causes: the one, to administer iustice in soueraigntie, vnto which are brought appeales from all the Iudges of the countrie: the other to provide for the defence and safetie of the countrie against their next enemies, namely, the Tartares, who make often incursions vpon them. None is receiued for a Senatour amongst them, if he be no Palatine, Bishop, Gouernour of some

The power of the people of Rome.

Of the counsell of the Turke.

Of the counsell of the Venetians.

Of the counsell of Rhagufium.

Of the counsell of Genes.

The counsell of Switzer land.
The counsell of Germanie.

Of the coun-
cel of Spaine.
Seuen feueral
councils in
Spaine.
Of the coun-
cel of England

Of the secret
council of
France.

Of the priue
council of
France.

What matter
are handled
therein.

A commenda-
ble custome
vsed in the pri-
uy council
of France.

some Forte, or other Captaine, or hath not bene Embassadour. In Spaine there are seven councils, besides the priue Council, which are alwaies neare the King in feueral Chambers vnder one rooffe, that the King may be the better informed of all affaires. Their names are these, the council of Spaine, of the Indies, of Italy, of the low Countries, of Warre, of the order of Saint *John*, and of the Inquisition. In the Realme of England there is a priuy Council, which neuer exceeded the number of twenty persons. The first establishment thereof was but of fifteene, although it appeareth by the conclusion of a peace made betweene *Lewes* the ninth, and *Henry* king of England, that seuentene of the priuy Council swore vnto it, namely, one Archbishop Chancellour, one Bishop, sixe Earles, and sixe other lords besides the high Treasurer, and the two Magistrates, whom they call the chiefe Iustices of England. From three yeares to three yeares they hold a Parliament, where all the Estates are called together to deliberate about the affaires of the kingdome. But enough of strangers. Let vs now come to the establishment and institution of the council in this French Monarchy, where we shall see that it is not inferiour (if it go not beyond them) in excellency and good order to all that are already set downe, or that euer were. First wee know, that the King hath all soueraignty by right of the estate, as heretofore we have discoursed. The first council neare about him is the strict or secret council, called the council of state affaires, which is commonly held in the morning after his Maiestie is vp. None haue entrance into to this, but a few whom the king iudgeth wisest, or of greatest experience and most trueth to his maiesty, with whom he communiceth his weightiest affaires as they fall out, and determineth with them of such principal matters as were deliberated of before in the priue council, and in the council of the treasure if they be such as deserue to be brought thither. In the secret council the letter of princes, of embassadours, of gouernors and captaines are opened, resolutions & matters agreed vpon are commended to the Secretaries of the estate, gifts and rewards graunted with the rols and records thereof, letters and commaundements signed with the kings hand. The priue council is compounded of diuers great personages called thereunto by his Maiestie, either for the nobility of their bloud and greatnes of their house, or for their worthinesse, wisdom, knowledge and experience, who haue places and deliberative voices in the council as long as it pleaseth him. Sometime the king sitteth among them when any great matter is in question, in his absence the first Prince of the blood is President. The Constable and Chancellour, two chiefe officers of the crowne, haue great authoritie therein, the one beeing principall of warre, the other of iustice. They sit on each side in equall degree, beeing alwaies one right before another. This council is helde either for matters belonging to the treasure, or for other things concerning state affaires of the kingdome, and then none enter therein but the Secretaries of the estate, the Treasurer of the priue treasure, the Ouerseers of the treasure, appointed to take knowledge of the leuying and laying out of money, and the Secretaries belonging to the same, or else it is held for parties, that is, for the affaires of iustice depending of the soueraignty. Then the matters of the Requests seruing in their turnes enter therein, who bring in requests, informations, suits called thither by inunctions, and other weighty matters which the king hath reserued to his owne knowledge, or such as cannot bee decided else where. Sometimes also the parties themselves are heard, or else they speake by Aduocates. This is greatly to be commended therein, that every one that hath entry into the council (although peradventure he hath neither deliberative voice, nor place) may bring in any mans request, and aduertise the council of that which is profitable for the Common wealth, that order may bee taken for the same. And many times their counsell is first demanded, then the aduice of the counsellours of estate, so that the greatest Lords giue their opinion last, to the end that freedome of speech may not be taken away by the authority of the princes, especially of factious and ambitious men, who neuer suffer any contradictions but against their wils. By this meanes also they that haue consulting voices onely, prepare the way and make it easie for them that haue deliberative voices, to conclude of matters, and many times furnish the council with good and forceable reasons: and if they erre at any time, they are brought backe againe by the residue without Iealousie. This priue council deliberateth and finally determineth (vnder the soueraigne will of the king) of the complaints of private men in matters concerning the estate, of the suits of townes and prouinces, iudgeth of the appeales made from parliaments, considereth vpon extraordinary daies of the decrees of Parliaments, concerning their order and discipline how it is kept: dealeth with the transporting of wheate & wines also with all merchandises either brought in or caried out of the realme, and with the imposts laide

laide vpon them: taketh order for the current and finenesse of money: hath regard to the demaines of the crown, to lones and taxes, and other reuenues of the king, and to the chiefe customes, prolonging their yeares, abating the rents of Farmers, or discharging them altogether, taking knowledge of their cause and of former informations, ioyning therewith the aduice of the Treasurer, and of the Generals of those charges. All matters whatsoever being agreed vpon and appointed to take effect, wust be signed to one Secretary at the least, and sometimes also by one of the masters of Requests before it be sealed by the Chancellour, who ouerlooketh and examineth narrowly all matters concluded vpon: which maketh his authority very great, and sometimes odious. The great council, which at the first institution thereof was seldome imployed about states affaires, was made an ordinary court of 17. Of the great counsell. by *Charles* the 8. and *Lewes* the 12. made it vp 20. besides the Chancellour, who was President of that court: but vnder *K. Francis* another President was appointed. This counsell had the knowledge of extraordinary causes by way of commission sent from the priuie Councell, and ordinarily of appellations made from the Marshall of the kings house. The court of Parliament was the Senate of Fraunce in old time, and erected by *Lewes* the yong Of the court of Parliament according to the truest opinion, to giue aduice to the king: in which twelue Peeres were established, so that the name of the court of Peeres remaineth with it to this day. But *Philip* the faire made it an ordinary court, and graunted vnto it iurisdiction and seate at Paris, but tooke from it the knowledge of state affaires. For, as wee haue already declared, there are no counsellours of estate amongst all the magistrates of Fraunce, but those that are ordinary of the priuie council. But besides the counsels specified by vs. Princes haue alwaies had a strict counsell of two or three of the dearest and truest about them, wherein the resolution of the aduices and deliberations of other counsels is bad, yea many times of the greatest Of the strict counsell. affaires of the estate, before others haue deliberated of them. Neuerthelesse, this auncient custome of calling the generall estates of the realme together when they sawe it necessary, hath beene alwaies obserued by Kings and Princes. Our first progenitours the Gauls, before either Romanes or kings ruled ouer them assembled together out of Aquitaine, out of the prouince of Narbone, of Lyons, and of other quarters, about the number of threescore nations, to take aduice and counsell of their generall affaires. Since that time our auncient kinges of Fraunce haue vsed oftentimes to holde the Estates, which is the assembly of al their subiects or of their deputies. For to holde the Estates is nothing else, but when the king communicateth his greatest affaires with his subiects, taketh aduice and counsell of them, heareth their complaints and griefes, and provideth for them according to reason. This was called in old time the holding of a Parliament, which name it retaineth yet in England and Scotland. But at this day the name of Parliament belongeth onely to priuate and particular Courtes of Audience, consisting of a certaine number of Iudges established by the king in sundry of his Prouinces, and the publike and generall courts of Audience haue taken the name of estates. The estates were assembled for diuerse causes, according as matters were offered: either to demanda succour and money of the people, or to take order for iustice, and for men of warre, or for the reuenues of the children of Fraunce, or to provide for the government of the kingdome, or for other matters. The kings sate amongst them, and were Presidents, except at one assembly, wherein was debated the noblest cause that euer was, namely, to whome the kingdome of Fraunce belonged after the death of *Charles* the faire, whether to his cousin *Philip de Valois*, or to *Edward* king of England his brother in law, King *Philip* was not President, not being at that time king, and besides a party. No doubt but the people receiue great benefite by this assembly of Estates. For this good com-meth vnto them, that they may drawe neere to the kings person, to make their complaints vnto him, to present him their requests, and to obtaine remedy and necessary provision for redresse. Whereby wee may easily iudge, that many, who haue written of the duty of Magistrates and such like treatises, are greatly deceiued in maintaining this, *That the estates of the people are about the prince:* which layeth open a gap to the rebellions of subiects against their soueraigne, so that this opinion can haue no reason or good ground to leane vpon, for if this were true, the Common wealth would not bee a kingdome or monarchie, but a pure Aristocracy, as wee haue declared heretofore. Yea, what shewe of reason is there to maintaine this error, seeing every one in particular, and all in generall bowe their knees before the king vnto him? But in this case wee except a king that is captive, beside himselfe, or in his infancy. For that which is then decreed by the estates, is authorized as from the soueraine

ueraigne power of the Prince. Moreover, wee may see what great good commeth to the king by the assembly of his estates, in the first speech, which master *Michael de le Hospital* Chauncellour of France made at the least assembly of estates in Orleans. Where he confuteth at large their opinion that say, that the king after a sort, diminisheth his power by taking aduice and counsell of his subiects, seeing hee is not bound so to do: as also that he maketh himselfe too familiar with them, which breedeth contempt, and abaseth his royall dignity. But we may answer them as *Theopompus* king of Sparta did his wife, who objected this vnto him by way of reproach, that by bringing in the Ephories, and mingling their government with his, he would leaue his authority and power lesse to his children than he receiued it from his predecessours. Nay (said this Prince vnto her) I will leaue it greater, because it shall be more assured. The Emperor *Aurelius* said as much to his mother, because he freely heard every one. Besides, as wee see in any great perill of sea, or fire kindled to the danger of publicke profit, no mans seruice or succour is reiected, how base soeuer his calling is: so it cannot but be profitable for the estate, when it is threatned with ruine, and the affaires thereof are of great importance, to receiue the counsell of all that haue interest therein, laying the opinions in balance, rather than the persons from whom they come. And hereby the soueraigne maiesty and prudence of a prince is knowne, when hee hath both power and skill to weigh and to iudge of their aduice that giue him counsell, and to conclude with the soundest, not the greatest side. But to go forward with that which remaineth, let so many as haue this honor to be ordinary counsellors to Princes, remember the saying of *Solon* the wise. That they are not called thither to please, and to speake to their liking, but to utter the truth, & to giue them good counsell for common safety: that they must bring with them, for an assured and certaine foundation of their conference about state affaires, a good intent moued with reason and iudgement to profite him, not with passions or desires of vaine glory, of conetousnesse, emulation, of any other imperfection that leadeth them to their private profite: that they must at the entry of the counsell chamber vnclouth themselves of fauour towards some, of hatred towards others, and of ambition in themselves, and aime at no other markes, than at the honour of God, and safety of the Common wealthe. To this end they must necessarily bee furnished with wisdom, iustice and loyalty. As for skill and knowledge, although it bee requisite in counsellours of estate, namely, the knowledge of the lawes, of histories, and of the estate of commonwealths, yet sound iudgment, integrity & prudence are much more necessary. Aboue all things they must holde nothing of other Princes and Seignories, that may binde them to their seruice. And yet now adaies to receiue a pension of them is so common a matter (but very pernicious in any estate) that it is growne to a custome. *Agefilus* would not so much as receiue a letter, which the king of Persia wrote vnto him, but saide to his messenger, that if the king were friend to the Lacedæmonians, hee neede not write particularly to him, because hee would also remaine his friend: but if hee were their enemy, neither letter or any thing else, should make him for his part otherwise affected. To bee short, let counsellours of estate learne of *Plutarke*, that it is necessary for them to bee free from all passions and affections, because in giuing of counsell the mind hath most force towards that whereunto the will is most enclined. As for feare, danger, or threatnings, they must neuer stay them from dooing ther duty, but let them constantly propound and maintaine that which they iudge to bee good and profitable for the Common wealth. Wee reade that the Thracians making war with great vehemency against the Athenians, published a decree, that whosoever counsellor or spake at any time of concluding a peace betweene them, should die the death. Within a while after one of the citizens considering what great hurt his countrey receiued by that warre, came one day into the assembly of the people with a halter about his necke, and cryed with a loude voice, that he was come thither to deliuer the common wealth by his death: that they should put him to death when they would, and that for his part hee gaue them counsell to abrogate that law, and to make peace: which was done, and hee pardoned. *Consilius* a Romane Senatour would neuer bee from the Senate, no not when *Caesar* ruled all by violence, and did what pleased him, and when none of the other Senatours came any more through feare of his force. And when *Caesar* asked him how hee durst bee there alone to stand against him: because (quoth hee) my age taketh all feare from mee. For hauing from hence forward such a short time to liue in, I am not greatly carefull to saue my life. If kings did correct all those that giue them ill counsell, as *Solyman* did one of his Bassaes, who was his kinsfeman, they would not so readily consent to the passions of great men. This Infidell caused him to bee hanged, because hee counsellor him to put a gentleman to death vniustly (which hee had done) that hee might enioy his wife more easily. Now for the

Theopompus
answer to his
wife.

An excellent
comparison.

The duties &
qualities of
counsellors
of estate.

Three things
necessary in a
counsellor of
estate.

Counsellours
may not be
Pensioners
to forraigne
princes.
Example here
of in *Agefilus*.

Counsellours
must not thro-
rough feare
shrinke from
their duty.

Examples
hereof.

Consilius
answer to
Caesar.

the conclusion of our discourse, we will here set downe the answer of one of the Hebrew interpreters to king *Ptolemie*, who asked him, *To whom a Prince should trust or commit himselfe.* To those (said this wise man) that loue him so entirely, that they cannot be drawne from him neither through feare, gifts, or gaîne: because hee that aspireth to riches, is naturally a traitour. Let vs learne that a counsell well instituted and compounded of good men is a most necessary point in the establishment and preservation of euery estate: and as the olde proverbe saith, Good counsell is better than many hands. Let vs learne, that all those that are called thereunto, ought to aime at nothing but at publike profite, of which the happines and greatnes of the Prince dependeth, who must not contemne the counsell and seruice of the least when they can profit the Common wealth, but heare them willingly, and satisfie iust requests.

Good counsell better than many hands.

Of Iudgements, and of Iudges. Chap. 62.

ACHITOB. **V** We are now (my Companions) according as the sequele of our speech requireth, to consider of Iudgements, which I affirmed in the beginning to be one of those two things whereof euery common wealth consisteth and that according as they are ordained, the affaires of the estate proceed well or ill. Therefore I leaue the discourse of this matter to you,

A SER. No citie (saith *Plato*) can truly be called a city if it want iudgement well instituted, and consequently iudges to exercise them.

A MANA. Iudgements are lawfull to such as vse them aright, and Iudges are to vs the ministers of God for our good, as *S. Paul* saith. But let vs heare **ARAM** vpon this matter.

Rom. 13.4.

ARAM. As it is a very dangerous matter for an estate to wauer daily in deliberations, and not to be well resolved touching the affaires thereof, or after resolution to leaue them without speedy execution: so the establishment of many good lawes and ordinances, bringeth greater perill than profit to the same estate, if they bee not seuerely obserued and kept. For the authority of the soueraign magistrate, in whose name they are made, is so much the more contemptible amongst his subiects, as they know that they are lesse obeyed: as though the fault proceeded from his insufficiency of skill to command. He that leadeth well before, is the cause why he is well followed, and the perfection of the art of a good Querie of the stable, consisteth in making the horse obedient, and in bringing him to good order; so the principall effect of the knowledge of a king is to instruct wel his subiects in obedience. To this purpose the establishment of good iudges over them will helpe well that they may take knowledge of such as gaîne say and resist the publik lawes and ordinances of his maiesty, who is to authorize their iudgements, as the chiefe sinewes of the whole body of his estate. For nothing euer caused Common-wealthes to flourish so much as the constant keeping of their country lawes, and the strict execution of iudgements agreeable vnto them. And as *Cicero* saith) those estates that are neere their ouerthrow, all things beeing in a desperate case, fall into this miserable issue, that men condemned by the lawes, are restored, and iudgements giuen are cancelled, which things when they come to pass, euery one knoweth, that their ruine is at hand without all hope of safety. Moreouer, forasmuch as the Prince knoweth that he is as it were bound and indebted for iustice, hee ought to bee so much the more carefull, that it may bee rightly administred by those to whom hee committeth that office specially, seeing he must answer for it himselfe before God, to whom he may not say, that hee charged the consciences of his iudges therewith, and so discharged his owne. Wherefore if hee adorne his estate with resolute and prudent officers, who will exactly preferue the bond of the Common wealth by the seuerity of their iudgements, and vpriht holding of the balance: no doubt but al kinde of publik felicity will issue from the same. But let vs briefly consider what iudgement is, the diuision of Iudgements, their administration, and what manner of Iudges ought to exercise them. Iudgement is properly that which is ordained by the Magistrate, obseruing the tenour of the law. But for as much as through the infinite variety of causes, times, places, and persons, which cannot be comprehended in any lawes or statutes whatsoever, punishments were referred to the will and power of the Magistrates, and the dammages of ciuill matters to the conscience and religion of the Iudges; that which

The common breach of law breedeth contempt of the magistrate.

Iudgements are the sinewes of an estate. A certaine token of the ruine of an estate. The prince standeth bound for iustice, & must answer before God for the breach thereof.

What iudgement is.

Magistrates
must alwaies
haue the law
and equity be-
fore their
eyes.
The diuision
of iudgements.

A rigorous
iudgement of
the Phocians

Of the iudge-
ments of the
Romanes.
VWho were
Iudges a-
mongst them,
and how they
were chosen.
Threekinds
of Pretors in
Rome.

Of the reue-
rence and ho-
nour which
was given to
Magistrates.
An excellent
way to decide
all controuer-
sies betweene
parties at
discord.

they determine by resolute sentences according to their opinion, is also called iudgement, although more properly it may bee called a decree. For this cause wee say, that as there are two principall points in euery Common wealth, which Magistrates must haue before their eyes, that is, the law and equity: so also there is the execution of the lawe and the duty of the Magistrate, which consisteth either in commanding, in decreeing, or in executing. Of Iudgements, some are called priuate, some publike, some criminall, others ciuill. Priuate iudgements are of bondage, prescriptions, Gardianships, Wardshippes, contracts, testaments, successions, marriages. Publike iudgements concerne hainous offences against God and man, as sacrilege, treason, restitution of money, or other bribes taken by Magistrates, robbery of the kings treasure, forgeries, theft, wilfull and constrained murders. *Plato* speaketh at large of these in his booke of laws, and it would be an infinite matter, and smally to our instruction, to seeke out the diuers kinds of iudgements, which either haue beene or are among men. But this is well worth the noting, that amongst the auncient Gracians and Romanes, all iudgements both priuate and publike, were from point to point followed, & with al rigour obserued, and they, that stood against them were prosecuted and set vpon with fire and sword. Among other examples *Diodorus* rehearseth a story of the Phocians, a people of Gracia condemned by the iudgement of the Amphictions in a certaine sum of money, because they had tilled a great deal of ground that was consecrated to the gods. Which summe when they refused to pay, they pronounced their country as confiscate and consecrated to the gods, wherupon arose a war, called the holy war, made by the rest of the Gracians against them, and in the end their vtter ruine and subuersion. Whosoever was once accused of any crime before the Iudges in Lacedæmonia, although he were absolved, yet hee abode a certaine time after in that estate of a criminall person, during which time enquiry might be made againe of him, and new iudgement giuen according to his desert. If the Ephories condemned their Kings in any summe, yea if it were to death, their iudgements were executed with all rigour. The iudgements of the Romanes were for a long time in the hands of three Orders or Estates: namely, of Senatours, Knights, and Tribunes of the treasure. Neuertheles, the same persons did not alwaies iudge, but the Pretors, who were annuall iudges & chief amongst the, took a certain number of Iudges by lot out of those three estates. And if they that were takē were first refused by any one of the parties, others were chosen by an after lot, who being agreed vpon & sworn, were distributed by decuries or tens. There were three sorts of Pretors, the Pretor of the City, who tooke knowledge of particular causes, namely, of land and criminall matters amongst the citizens of Rome: the Pretor established for matters betweene strangers and citizens: and the Pretor appointed for publike causes. The Senators were once the only iudges of all proceses: but *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus* being popular persons, to diminish the authoritie of the Senate, and to increase the peoples power, ioyned vnto them 300. Knights, according to the number of the Senators, and brought it so about, that the iudgements of all causes were deuided betweene these 600. men. Vander *Sylla* all authority of iudging was restored againe to the Senate: but *Pompey* after that brought in the Knights againe, and all iudgements were equally communicated vnto the three Orders aboue mentioned. Afterward, when *Cæsar* was Dictator, he reduced them to two orders onely that is, to Senators, and to Knights. *Budens* in his annotations vpon the Pandecks, hath obserued many good thinges belonging to the Romane iudgements, which curious spirits may looke into; among the rest, of the great respect and honour that was giuen to Magistrates. Concerning which matter, we may vse as a good testimony, that which we reade in *Plutarke* of *Fabius Maximus* his son, who seeing a farre off his father come towards him on horse-backe, and that his sergeants in regard of fatherly reuerence had not caused him to alight, commanded him to set foote on ground, Which the father presently obeyed, and embracing his sonne, made greater account of him, than if he had done otherwise. The same author writeth, that one *Vestius* was presently slaine, because he rose not when the Tribune of the people passed before him. And *Valerius Maximus* saith that the Censor did note with ignominy, and with all disfranchised a citizen of Rome, because hee breathed and yawned a little too loud in their presence. But what? Estates and dignities were then giuen to vertue, and not to him that offered most. And oftentimes the places of iudgement were necessarily, and as it were by force laid vpon iudges, being more honourable than profitable, yea very incommodious to such as would discharge themselves vprightly therein. I remember an excellent iudgement giuen by *Archidamus* the Lacedæmonian, when hee was chosen arbitrator to decide a certaine contention betweene two friends. After hee had brought them

both

both into the temple of *Diana*, and made them sweare vpon the altar, that they should obserue precisely whatsoeuer he determined, whereunto they yeilded. I iudge then (quoth he) that none of you depart out of this temple before you haue ended your strife. Thus were they both constrained to agree among themselves, and *Archidamas* freed from perill of loosing one of their friendships, against whom he must needs haue giuen iudgement. By this meanes he put in practise that saying of *Putacus*, That a man must not be iudge or Arbitrator in the controuersie of two friends, lest by iudging profitably for one, hee lose the friendship of the other. But let vs speake of our owne Estate. In olde time (as many histories report) iudgements were so well administred in France, that strangers did willingly submit themselves vnto them. *Fredericke* the second, submitted to the iudgements of the king and his Parliament, the deciding of many contentions and controuersies betwene him and Pope *Innocent* the fourth. In the time of *Philip* the Faire, the Earle of Namure did the like, albeit that *Charles* of Valoys the kings brother, was his aduerser partie: so great confidence had he in the equity of those Iudges. At the same time *Philip* Prince of Tarentum willingly accepted for Iudge, the king sitting in his Parliament, about the controuersie that hee had with the Duke of Burgundie, for certaine charges which hee should defray towards the recoverie of the Empire of Constantinople. The like did the Duke of Lorraine in the suite which hee had against *Guy* of Castillon his brother in law, for their diuision of lands. And in the yeare 1402. the kings of Castile and of Portingale sent an agreement made and past betwene them, that it might bee published and proclaimed in the Court of Parliament, to haue greater authoritie thereby. Truly these testimonies are as famous for the glorie of iustice vsed in France, as any that can bee alleadged by the Grecians or Romanes, for the prooofe of their iust iudgements, of the reputation of their lawes, and renowne of their Magistrates. But let vs consider how farre iustice is fallen at this day from the auncient opinion and credite, iudgements beeing nowe brought to that length, and intangled in so many formalities, that it is a thing greatly to bee pitied, and full of calamitie, to see this Realme so infected, as it were with a generall contagious disease, wherein such an innnumerable companie of men liue by that miserable exercise of pleading, called *Practise*. *Plato* saith, that it is an euident token of a corrupted estate, where there are many Iudges and Philitions: because the multitude of Iudges is maintained by the vnfaithfulness and contention of men, and the great number of phisitions by idlenesse, dainty fare, and gluttony. There was neuer any nation of which this might bee more truely spoken of than ours, as it is notoriously knowne to euery one. *Panlus Amilius* writeth, that in the beginning, French men haue behaued themselves simply & plainly in matters of iudgment, resting in the determinations giuen by the baliffs & Seneshals, who had the administratio almost of all right & iurisdiction, and thinking it vnseemely and voide of honesty, to seeke a farre off for right by meanes of appeale. But after that slanders arose amongst them, and suits were multiplied, soveraigne iustice began to bee exercised once a yeare, and that for a few daies together: afterward, twice a yeare, alwaies changing the place. In the end it was determined, that the chief iudgments should bee helde in a certaine place, and that a house should bee built for that purpose at Paris, the principall city of the kingdome. Whereupon, in the raigne of *Philip* the Faire, the Pallace was erected according to that greatnesse and magnificence wherein you now see it, with hals and chambers, into which were distributed by certaine companies those Iudges that gaue the last sentence from which no appeale might bee made, both in ciuill and criminall matters. The erection of this Parliament into an ordinarie Court, doth giue vs to vnderstand that there should bee one or two Presidents. The first President was the Earle of Burgundy, a Prince of the blood: as in the Imperiall Chamber, the President is alwaies one of the Princes of the Empire. And it was a custome for a certaine time, that the chiefe President should be a man of warre, as indeede to this day hee taketh vpon him the estate of knight. Besides, there were eight Clearks, and twelue lay men, foure Princes of the blood for Requests, two Chambers of Inquiries, where there were eight Lay men, and eight Clearks Iudges, and foure and twenty Relators, They were called Clearks that wore long gownes, whether married or vnmarried, and the others Lay men, At this day there is the great Chamber, which is the first and chiefest, and is called the Pleading place where first of all, matters belonging to the Peers and to the King, are decided, and ordinarily those verball appellations that are made vpon the Pleas of the Aduocates; or if they cannot bee readily determined, they are remitted to the Councell, for which there

Of the ancient reputation of iudgements in France.

The iustice of France fallen from the ancient glory. Tokens of a corrupted estate.

The proceeding of iustice in France from time to time.

The officers of the Court of Parliament in Paris.

The present estate of the Parliament.

is a Chamber appointed. Next, there are five Chambers of Inquirie, wherein proceses in writing are examined and determined. There also is the Tournel, or place where criminall actions are iudged, and the Treasure-chamber for causes touching the Kings revenues. There is the court of Requests, wherein chiefly matters of priuiledges belonging to the kings traine and to others, are iudged. There is the Auditorie of the masters of Requests for the household, who iudge of the titles of offices: the Chamber of the Generals of the iustice of the Releefes, and the Chancerie. On the other side is the chamber of Accounts, and that of the generall Receiueurs. Some of the Counsellours are married, others are Ecclesiasticall persons, and are diuided by chambers according as the court is furnished. In the great chamber there are for the most part presidents, vnto whom the necessity of times haue added two others, who may be suppressed when there is no need of them. In the other Chambers there are but two Presidents. Moreover, there is one Procurator for the king, and two Aduocates, to looke to the kings prerogatives, and to all such matters: two Scribes to collect, inroll, and to deliver both ciuill and criminall deeds: foure Notaries and Secretaries to ease them, besides a great number of other writers. *Budens*, a very skilfull man, and a diligent searcher out of all antiquitie, hath obserued in his first annotations vpon the Pandects, that there were three sorts of Iudges in the time of *Philip the Long*. In the first bench, which was properly called the Parliament of Prelats and Barons, vnto whom certaine Lawyers were assistants, or other learned men, called Clerks and Laymen, three Prelats and three Barons were Presidents, and iudgement was not given so much by the pluralitie of voices, as by the sufficiencie of those that gaue their verdicts. Hee saith also, that the Lay-counsellours were taken from amongst gentlemen and others, of whom it was not required that they should be Graduars in the law, but it was sufficient if they had indifferent skill in other learning, as wee see that some short gowned men haue. They did not then studie the Romane lawes, as they haue done since: whereupon they haue erected at this day Vniuersities of the law in the best townes of France: from whence many thinke that the multitude of suites haue proceeded, because they learned by this meanes the occupation or craft of pleading, as the Lord Chancellour *de l' Hospital* declared in his second Oration which hee made to the Estates at Orleans. Wee read that when *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, sent *Pedrarías* as gouernour into the West Ilands newly discovered, he forbade him to take any lawyer or Aduocate with him, that he might not carrie the seede of suites thither where there were none at all. *Cicero* complained of his time, that many notable decrees of lawes were corrupted and depraued by the curious heads of the lawyers. What would he doe if he were now alieue, and saw the great heapes and piles of bookes, with our practise in the law? If he saw that holy Temple of lawes so vilely polluted, and miserably prophaned? Where a thousand cauils and quiddities are continually coined by such writings, according to the saying of that Comickall Poet: *That through craft and subtiltie one mischief is begotten vpon another*? Moreover, in those happie daies, of which we made mention, there were few statutes and edicts, because men thought that good manners were the best lawes, and that naturall sence holpen with an vpright conscience, and ioyned with due experience, was the rightest rule to iudge by. But after that men became so skilfull in suites, and that offices of iustice, from honourable but small profitable, being freely given to those that deserued them, came to be gainfull, free from yeelding any account of their doings, and set forth to sale, as merchandise, for them that bade most, and offered last: after that men began to spice their fruits with great sums of money, and to forsake that ancient plainnesse, which consisted in giuing of a few iunclets to the Iudges: after that profite began to grow by determining of by matters, and such as happen before the main cause, and by deciding of suites by Commissioners: after that Presidents and Counsellors began to take delight in this, that they were followed, solicited, and sought to by sutors, contrary to the customes of the Areopagites, who iudged by night, and in the darke, and contrary to the opinion of *Marcus Cato*, who said, that it was not seemely for a man to recommend his right to the Iudges, or to praele them to commit no iniustice, because these two things ought to bee deerer to the Iudges than to the parties, who can loose but mortall and fading goods, whereas the others pawne their soules to hell fire that lasteth for euer: after that giftes were received of both sides against expresse prohibitions given out by publike lawes and statutes, wherein the Switzers may serue vnto vs for a notable example, amongst whome it is, forbidden vnder paine of life, to take any thing either

Of the ancient estate of the parliament.

Ferdinando forbade that any Lawyers should go into the West Indians.

The springs of all corruptions of iustice.

The Areopagites iudged by night, and in the darke. The Switzers forbid their Iudges to take any thing for iudging.

directly

directly or indirectly for iudging: after that aduocates beganne to consider sleightly of causes, not hauing so much patience to end one matter, because they would speedily to another: whereby they giue occasion many times to their Clients to say as a Peasant said not long since to three famous Aduocates, whose counsell he had vsed: *Trulie* (quoth hee) *yea haue laboured faire, for you haue left mee in greater doubting than I was in before:* after they beganne to write in sheetes with seuen or eight lines on a side, and to disguise matters with friuolous answers that lay open their grietes, with contradictions, replications, admonitions: after the Proctors, who in former times were to bee had for nothing, and appointed for certaine causes, became hirelings and perpetuall, yea at this day their offices are set to sale: after that Solicitors, were suffered in the middest of them all to bee, as it were the skum-gatherers of suits, with all that rablement of practitioners, who deuoure the substance of poore men, as drones eate vp the honie of Bees: lastly, after the Chauncerie did let loose the bridle of all sorts of expeditions, and went about to teach the Iudges, I say, after these things beganne to bee practised, wee fell into this miserie of long suits, gainefull to wicked and faithlesse men, who seeke nothing but delaies, and very preiudiciall to good men, who many times had rather loose their right, than vndo themselves by following it so long time by way of iustice. For they commonly see the rightest cause frustrated by delayes, which are graunted at their pleasure that are fauoured, and by infinite other vniust meanes. Sometimes many iudgements are giuen vpon on matter, and yet nothing concluded: or if there be any definitiue sentence, it is by and by suspended from execution, vpon the least obiection that is made, or else it is called into doubt by some ciuill request, or by a writ of error. Thrice happie were wee, if wee might continue in that ancient simplicitie and naturall goodnesse, rather than after this manner to infolde our selues in so many proceedings and captious subtilties, which haue corrupted and extinguished the light of iustice, imprinted in the hearts and mindes of all men well borne. Wee see that suits are heaped vp one vpon another, and made immortal: and nothing is so certaine which is not made vncertaine: that no controuersie is so cleare, which is not obscured: no contract so sure, which is not vndone: no sentence or iudgement so aduisedly giuen, which is not made void: all mens actions open to the slanders, craft, malice, redemptions, and pollings of lawyers: the maiestie and integritie of ancient iustice lost: and last of all, that in the dealings of men now adayes, no shew of vpright iustice, but onely a shadow thereof remaineth. This euill beeing so great, and growne to such extremitie, it is impossible but that, according to the course of worldly things, the ruine thereof should bee at hand, or at least it is to receiue some notable change within a short space. For (as *Plato* saith) in a corrupt Commonwealth defiled with many vices, if a man should thinke to bring it backe againe to her first brightnesse and dignity, by correcting small faults, and by curing the contagion thereof by little and little, it were all one as if hee should cut off one of *Hydra's* heads, in whose place seuen more did spring vp: but that alteration and disorder whereby all euill and vice was brought into the commonwealth, must bee plucked vp by the roots. Therefore let us not thinke it strange, if they that haue the raines of the government of this Estate in their hands, finde so many difficulties and so small meanes, in the reformation thereof. For as *Demades* said, they gouerne nothing but the shipwracke of the Commonwealth, Neuerthelesse, honest men, indued with some gifts, and with good iudgement, ought not to bee discouraged in so great a storme, but the more that the tempestuous rage thereof seemeth to torment the Vessell of our commonwealth, and that with such violence, that the Patrone himselfe and the Pilots are in a manner tired, and faint with continuall trauell, so much the more diligently ought the passengers to lead their hands, some to the saile, some to the tackling, and some to the anchor, yea now is the time (following the counsell of *Cicero* in the like case) that all that are indued with singular gifts of nature, fit for the manning of affaires, ought boldly to take vpon them publike Offices and Estates without feare, to the end that all entrance may be shut vp against the wicked, who are the nourishers of this present corruption. Now if these three things, which *Aristotle* requireth in the all good Iudges, and Magistrates, did abound in them that should hereafter be called to administer iustice and iudgement: namely, a loue to the present estate, a sufficiencie to exercise those duties that are required in their offices, with vertue and iustice, wee might yet see some Idea and forme of that golden age, wherein your predecessors liued, wee might see piety and iustice flourish, to the great benefite and felicitie of this French Monarchie. Concerning

The saying
of a Peasant to
three Lawyers

Of the miserie
which
length of
suits bring
with it.
The great
abuse of iustice
in France.

How a corrupt
Commonwealth
must be corrected.

When it is law
full to seeke af
ter publike offices.

Judges ought
to be such old
men as haue
experience
ioyned with
their know-
ledge.

Magistrates
must not be
couetous.

The chiefeft
point of Phi-
losophie.

A corrupt
making of
Iudges.

The statute
of S. Lewes
concerning
the election
of officers.

that which may be further bee required in the duties, qualities and conditions of good Iudges, wee may bee instructed by our other treatise, wherein wee intreated of Counsellors of Estates, and also by calling to minde the former discourses of vertue and iustice. I onely will adde here, that it were very commendable and full of profite, yea necessary for the Estate, that all the companies of Iudges should bee compounded of such notable olde men, as with their knowledge haue experience of many things. And indeede this title of Senatour, which was giuen them in auncient time, signifieth an old man: neither did the Grecians or Romanes call any to that degree, but old men. But how can wee desire a more heavenly ordinance than that which God himselfe appointed, when hee established a Senate? Gather together (saide hee) threescore and tenne of the ancientest of the people, wise men, and such as feare God. Surely in this election of Iudges, it behooueth Kings to vse great prudence, and (as *Isocrates* said) to take triall of them, to know whether they are of good iudgement, whether they haue a sharpe sight in affaires, and whether they are not troubled with the change of their life, but behaue themselues wisely in euery estate, both in prosperitie and in aduersitie: especially to take good order that they be not such as are subiect to lucre, from whence al iniustice proceedeth. Therefore *Cicero* would haue the contempt of temporal goods, from whence all quietnes of our minds, commeth, to bee no lesse in Magistrates, than in true Philosophers. Yea, hee saith, that they ought to bee more carefull and laborious to attaine vnto it than the others, because worldly affaires toucheth them neerer, so that they haue greater cause to stand in feare of the alteration of fortune, of aduersity, and of pouerty. Vnto which agreeth fitly that saying of *Plinie* the yoonger: *That no point of Philosophie is more excellent than to deale in publike affaires, and to doe iustice, whereby they practise that which Philosophers teach.* But out of question, the forme and manner, which of late time hath bene vsed in calling Iudges and Officers to their charge, is so farre from that which wee desire here, that in this respect a man may call it the mother of all corruption and iniustice. For when a Iudge is made, his knowledge is not examined, his integritie and vprightnesse of life is not weighed, his long experience is not considered, his age and vertue is not regarded, but only his crownes are viewed to see whether they are weight. Now since that such men grew rich, although they are found insufficient, yet they obtaine so many letters of commandement, so many Mandatums one in anothers necke, that in the end they are receiued whatsoeuer they are, to the great preiudice of the whole common wealth. Wee are therefore to wish that all valuing and sale of offices, especially of iudgement and iustice, may be abolished and disanulled, that all meanes of fauour and ambition may bee taken away, that the auncient and happy ordinances of our kings may bee restored: especially that decree of Saint *Lewes* the king, whereby hee enacted, that all publike offices, should bee bestowed vpon the election of three persons, chosen by the officers and citizens of those places, to one of which so elected, the king was to giue freely without money, the office then voided. This holy ordinance hath since that time bene often renewed by king *Philip* the Faire, *Charles* the Wise, *Charles* the 7. *Lewes* the 11. and *Charles* the ninth that dead is, when his Estates were held at Orleans. So that if the king and his Councell would aduisedly consider of these things in the establishing of Iudges and Magistrates in his kingdome, and would strengthen them in the execution of their iudgments, the obedience of his subiects would be greater, and the foundation of all good order and policy more sure.

Of Seditions. Chap. 63.

No earthly
thing perpe-
tuall.

ARAM. **A**S it is necessary that all things which haue a beginning should end, and which increase should diminish and waxe olde, some sooner, others later, according to the disposition of that matter whereof they are compounded, and through the influence of the heavenly bodies, from which (nature working in them by her author) this continuall and mutual succession of generation and corruption proceedeth: so are publike estates first instituted, increased, maintained, lessened, changed, destroyed, turned and returned one from another by the disposition of God. Those that are best grounded

grounded in religion and iustice, have their power most assured; and are of longest continuance, but none are perpetuall, although their policy and manner of government be neuer so good. For we see that all are corrupt in proceſſe of time, and in the end perish through their owne vices that follow and accompanie them, being first mooued and stirred vp by nothing so much as by sedition, and ciuill warre. This bringeth to light all euill that lurketh in those members of the politike body that are most pernicious, vntill the infection bee wholly spread, and hath taken hold of the nobleſt parts thereof, whereby it is brought to extreame miserie without hope of remedy. Now, although euery one of vs haue sufficient feeling hereof in himselfe by his owne harme, yet wee may know it better by taking occasion vpon this subiect to discourse of the nature of seditions, and of their common effects, that we may haue them in greater detestation, and bring euery one of vs his heart and minde to helpe this Estate, if there remaine neuer so little shew or meanes whereby the subuersion thereof may yet bee kept backe. But I leaue the discourse of this matter to you my companions.

No Common-wealth perpetuall.

A CHITO B. All sedition is euill and pernicious, although it seemeth to haue a good and honest cause. For it were better for him that is author of sedition, to suffer any losse or iniurie, than to be the occasion of so great an euill, as to raise ciuill war in his countrey.

No iniury is a sufficient cause for any man to moue sedition.

A SER. Nature (saith *Empedocles*) vseth no other meanes to destroy and ouerthrow her creatures than discord and disunion: and sedition (as *Thucydes* saith) comprehendeth in it all kinde of euils. Let vs then heare **A MANA**, who will prooue this sufficiently vnto vs.

A MANA. If we consider, how God minding to punish *Adam* for his ingratitude and disobedience, made his owne members rebell against the spirit, vnto which they obeyed before, whereby he became captiue vnder the law of sinne, no doubt but we may say, that after the same manner he chastiseth Kings, Princes, and Heads of Common-wealths, that haue no care to obey his commandements and to cause others to keepe them, by the rebellion of their owne subiects, not without great danger of deprivation from all authoritie by them, and of receiuing the law at their hands to whom they should giue it, as it hath beene seene practised in many Estates and governments. Religion and the loue of God bringeth with it all vnion and concord, preserueth Kingdomes and Monarchies in their integrity, and is the nursing mother of peace and amity amongst men. But the contempt of religion bringeth discord and confusion, ouerturneth all order, treadeth vertue vnder foote, giueth authoritie to vice, and soweth quarrels and dissensions amongst men, from whence seditions and priuate murders proceed, and in the ende ciuill and open warres, which are as flaming fires to take hold of, and to consume most flourishing Estates. For without doubt, if men had in them the true loue and feare of God, which cannot be without the loue of our neighbour, no such effects would euer proceede from their workes and actions. Politicks haue laboured infinite waies to maintaine the people in peace, and to cause ciuill iustice to flourish. They haue made many lawes & edicts, many statutes, appointed many punishments, to bridle the boldnesse of seditious fellowes, to repress extorsions, wrongs, & murders: but because they build without a foundation, that is, without the feare of God, all their labour taken therein was fruitlesse. *It is the feare of God onely that causeth swords to be broken and turned into mattocks, and speares into fishes, as Isaias and Micah speake: that is to say, which breedeth humanity and gentlenes, mollifieth mens hearts, and causeth them to suffer much to auoide strife and debate, in a word, which is able to vnite in one with vs most strange and barbarous nations. Besides, it is the profession of godlines to suffer, and not to offer violence, neither can it bring forth euill effects contrary to their cause. This deserueth to be handled at large, but our present subiect leadeth vs to discourse of the nature of seditions, and to set before our eyes the euils that proceede thereof, both by reasons and examples, referring the consideration of their causes vnto some other time hereafter. Sedition then being taken generally, is nothing else but ciuill warre, so hurtfull to all estates and Monarchies, that it is the feede of all kinde of euils in them, euen of those that are most execrable. It engendreth and nourisheth want of reuerence towards God, disobedience to Magistrates, corruption of manners, change of lawes, contempt of iustice, & base estimation of learning & sciences. It causeth horrible reuenging, forgetfulness of consanguinity, parentage, & friendship, extorsions, violence, robberies, waisting of countries, sacking of townes, burning of buildings, confiscations, flights, banishments, cruell proscriptions, sauage murders, alterations and ouerthrowes of Policies, with other infinite excesses & intollerable miseries, pitifull to behold, and sorrowfull to rehearse. Sedition armeth the father against the sonne, the brother against the brother, kinsman against kinsman,*

The originall of all sedition

The cause of vnion and concord in kingdomes. The fruits of the contempt of religion.

Peace and concord effects of the feare of God. Isaias. 2. 4. Micah. 4. 3.

What sedition is. The fruits of sedition.

men

men of the same nation, prouince, and city, one against another. Hereupon the fields, which before were fertile, are left vntilled, sumptuous and rich houses remaine empty and forsaken, famous and wealthy townes stand desolate, by reason of the losse of their ancient ornaments, I meane their priuate and publike buildings, and their notable Inhabitants and Citizens. And, which is woorst of all, no man will acknowledge a Soueraigne, but every Prouince will seeke to withdraw it selfe, and to be made a Canton. In the end, the body thus dismembred, and the parts thereof infected with the same poyson of discord, destroy themselves: that the prophesie of Iesus Christ, who is the truth it selfe, might be fulfilled, where he saith: *that euery kingdome diuided in it selfe shall bee desolate.* Therefore *Dauid* did rather choose a plague amongst his subiects, than warre or Tumults. And *Pythagoras* said, that three things were by all meanes to be remooued: *A disease from the bodie, ignorance from the soule, and sedition from the citie.* *Plato* also affirmeth, that no euill is woorse in a Citie than that which diuideth it, and of one maketh it two: and that nothing is better than that thing which tieth and vnieth it together. Whereupon he wished, that there might be a communion, not onely of all goods, but also of that which nature hath appropriated to euery one, as of eies, eares, and hands, to the end that whosoever saw, heard, or did any thing, hee might imploy all to common profite and vse, thereby to maintaine better the mutuall loue of citizens, who hauing nothing priuate, would by this meanes be alwaies touched with the same ioy and grieve, praising and disliking all ioyntly together the same things. There are two sorts of warre mentioned also by *Plato*, who calleth the one sedition, which is the worst, & the other which is more gentle is that against strangers. *Nestor*, a wise and prudent counsellor among the *Græcians*, said in a counsell, (as *Homer* reporteth) that he which loueth ciuill warre, is a most wretched, cruell, and detestable man, and vnworthy to liue. And truly if wee looke to the example of those fruits, which haue alwaies proceeded of ciuill warres, we shall see that they haue beene guided after a most cruell and horrible kinde of hostility, and that their issue hath bene the losse and ouerthrow of many flourishing common-wealths. *Thucydides* speaking of the generall dissention among the *Grecians* for diuersity of governments, which they sought to bring in amongst themselves, some desiring to be gouerned in a Democracy, others in an Oligarchie, rehearseth incredible euils which arose of that warre. As soone (saith he) as any insolency was knowne to be committed in one place, others were encouraged to doe woorse, to enterprise some new thing, and to shew that they were more diligent than others, or more insolent and hot in reuenging themselves. They disguised all the euils which they committed with commendable titles, calling rashnesse *Magnanimitie*, and modestie *Basenesse of minde*: head-long indignation *Manlinesse* and *Hardinesse*: prudent counsell and deliberation, *Coloured back sliding*. Whereby it came to passe that whosoever alwaies shewed himselfe furious, was accounted a loyall friend, and hee that gain-said, was suspected. If any one of the contrary faction gaue any good and honest counsaile, it was not accepted: but if they could withstand it by any notorious deede, they had rather bee reuenged so, than they would not giue occasion to others to offer the like wrong to them. When any agreement was made and confirmed with a solemne oath, it lasted vntill one of the parties grew to bee the stronger, that hee might breake and violate the same, and by extreame wickednesse overcome the other; which proceeded of couetousnesse and desire of other mens goods. Hereupon those factions and part takings were kindled, which procured infinite euils to the whole countrey of *Græcia*, wherein there was no quietnesse, vntill it was quite ouerthrowne by seditions and ciuill warres. This is that which *Demades* obiected to the *Athenians* by way of reproch, that they neuer intreated of peace but in mourning gownes, namely, after they had lost many of their kinsfolke and friends in battels and skirmishes. *Agefilas* king of *Lacedæmonia* bewailed this misery, when he saw such cruell warres betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, people of one countrey, and although he had woone a great battell neere vnto *Corinth* with great losse of his enemies, and small hurt to his owne men, yet not reioycing, but rather being very sorrowfull, he vttered these words with a loud voice: *O poore Græcia, how miserable art thou to slay with thine owne hands so many of thy valiant men, as would haue sufficed to discomfit in one battell all the Barbarians ioyned together.* Histories tell vs that the *Romanes* came to that great Empire more by dissensions and ciuill warres, which they sowed amongst their neighbours, than by force of armes. For after they had kindled the fire in one nation, they maintained one side a certaine time, vntill in the end they overwhelmed both the one and the other. Thus they deceiued the *Carthaginians*, the *Asians*, the *Gaules*, and *Græcia*. Onely *England* was not quite subdued because it knew their practises, and turned all domesticall choler against the enemy when the danger

Math. 12. 25.
2. Sam. 24. 14.

VWhat community *Plato* required in his Common wealth.

Two kinds of warre.

The fruits of ciuill warre among the *Græcians*.

Demades reprocheth the *Athenians*.

Agefilas bewaileth the ciuill dissention of *Græcia*.

The prudence of Englishmen.

danger was common. *Traian* the Emperour writing to the Senate of Rome amongst other things sent these words: *I recommend unto you above all things, friendship and brotherhood among your selves: because you know that in great commonwealths homewarres are more hurtfull than those that are made against strangers. For if kinsmen and neighbours had neuer begun to hate one another, and to warre one upon another, Demetrius had neuer overthrowne Rhodes, nor Alexander Tyrus, nor Marcellus Syracusa, nor Scipio Numantium.* And indeede the Romane Empire fell from her greatnes by the same meanes of ciuill warre which they had long time nourished among others. Yea it is certaine, that in no place part-takings full of all kinde of cruelty, were so vsuall and so long time practised, or factions, and seditious were more cruell than in Rome. The first occasion thereof was their government, wherein the people alwaies set themselves against the Senate and the Nobility, the Senate seeking to rule without measure, and the people to increase their liberty. During these dissensions, it came to passe, that at one time 4000. and 500. slaues and banished men iugaded the Capitoll, and wanted little of making themselves lords of Rome. *Appian* hath written at large of their seditious and partialities, and saith that through ambition and couerousnesse one side daily sought to diminish the authority of the other. He saith that *Marius Coriolanus* being vpon this occasion, and in these dissensions drinen out of the citie contrary to right and reason, went to the *Volsci*, and warred on either side against his countrey, being the first banished person that tooke armes against Rome. And in deede, neither in the counsell, nor in the city, there was no sword drawne, nor man slaine in ciuill sedition, vntill *Tiberius Gracchus* fauouring the people, and making lawes in their behalfe was killed, and many others that were with him in the Capitoll neere the temple. Whereupon hatred and rancor increasing openly amongst them, infinite murders followed, and many of the chiefest euen the Consuls were slaine, the contempt of lawes and iudgements ensued, and in the end open warre, armies and troupes one against another with incredible thefts and cruelties. At last *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the seditious persons, seeking to redresse one euill with another (after these dissensions had continued about 50. yeares) made himselfe prince over the rest in many things, taking vpon him the office of a Dictator, who was wont in former time to be created in the greatest dangers of the commonwealth only for 6. moneths. But *Sylla* was chosen perpetuall Dictator, because necessity so required, as he said himself. After he had practised much violence, he continued in quietnes like a conqueror, & was thereupon turnamed the *Happy*. After his death seditious began afresh, & reuenging of those cruelties which he had committed, vntill *Caius Caesar* laid hold of the Seignory & principality, hauing discomfited & overcome *Pompey*, to whom he was before allied. For when they 2. fought by their plat-forms and deuices to command all, they could not abide one another within a while after, *Pompey* being vnwilling to haue an equall, and *Caesar* a superior. Afterward *Brutus* and *Cassius* being moued with desire either of rule, or of publike liberty, slue *Caesar*: whereupon the seditious grew greater than they were before, and the triumuerate war was opened against them, which preuailing for a time, was it selfe dissolued and brought to nothing. For *Octavius* onely of the three remained a peaceable possessor of the Romane Empire, being happy in all things, and feared of all men, leauing heires of his race to rule the Monarchie after him. *Augustus* being dead, the estate began vnder *Tiberius* his successor, a voluptuous Prince, to decline by little and little from the period of her greatnes, vntill in the end there remained no more than that which we see inclosed within the limits of Germany. *Alexander* Empire being the greatest that euer was, vanished away as a fire of Towe, through the diuision and disorder that was amongst his successors. The Empire of Constantinople through the part takings of Princes, is brought vnder the tyrannous and miserable power of an Ethnick and barbarous Turke. Wereade in *Iosephus*, that the kingdome of Iudza became subiect and tributarie to the Romanes, through the ciuill warres betweene *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus*, who were brothers. For *Pompey* being of *Hircanus* side, tooke the city of Hierusalem, and led away *Aristobulus* and his children prisoners with him, after the countrey had suffered infinite calamities by their domesticall diuisions. Which when *Onias* a holy man did well foresee, he withdrew himselfe into a secret place and would not take part either with the one or the other side. And being taken by *Hircanus* his men, they required him, that as once he obtained raine by his praies in the time of a drought, so he would now curse *Aristobulus* and all those of his faction: but he contrariwise lifting vp his hands to heauen, vttered these words. *O God, king of the whole world, seeing these men among whom I stand, are thy people and they that are assailed thy Priests, I beseech thee humbly, that thou wouldest barken neither to these men against the other, nor to the other against these: for which holy praier he was stoned to death, such was the poisoned rage of this people*

Traians letter to the Senate of Rome.

The Romane Empire decayed through seditious. The originall of the Roman seditious.

M. Coriolanus being banished contrary to right, tooke armes against his countrey. T. Gracchus the first that was slaine in Rome by sedition.

Sylla made himselfe perpetuall Dictator.

The Romane Empire began first to decline vnder Tiberius. Diuision overthrow Alexanders Empire. The cause of the ruine of Constantinople. The cause of the subiection of Iudza to the Romanes.

Onias praier.

Ciull warres
in Italy be-
tweene the
Guelphes and
the Gibellins.

The great
cruelty of the
Guelphes and
Gibellins.

By what to-
kens they
know one
another.
The originall
of this con-
tention.

The diuision
of the houses
of Yorke and
Lancaster.

Henry the 6.
deprived of
his kingdome
by the house
of Yorke.

The vnion of
the house of
Lancaster and
Yorke.

Of ciuill wars
in Spaine.

The great iu-
ridiction of
Spaine.

Of ciuill dis-
sention in
Italy.
Germany
vexed with
ciuill warres.

people one against another. Was there ever any folly, or rather fury like to that of the Guelphes and Gybellines in Italy, of whom the one side held with the Pope, and the other with the Emperor? The Italians vpon no other occasion but onely in fauour of these two names, entred into so extreame a quarrell throughout the whole countrey, that greater crueltie could not be wrought betweene the Infidels and Christians, than was committed amongst them. This contention continueth yet, insomuch that murders are euery where committed in the townes, even betweene naturall brethren, yea betweene the father and his sonnes, without all regard either of blood, or parentage. Their goods are spoiled, their houses razed, some banished, others slaine: and whilest euery one feareth least any reuenge should be laid vp in store for him, or for some other of his side, they kill many times little infants, whom the most barbarous men in the world would spare. These two factions fought continuallie through mortall hatred, so that they could not dwell together in one citie, but the stronger alwaies draue out and expelled the other. They knew one another by feathers, by the fashion of their hose, by cutting of bread, slicing of oranges, and by other marks: which is a very pernicious thing, and hath procured great destruction of people, and overthrow of townes. The Italians say, that this fire was first kindled at Pistoya betweene two brethren, the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibellin*, who quarrelling together, diuided the towne betweene them, whereupon the Gibellins were driven out. This separation, like to a contagious disease, vpon no other occasion was spread ouer all Italie, insomuch that afterward all that were at contention any where, were diuided into Guelphes and Gibellines. The Germanes thinke that these names came from their countrey and language: and that the Emperour *Frederike* the second, in whose time this diuision began, called his friends *Gibellines*, because he leaned vpon them, as a house doth vpon two strong wals that keepe it from falling, and those that were against him of the faction of Pope *Gregorie* the ninth, he called *Guelphes*, that is to say, woolues. What did England suffer by the diuision of the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, that gaue the white and red Roses in their armes? Which contention although it began when *Henry* the fourth who was Duke of Lancaster and Earle of Darbie, vsurped the kingdome vpon his cousin *Richard* the second, whom he caused to be slaine in prison, after he had compelled him to resigne his kinglie power and crowne of England, yet it was hottest in the reigne of king *Henry* the sixth, who succeeding his father and grandfather, was at Paris crowned king of England and France. Afterward, fauouring the house of Lancaster against the house of Yorke, they that held with the red Rose tooke armes against him, so that in the ende hee was deprived of his Estate, and shut vp as prisoner in the Tower of London, where hee was after put to death. These factions and ciuill warres (as *Philip Comineus* writeth) endured about eight and twentie yeares, wherein there died at sundrie battels and skirmishes aboue fourescore persons of the blood royall, with the flower of the nobilitie of England, besides an infinite number of the valiantest men and best warriors among the people. Many Lords were put in prison, or banished, leading the rest of their liues miserablie in strange countries: the auncient policie of the kingdome corrupted, iustice contemned, and the land impouerished, vntill in the ende the Earle of Richmond, overcame king *Richard*, enioied the kingdome quietlie, and was called *Henry* the seventh: hauing married *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward* the fourth, both of them being the sole heires of the families of Lancaster and Yorke. By meanes of this marriage the dissention ceased in England, and the red and white Roses were ioyned together in one armes. There was no countrey more afflicted than Spaine, both by ciuill warres and by neighbour states, when it was diuided into many kingdomes. The Moores ouer ranne it on the one side, the French and Englishmen deuoured it on the other, taking part at the first with the dissentions that were in Castile betweene *Don Pedro* and *Don Henry*; next with the contentions that arose betwixt Castile and Portingale, which caused much euill to both the kingdomes. But since that Spaine hath bene vnited, it hath extended her dominion into Afrike, and into the new found Ilands, borne armes in Germanie, and in Hungarie, commanded ouer the chiefe Ilands of the Mediteranean sea, ouer Naples and Sicilia, ouer Millan and Flanders. Contrariwise, Italy hauing in former times her forces knit together, obtained the Empire of the world, but beeing now diuided into many Seignories and Potentates that agree badly together, and hauing suffered all the calamities in the world by ciuill warres, lieth open to the iniuries of strangers. Through the same cause the power of Germanie is greatlie diminished, whereni not long since the princes of Saxony were banded one against another: *Iohn Fredericke*, *Philip* Lantgraue of Hesse, the Duke of Wittemberg, with many free cities rebelled against the Emperor: the peasants arose against the

the Nobility to set themselves at libertie: the Anabaptists possessed Munster, make a botcher their king, and held out the siege for the space of two yeares. Hungaria, which had valiantly resisted the Turkes almost two hundred yeares together, was at length subdued by them, through the diuisions that were in the countrey, as Polonia is greatly threatened by the Moscouite. In Persia, after the death of king *Iacob*, his two sonnes strove for the gouernment of the countrey, but the Sophy *Ismael* comming in the meane time vpon them with his new religion, slue one of them in battell, and compelled the other to flie into Arabia, and so possessed the kingdome, which he left to his children. *Phslip* the eleuenth, Duke of Burgundie, easily subdued *Dinan* and *Bouines* in the country of Liege, which were separated onely by a riuer, after they had ouerthrowne themselves by their dissensions, whereas before he could not obtaine his purpose. And whilest the kings of Marrocke warred one with another for the estate, the Gouernor of Thunis and of Telenin made himselfe king, renting asunder his two prouinces from the rest to erect a kingdome. Concerning Frenchmen, they haue beene often and many times molested with Seditious and ciuill wars as well as others. The Nobilitie of France was almost all slaine at the battell of *Fountenay* neare to Auxerre, by the ciuill warres betweene *Lotharius*, *Lewes*, and *Charles* the balde. And Champaign lost so many of the Nobility in warre, that the Gentlewomen had this special priuiledge graunted them, to make their husbands noble. When king *Iohn* was prisoner in England, *Charles* his sonne Regent of France, being at Paris to gather money for his ranfome, there fell such a diuision betweene the king of Nauarre, who tooke part with the Parisians, and the Regent, that the people vnder the guiding of *Marcel*, Prouolt of the merchants, ranne to *Charles* his lodging, where the Marshals of Cleremount and Champaigne were slaine, euen in his chamber and presence, and their bodies drawne ouer the marble stones. The like was done to *Reignold Dacy* the kings Attorney, besides many other murders, so that the Regent had much adoe to saue himselfe without Paris. But the worst factions that euer were in France, were those of Burgundy and of Orleans, which caused a most grieuous and ciuill warre, that lasted 70. yeares, with murders, robberies, and vspeakeable cruelties. Both of them, one after another, called in the Englishmen to succour them, who afterward seized vpon the crowne. It was a pitifull thing to see France cruelly tormented both by her owne subiects and by strangers, to see it voide of right and equitie, without magistrates, without iudgments, without lawes, which had no abiding place amongst fire and force, where violence onely reigned. All this was procured by the ambition of these two houses, each of them seeking to obtaine the gouernment of the kingdome vnder *Charles* the sixt, whose wits failed him. By the meanes of these diuisions, *Henry* the fift king of England, taking to wife *Katherine* the yongest daughter of king *Charles*, was put in possession of Paris by the Duke of Burgundie, and proclaimed heire and Regent of France by the consent of three Estates held at Troy. But the death of this *Henry*, and the Duke of Burgundie forsaking the alliance of the Englishmen, with that valure and good behauiour of king *Charles* the seuenth, as also the loue and fidelitie of the Frenchmen, restored the kingdome to that estate wherein it is at this present. Now if France hath heretofore suffered so much by ciuill warres, and domesticall seditions, if all forraigne estates haue receiued so many sundry alterations and incredible wounds by the same meanes, how can we looke for lesse, nay rather haue wee not already seene the like or greater calamities amongst vs, through our dissensions and private quarrels betweene certaine houses contending one with another, being chiefly moued with ambition and desire to gouerne? Why doe wee not acknowledge this first cause of our miseries, that wee may lay aside all hatred crept in amongst vs vnder pretence of diuersitie of religion? that we may reunite our mindes so much diuided, to the good and common quietnesse of vs all, and liue vnder the obedience of our prince, with that fidelity for which Frenchmen haue bin alwaies praised aboue other nations? Doe not so many examples, both of auncient and later times make vs see thus much, that if we redresse not this contention, this goodly and flourishing kingdome, which heretofore hath growne great by the concord and obedience of our ancessors, is ready to fall into vtter ruine and subuersion, through our factions, diuisions, and part-takings? Shall this little that remaineth of the French monarchie, which in former times hath had all the Empire of Germany, the kingdomes of Hungary, Spaine, and Italy, and all the bounds of the Gaules to the riuer of Rhine, vnder the obedience of her lawes, shall it I say, be thus laid open as a prey, and that by her owne subiects, carried headlong with such passions, that they make the way plaine and readie for strangers to bring them vnder their miserable bondage? Shall it bee saide among our posterity that our selues

Hungaria lost by ciuill dissension.

Persia was subdued by the dissension of two brethren. *Dinan* and *Bouines* subdued through dissention.

France much troubled with ciuill warres. Women in Champaigne made their husbands noble.

Cruell war betweene the house of Burgundy and of Orleans.

The cause thereof. *Henry* the 5. proclaimed king of France.

Ambition and desire of gouernment the chiefe cause of the troubles in France.

The auncient limits of the French monarchie.

A comparisō.

Good counsel
for al kings &
soueraigne
princes.

have encouraged them to vndertake that, which not long since, Spaine, Italie, England, the Low countries, the Pope, the Venetians, being all ioyned together against the house of France, durst not take in hand after the taking of *Francis* the first, and the losse of that famous battle? Not one of them durst enter into Fraunce to conquer it, knowing the lawes and nature of this Monarchie. For as a building laide vpon deepe foundations, and made of lasting stoffe, well knitt and ioyned together in euery part, feareth neither windes nor stormes, but easily resisteth all assaults and violence: so this kingdome will not easily admit any alteration and change, as long as all the members continue vnited and ioyned together vpon the foundation of their lawes. Therefore let the king, princes, their counsell, great and small, euery one in his place take order, that God may bee truly knowne, and sincerely serued according to his iust and righteous will: that honest behauiour may bee maintained, the authority of lawes kept, iustice administred, magistracy duly exercised, rewards and punishments distributed equally, that vertuous men may be honoured, and the wicked corrected. Otherwise, if we continue long diuided into companies, with defiances passing and repassing, if we persist in our woonted inuectiues and riots, and refer not all our actions to some good end, let vs not looke for lesse than for a generall desolation and pitifull overthrow of our country, appearing already in many places thereof, or at least for some horrible mutation and change of the Estate.

*Of the causes that breede the change, corruption, and snall
ruine of Monarchies and Policies.. Chap 64.*

A M A-
N A.

AS long as the phisition knoweth not the cause of his Patients disease, it is impossible for him to remedy the same, and to prescribe a medicine to the sicke party. A disease knowne (saith the Proverbe) is in a manner cured. So fareth it with Estates and Monarchies that are changed, marred, and in the end brought to ruine by diuers causes: which if they were well knowne to their princes and gouernors, might easily be preuented by prudence and reason, and fit remedies then applyed to those euils: that dispose & lead them to mutation, when the naturall corruption that is in them (as euery thing hath his proper and inward corruption of which it is eaten and consumed) beginneth to spread it selfe in the best part to marre all. Go to then (my Companions) hauing seene the nature of seditions, let vs seeke out the causes that stir them vp, wherby Estates and Monarchies are changed, marred, and in the end ouerthrowne.

A disease
knowne is al-
most cured.

The causes of
diuision be-
tweene subjects

A R A M. The diuision that is betweene subiects of one and the same Prince, ariseth for the most part of discontentment, wherewith some are moued vpon iniurie and contempt, or else of feare that men haue of the light, or to auoid some euill, or of great idlenesse, pover-ty and need.

Two causes of
the franlike
feauer of
French diui-
sions.

A C H I O T B There are (as I take it) two causes intermingled, which breede this franlike feauer of our France, the one proceeding from the Estate, the other from religion. But let vs heare **A S E R**, to whom the handling of this subiect offered now vnto vs, belongeth.

A S E R. There is no beginning of any thing whatsoever so small, which through continuance and perfeuerance is not soone made great and strong, if vpon slight account thereof it bee not staied. Euery will (as *Cicero* saith) in the first sprout thereof may be easily stopped, but being inueterate, is more strong and vnealie to be suppressed. So that if it bee met withall before it appeare and breake forth, the danger is lesse, although it proceed from the necessity of naturall corruption, which is in all things that are created, and is to be seene even in things without sense, as Mildew in wheat, rottennesse in wood, rust in brasle and iron: yea euery thing is corrupted by it owne euill, howsoeuer it escapeth all outward harmes. Therefore as a good Phisition preuenteth diseases, and if one part bee suddenly touched with raging paine, aswageth the present euill, and then applyeth remedies to the causes of the disease: so a wise prince or gouernour of a Common wealth ought to preuent as much as is possible the ordinary changes of all Estates, which ouertake them either by outward force, or by inward diseases. When they begin, he must stay them whatsoever it cost him, and then looke what the causes are of those diseases, that are farthest from effect, and apply conuenient and apt remedies vnto them. Now it is certaine, that if a man would thoroughly meete with al hurtfull things, or otherwise cure any such euill when it hapneth, he must know their causes wherof the effect dependeth, which is the very entrance to al good helps & remedies whatsoever

Corruption is
naturall in all
things.

A prince com-
pared to a
Phisition.
To know the
causes of euils
is the readiest
way to cure
them.

whatsoever. Fore-seene mischiefs (as the Poet saith) hurt not so much as those that come vn looked for. A wise man premeditateth that may happen, but it falleth out contrary to fooles. And if we haue neuer so small an in-sight into the condition and state of worldly things, we cannot in any wise doubt of this, that euery Commonwealth, after it is to come to the top of perfection, which is the flourishing estate thereof, hath but a short time of continuance: whether her ouerthrowe proceedeth from the violence of her enemies, when shee thinkes her selfe safest; or whether shee waxe olde through long tract of time, and so end by her inward diseases, or whether shee suddenly decay and fall downe with her owne weight by reason of some other hidden cause. Which changes of Commonwealths being matter sufficient to make a great booke, we are, according to the sequelle of our discourse, to consider chiefly of the causes that for the most part stirre vp sedition, and breede the alteration and finall ouerthrow of Estates and Monarchies. The Philosophers propound fowre causes of euery thing: *The efficient, the materiall, the formall, and the small cause.* The efficient cause of seditions is double, the one neere, the other remooued afar off. The neere or next cause, are the authors of seditions, by whose counsell, direction and helpe they are stirred vp and brought to passe. By the cause remooued afar off, I meane those things for which men are prouoked to raise seditions, and of which we are chiefly to intreat in this place. They are the matter of seditions against whom they are raised, as princes and magistrates, who are superiors, and sometime their subiects, being inferiors. The forme of seditions is the stirring vp of the people, noise, outcries, batteries, murders, ciuill warre, the taking of townes, spoiling of countries, burning and banishment. If it be of subiects, towards their lords and superiors, it is called rebellion: if betweene subiects or equals, it is called a faction. The end of seditions is that for which they are first mooued and stirred vp. *Aristotle* setteth downe fowre ends of seditions, namely, profit, and honour, with their contraries, losse and dishonour. For men are commonly mooued to sedition either through hope of profit and honour, or else through feare of losse and dishonour towards themselves or their friends, so that they desire the one and shun the other. Vnto profit we referre riches: to honour, magistracie, publicke offices and charges: to losse, pouerty: to dishonour, continuall iniury, contempt, and such like meanes. Which things although they are reckoned among the motives, or efficient causes of seditions, so farre forth they prouoke men to stirre vp seditions, yet they may bee ends also, because men conspire together either to obtaine or to eschue them. Therefore let vs handle the causes which mooue the people to murmur, & leade them from priuate and secret grudging, to publicke and open sedition, from which the changes, alterations, and finall ruines of Estates and Monarchies proceede. The couetousnesse of magistrates, and gouernors seemeth to bee a chiefe cause thereof, when they lay vpon their subiects great exactions, taxes, loanes, and other intolerable subsidies, whereby their patience is oftentimes turned into fury, and their hearts set vpon reuolting, are driuen forward to imitate them that forsooke *Roboam* for the same cause as the Scripture rehearseth. But forasmuch as all ciuill society is appointed to the end that men might keepe their goods safely vnder the protection and guiding of good gouernors, they that beare chiefe rule in estates, ought especially to provide that not onely publicke goods may be distributed and imployed according to common necessity and profite, but also that euery mans priuate goods may bee in safety. Publicke goods are thereuenewes of Seigniories, kingdomes and Empires, demaines, taxes, tributes, confiscations, exchets, subsidies, grants, and impositions brought in for the supply of publicke necessity. A man may say that couetousnesse, which is a wrongful desire of another mans goods, is committed in the publicke reuenues, when the money that commeth of them, is conuerted rather to priuate than to publicke vse, by those that haue the disposing thereof: which fault the Romanes called *peculatus*, and the iudgement giuen against it, *Reperundarum*. Now when such goods are waisted vnprofitable, or superfluously, princes, and Magistrates vse to lay immoderate and strange exactions vpon their subiects. Couetousnesse also is vsed in priuate goods, when the poorer or weaker sort are spoiled of their owne by the mightier. The people will hardly beare this kinde of vsurping, when they consider that they are tormented by those that should defend them: and this dealing is subiect to restitution before God. Histories are full of changes, seditions and destructions of commonwealths, arising of these causes of couetousnes, whereof we haue alledged many examples in our discourses. Vnder *Charles* the 6. king of France great seditions and robberies were practised by the Parisians, by reason of imposts and subsidies that were leuied of their subiects. The occasion of these comotions was because the farmers exacted a halfe-peny of a

Consequence
cause of the
When com-
mon weath-
begin to alter

the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA

Four causes
of all things
The efficient
causes of sedi-
tions

The materiall
cause of sedi-
tions
The formall
cause
The difference
betweene a re-
bellion, and a
faction
Power finall
causes of sedi-
tions

the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA

Couetousnes
a principall
cause of sedi-
tion
King
14. 16.

Which are
publicke goods
the hoildinA
the hoildinA
the hoildinA

When coue-
tousnes is com-
mitted in pub-
like goods

God re-
quireth re-
stitution of
oppressors

Great sedi-
tions began vp
on a small oc-
poore cation

Couetousnes
cause of the
death of the
nobility of
Switzerland.
1. Sam. 8. 5.
Ambition the
second cause
of seditions.
Honor the
onely reward
of vertue.

Onely vertue
ought to o-
pen the gates
of honor.
Injury the
third cause of
sedition.

Why Cyrus
reuelted from
his grandfa-
ther *Astages*.
Coriolanus.

Childeric slaine
by *Bodilus*.

Iustine 3.
Feare the
fourth cause
of seditions.
Catiline.

What manner
of men are a-
fraide of peace.

Feare was
one cause that
mooued *Cesar*
to seeke the
Empire.
Excesse in au-
thority and
power is the
fift cause of
seditions.

What the O-
stracisme was
among the
Athenians.
Many kings
ouerthrowne
by suffering
their seruants
grow too
great.

Contempt is
the sixt cause
of seditions.

poore woman that sold water cressets. The couetousnes, bribery, and polling vsed by the Lords & Nobles of Switzerland, caused the Common people to fall to mutinie, and to deliuer themselves out of their slavery and bondage by horrible massacres; which they made of them, Vnder *Ioel*, and *Abiah* the sons of *Samuel* & Iudges ouer the Israelites, the people oppressed through their couetousnes, asked a king, wherupon the Estate of their gouernmēt was changed. The second cause that breedeth the alteration and ruine of Common wealths is ambition, or desire of honor, which then especially moueth men to murmure, when the vnworthy are aduāced & preferred before mē of desert. Honor is the only reward of vertue, & that which is more esteemed of euery lofty and noble heart, than all worldly goods. Therefore it is meete that in the distribution of publike charges, rewards & honors, regard be had to the quality, merit & sufficiency of men, that they may be giuen to worthy persons, & that such as are vnfit may be put back. Let vertue only & diligence open the gates of honor, and not money or fauor. We saw before many examples of the fruits of ambition, & we tast daily of some that are very bitter. The third cause that changeth and ouerturneth Estates and monarchies is injury, which hapneth whē they that are highest in authority, through too much insolency and pride offer wrong to the honour or person of their inferiors. A kingdome (saith the wise man) is translated from one nation to another through the iniustice, iniuries and contumelies offered by superiors. *Cyrus* the great reuelted from his grandfather *Astages*, ouercame him in battell, and translated the Monarchie of the Medes vnto the Persians, because of that iniurie which he offered vnto him, in casting him out into the fields as soon as he was borne, *Coriolanus* being vniustly banished his country, took armes, conquered a great part of the Roman dominion, and burned all to the gates of Rome, bringing their Estate to such an extremity, that it was ready to be destroyed, had not the women come towards him to pacifie him. *Childeric* king of France caused *Bodilus* to be whipped with rods, wherupon he slue him and his wife great with child. *Iustine* the third Emperor, was slaine by *Atelius* generall of his army, whose son he had murdered, & abused his wife to despite him therewith. Feare also is many times the cause of alteration & danger to a Common wealth, when guilty and conuicted persons moue sedition, and rebel against the Magistrates to preuent & auoid the punishment that is due to their faults. *Catiline* vrged with the consideration of his manifold wicked pranks, and with the feare of iudgement, conspired against his country, beeing assisted by *Lentulus*, *Cethegus* with many sacrilegious persons, murderers, adulterers, bankrupts, and other naughty liuers that stood in feare of iustice by reason of their misbehaviour. Neither may any man doubt but wicked men will rather trouble the Estate then stand in danger of their liues, or hazzard their goods. For besides the assurance which they haue conceiued to escape the iudgement of men by this means, they haue this further aduantage to fish in troubled waters: so that they are no lesse affraide of peace than of the plague, hauing in alleuents the same resolution before their eies that *Catiline* had, who saide that hee could not quench the fire begunne in his house, with water, and therefore would pull it downe and so quench it. This was one reason that mooued *Cesar* to lay holde of the estate, because his enemies threatned, that as soone as he was out of his offices they would cause him to giue an account how hee had discharged them. I would to God wee had not bought as deerely the same causes of our ciuil wars. Likewise too much authority and power both for wealth and friendship is dangerous in euery kinde of gouernment, so that great heede is to be taken that none grow to be vnmeasurable great. For men are subiect to corruption, neither can euery one sustaine wisely the prosperitie of fortune: which causeth them to seeke the alteration of popular and Aristocratical Common-wealths into Monarchies, and others to vsurpe kingdomes and Empires. This reason brought in the Ostracisme amongst the Athenians, which was a banishment for a time, wherby they brought downe them that seemed to exceede in greatnesse. This they vsed (as *Plutarke* rehearseth) against *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and other excellent men, fearing least their authoritie, credite, and goood will of all men, should procure them a kingly power with the change of their popular gouernment. Many kings and princes that had some of their friends and seruants too great, were themselves or their children ouerthrowne by them afterward. *Tiberius* making *Seian* too mightie; *Commodus*, *Perennius*; *Theodosius* the second, *Entrepinus*; *Iustinian*, *Bellisarius*; *Xerxes*, *Artaban*, were in danger of their estate. The vnmeasurable authoritie of the Maiors of the palace, and of the Constables, changed the crowne of France from the race of *Clouis* to that of *Charles Martell*: and vpon the same occasion it was afterwaerd taken from that line, and transferred to another.

another cause greatly to be feared in euery Estate and Monarchy, as that which oftentimes breedeth their change and ouerthrow. It is very dangerous in two considerations especiall first, when some are contemned and excluded from publike offices and dignities which they deserue, and yet see them wholly in the power and disposition of some particular men. Whereupon both one and the other are moued to sedition, the contemned persons through enuie and desire of reuenge; they that haue the great charges in their hands, through contempt of the others, whome they seeke vtterly to exclude, and to driue them further off from all publike honours and authorities. Secondly, contempt is very pernicious, when inferiours contemne their superiours. They are commonly despised that haue neither vertue, courage, nor fortitude, that are not able to profite themselves or others, that are not laborious, painefull, nor any manner of way carefull. Where contempt is, there no obedience is to be had. This maketh the sonne disobedient to the father, the wife to the husband, the learner to the teacher, the seruant to the master. The opinion of prudence, iustice, constancy, knowledge, goodnesse, modesty, and of other vertues, nourisheth and preserueth the obedience of subiects towards their princes, and the contrary vices prouoke them to rebellion. Therefore as policies prosper when they are gouerned by prudent, iust, constant, valiant, and moderate men: so they are troubled with seditions through the ignorance, cowardlinesse, and intemperancie of princes, or else when they are too familiar with their inferiours, or when they are suddenly lift vp from base estate, or seeme too aged, or too yong, or poore, or miserable, all which things breede contempt. Wherefore this is set downe as a good rule to preserue the estate of a Monarchie: *That the Prince must procure to himselfe loue, without the contempt or hatred of any, if it may be.* For the obtaining whereof, there is no better way, than the iust distribution of rewards. The princes and Lords of France, because they were contemned by king Lewes the 11. who had none about him, nor fauoured any but men of low and base estate, gaue him battle at Montlhery (whereof the battle hath ever since retained the name) to the great perill of the Estate, and danger of the kings life if hee had not appeased the indignation and fury of the saide Princes and Lords, by his great prudence and policy. Moreouer, too much increase and vnproportionable growth is one cause that procureth the change and ruine of Common wealths. For as the body is made and compounded of parts, and ought to grow by proportion, that it may keep a iust measure: so euery common wealth, beeing compounded of orders or Estates, as it were of parts, they must bee maintained in concord one with another, by equall and due proportion obserued betweene each of them. For if one estate bee aduanced too much aboue another, dissention ariseth. As long as the three orders and Estates at Rome, namely, the Senatours, the Knights, and the People, were carried proportionably, their policie flourished: but after they dealt one against another through enuie, ambition, and couetousnesse; diuisions, and part-takings began. This caused many to commend equality so much, calling it the nursing mother of peace and amity betweene subiects: and contrariwise inequality, the beginning of all enmities, factions, hatred, and part-taking. But seeing it is meete that in euery well established policy there should be a difference of rights and priuiledges betwixt euery estate, equality may continue, if carefull prouision be made, that one estate go not too much before the other. The impunity of offences is one cause also from whence seditions and ciuill wars proceede, yea it is a matter of very great weight, and yet men make least account thereof. Wee spake of it before, but wee must of necessity often rub vp the remembrance thereof, as the wise Hebrewe doth by repeating so many times that admonition, that *we should not be suretie for another*: not that hee forbiddeth charity towards the poore, but that none should be a meane to let the wicked escape, vnlesse he will beare the punishment himselfe. This is that word which God sent to king Achab, after he had saued the life of Benhadad king of Syria, that hee made himselfe a pledge for another man, by suffering the wicked to liue, and therefore that it should cost him his life. Hitherto wee haue seene how the couetousnesse of princes, the ambition, or desire of honour in private men, iniury, and reprocab, feare in the guilty, excessse of authority and wealth, contempt, ouer great increase, or aduancement without proportion: and lastly, impunity of offences, procure commonly seditions in Estates and monarchies. Besides al these, extreame pouerty and excessse of wealth, idlenesse, & want of feare of the forren enemy, as we haue elswhere declared, change of Princes & laws, too great licence to seditions, Orators & Preachers, the natural disposition of places where men are borne, which maketh the more inclined to comotions & seditions, as Historiographers haue noted of Genes, Florence, & Flanders, with many other things may be said to be causes of ciuill wars, of alterations,

Who are most
subiect to con-
tempt.
Contempt
breedeth diso-
bedience.

Causes that
mouue sub-
iects to con-
temne their
Princes.
A rule of e-
state

Lewes the 11.
fought withal
by his Nobles
because hee
contemned
them.

Ouer great
inequality be-
twene E-
states in a
common-
wealth is the
seuenth cause
of seditions.

Equality the
mother of
peace.
Impunity of
offences the
eighth cause of
seditions.
The meaning
of this precept
*Be not surety
for another.*
1. King. 20. 42
Other causes
of sedition.

Shame is some
time cause of
alteration of
Estates.

Negligence a
cause of
change.
Two sorts of
negligence.

Bishops neglecting their
charge to deale
in worldly af-
faires, bring
themselves in-
to contempt.
An Estate is
not changed
all at one time
but by little
and little.

Diffimilitude
a cause of
change.

Examples of
strangers that
haue excelled
naturall Citi-
zens out of
their townes.

The Inhabi-
tants of Gene-
ua conspired
against stran-
gers in their
citie.
Caluine haz-
arded his
life to appease
a tumult in
Geneua.
Exod. i. 16.

changes, and ruine of Estates and policies. Among which wee note that shame is sometime a cause of change in the government of Common wealths, but it is without tumult or sedition. Thus it fell out in Herea, a towne of Arcadia, which was governed popularly, where men of no account were elected Magistrates by others like themselves: whereupon being mocked, they changed their manner of election in choosing by lot; that so they might haue a more lawfull excuse. There was seene not long since in the Councel of France such a number of Masters of Requests, and of Secretaries of the treasure, that very shame caused them to bee sent away, because it was not meete to intreate of great and weighty matters before such a multitude. Negligence likewise breedeth the change & overthrow of a politike estate. There are two sorts of negligence, the one in those that call, choose: or receiue into any great office, such men as are vnworthy, and care not for their charges: or that suffer such persons to ascend to the chiefe places of Magistracy, that are enemies to that forme of Common wealth, as if the chiefe men in Berne should chooseth an Auoyer, which office is contrary to the manner of liuing: or if the Venetians should chooseth a Duke, or the Cardinals a Pope, that were not of their religion: or if the king of Fraunce should create a Constable or Chancellour, that liked not a Royall or Monarchicall Estate. The other kinde of negligence, which is much more common, is in them that are called to a dignity, office, or Magistracy, and shew themselves retchlesse in that administration and exercise: as we see that most Bishops and Prelates neglect the duty of their charges, to imploy or bestow their time in worldly affaires, for which cause they grow into mistaking and contempt. From hence haue proceeded great offences, and marueilous troubles, which may more easily bee lamented, than taken away, or reformed, being such abuses as haue taken deepe roote. Moreouer, the alteration of policy is bred by other meanes by little and little, as when through dissimulation or otherwise, men suffer some part, albeit neuer so little of the lawe or politike Estate to bee cut off. Changes seldome fall out all at one time, if they are not very violent, but for the most part goe one by little and little, as the seasons of the yeare slide away softly from great heates to hard frosts, and from the frost and cold of winter to the heat of sommer. A lingring feuer afflicteth the patient so easily, that hee hardly perceiueh himselfe therein, but if it be suffered to continue without redresse in due time, it will turne to a hefticke feuer, and so consequently become incurable. So fareth it with an Estate and policy, whose authority waxeth contemptible, and is lost by little and little, when men are negligent in preuenting the same in due time. Hee that will consider the alteration hapned in Fraunce within these thirty yeares, shall finde it to be very great, as well in regard of religions, as of manners and lawes, which neuertheless came by little and little, and so continueth stil, greatly threatening a change of the estate. Here therefore I will distinguish betweene the change of lawes, customs, religion, and place, which is properly but an alteration, and the change of an estate, which is when the soueraignty goeth from one into the power of another. Diffimilitude also is the cause many times of sedition, and of change in the common wealth, which commeth to passe when the inhabitants of a place are not of the same nation, but many strangers are receiued into it, who perceiuing themselves to bee the stronger part, haue many times thrust the naturall Citizens out of their townes: whereof Aristotle alleadgeth many examples that fel so out in the Graecians cities. At Sienna, at Genes, at Zurich, at Cullen, the strangers being multiplied, draue out the Lords of those places, & slue most of them, because they were overcharged with exactions, euill intreated, and excluded from bearing of offices. They of Lindauia slue the Lords of the country, and changed the Aristocracy into a popular estate: & so did the inhabitants of Strausborough, who hated the Nobility in such sort, that they would not suffer any of them to enioy the great Estates and publike charges, vnles hee proued that his grandfather was one of the baser sort of the people. These examples moue naturall Inhabitants many times to ouer run strangers when they see the number of them waxe ouer great amongst them. One example hereof wee may note in the city of Geneua, into which when many strangers, as well Frenchmen as others retired for religion, the naturall citizens could neuer brookethem, although they were profitable to the city, making it rich and populous, whereas before it was poore, and small inhabited: but conspired many times to driue them out, as namely that conspiracy of one Perin, in the yeere 1556. which began to be put in execution, when Caluine ran into the midst of their naked swords to appease the tumult, as Beza writeth in his life. The same feare moued Pharaos, when he saw the Hebrews increase ouer fast amongst his subiects, to decree, that the Midwives should from that time forward, kill the male children at their birth. Now in receiuing

receiuing of strangers, regard must be had to the number, that it bee not ouer great, and that their authoritie be not vnmeasurable. For otherwise it is necessary for trafficke sake, and for many other publike commodities, that some be receiued of others. Many other kindes of dissimilitude are found in Common-wealths, as dissimilitude of linage betweene the Nobility and Common people: of offices, betweene Iudges, Treasures, Souldiers, Priests: of professions, betweene Lawyers, Physitions, Diuines, and Philosophers: of occupations, betweene Bakers, Butchers, Shoemakers, Painters, Smiths, Carpenters: without which dissimilitudes no Common wealth can consist. Therefore they are not to be taken quite away, but onely the disorder that groweth amongst them, that so they may be reduced to a conuenient agreement, like to that which is betweene the diuers parts that are in the constitution of the world and of man. We may also call a dissimilitude, that difference which is of religions, as of the Iewes, Christians, Mahometists, Caphrants, Armenians, Gracians, Latines, Iacobites, Ethiopians: then betweene the Christians themselues, as Catholikes, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists. Many haue said, and are yet of this opinion, that the chiefe cause of ciuill warres in France, proceedeth from this diuersity of religion. And to say truth, there is nothing that carieth men away with such vehement passions, as zeale of religion, for which they fight more willingly than for their liues, goods, wiues, and children. Through the diuersity hereof they that are nearest of kinne loose their naturall loue, they that are of the same countrey and language persecute one another as mortall enemies, and sundry nations abhorre one another for the same. These things are too well knowne amongst vs to require proofes thereof. And truly in respect of sedition and tumult, nothing is more dangerous, than for subiects to be diuided in opinion, whether it be in matters of estate, or of lawes and customes, or for religion. For if they be of diuers opinions, some labour for peace, and seeke to make others agree vnto it, who will neuer agree amongst themselues. And in truth it is a very hard matter to maintaine publike exercises of any religion whatsoever, when it is contrary to the religion of the people, or of the most of them, who many times cannot be kept within compasse neither by lawes nor Magistrates, vnlesse the force appointed to keepe them in bee very great. For wee saw that *Thomas* Emperour of Constantinople was cruelly slaine by the people amidst a great congregation in the Church, because he went about to pull downe Images. But I am of this opinion (yet ready to yeeld a better iudgement) that if men were honest and vpright, and walked in their calling, holily, they would neuer fight among themselues for religion. And if there had beene no other cause mingled therewith in our ciuill warres, we should not haue had experience of those miseries which daily ouerwhelme vs. The authoritie of a holy and free councill may by the grace of God ende all these dissensions: in the meane time let euery one seeke by good life and amendment of manners, to serue for a light to those that are out of the way, laying aside all part-taking, forgetting all iniuries, and taking vp againe our first vnity, concord, and friendship. Yeal doubt not, but that a Prince embracing with a true zeale the opinion of his religion, and neglecting the contrary, would abolish it without force or constraint, if God maintaine it not. For the minds of men resolu'd in a religion, are more confirmed therein if they bee resisted, but shrinke of themselves if compulsion be not vsed. Now for the end and conclusion of our discourse, laying apart the causes of seditions and ciuill wars, which bring alteration, and overthrow many times to Estates and Monarchies, whereof we haue particularly intreated, we will here comprehend, and reduce to a certaine number the causes of the changes of all common-wealths: namely, when the posterity of Princes faileth, and the greatest amongst them enter into ciuill warre for the Estate: when most of the subiects are extreame poore, and a few exceeding rich: when the diuision of offices and honors are vnequall: or else through extreame ambition and desire of commanding: through the reuenge of iniuries: through the cruelty and oppression of tyrants: through the feare of chastisement, which some haue that deserue it through the change of lawes and religion: through the greedy desire that some haue to enioy at will those pleasures which they seeke after: lastly, through the expulsion of such as defile the places of honour with excessive and beastly pleasures. All these things breed the change, corruption, and finall overthrow of flourishing Estates, and great Monarchies, and therefore all Princes, Gouvernors, & publike Rulers, ought carefully to looke vnto them.

Diuers kinds
of dissimili-
tudes in com-
mon-wealths.

Whether di-
uersity of reli-
gion be a
cause of ciuill
warre.

Diuersity of
opinion a-
mong sub-
iects dange-
rous in an
Estate.

Thomas Em-
perour of
Constantino-
ple slaine for
pulling downe
of Images.

The causes
that breed the
change of all
common-
wealths.

The ende of the sixteenth daies worke.

The seuenteenth daies worke.

*Of the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, and of remedies
to keepe them from sedition. Chap. 65.*

Why Wise-
dome is giuen
of God.

A SER. B



Wisd. 6. 21.
The praise of
wisdom.

Contrary
causes bring
forth contra-
ry effects.

Prou. 27. 20.

Choice cu-
stomes of se-
uen flouri-
shing Estates.

Wisdom (saith *Lactantius*) is giuen of God to all men, that every one according to his ability and capacitie might seeke after things vnkowne, and examine that which he knoweth. And we must not thinke, that such as haue gone before vs many yeares and ages, did so possesse and vse her, that shee is now lesse forceable in vs. She cannot be wholly possessed no more than the light of the Sunne: and as the Sunne is the light of our eies, so is wisdom the light of mans heart. If your delight then (saith the Wise man) be in thrones and scepters, O kings of the people, honor wisdom, that ye may reigne for euer. Truly she is necessarie provision for them that would reigne, that they may doe it worthily, and safely maintaine their estate: yea she is no lesse requisite in every calling. For she illuminateth and sharpeneth the discourse of reason by the knowledge of things, she ruleth and conducteth the will to that which is the true and onely Good. Therefore seeing that wisdom, which is as much to say in regard of vs, as the searching out of the truth, is both offered, and needfull for all men, every one ought to be stirred vp to embrace it with a burning zeale and affection, that he may bring forth the fruites of perfect charitie, by applying it (next after the seruice of God) to the common profit of men. Which thing, seeing it hath prouoked our yong and vnexperienced yeares to vtter our former Morall and Politicall discourses, and to handle yesterday the causes that breede change and ruine to Estates and Monarchies; although such high matters surpasse the capacitie of our vnderstanding, yet let vs (my companions) follow with the same zeale our venturous enterprise, and as we haue profited in the schoole of this selfe same wisdom, let vs enter into the consideration of those meanes and remedies that are contrarie to the causes of corruption in policies and that may serue to their preservation. Albeit they may be knowne by the same causes that corrupt them, seeing contrarie effects proceed from contrary causes, and corruption is contrary to preservation. But the vnderstanding of this matter will be more cleare and profitable hereby, to them that will take the benefit thereof.

A M A N A. If all callings were content with their owne fortune and goods, if they would abstaine from other mens goods, and from offering them wrong, if they would be more intentive to amend their owne life, than to reprehend others, and submit themselves willingly to the obedience of their Magistrates, lawes, and ordinances, I thinke it would be a meane to cause every monarchie to flourish and to continue happy a long time.

A R A M. Equalitie (saith *Solon*) neuer breedeth sedition in the government of a Commonwealth, but is the nurling mother of peace and concord, and the maintainer of loue, whereby the vnity of his subiects is preserved. But as the grane and destruction are neuer glutted, (according to the saying of the Wise man) so mens eies are neuer satisfied. But the discourse of this matter here propounded belongeth to thee A C H I O T B.

A C H I O T B. That great louer of knowledge and vertue, *Ptolemy* king of Egypt, as he feasted one day seauen Embassadors of the best and most flourishing Commonwealths in his time, reasoned with them about their governments, that he might know which of them had the best policie, and was furnished with the best lawes & most commendable customes. The disputation was long, and the matter thoroughly debated among them with many reasons. But *Ptolemy* being desirous to be instructed by them in the best and rarest points, necessarie for the preservation of an Estate, prayed them to propound every one three of those customes and lawes that were most perfect in his Commonwealth. The Embassador of the Romanes beganne, and said: *Wee haue the Temples in great respect and reuerence: wee are verie obedient to our gouernours: and wee punish wicked men and euill liuers senerely.* The Carthaginian Embassador said: *In the Commonwealth of Carthage, the Nobles neuer cease fighting, nor the Common people and Artificers labouring, nor the Philosophers teaching.* The Sicilian Embassador said: *In our Commonwealth iustice is exactly kept, merchandise exercised with* truth.

truth, and all men account themselves equal. The Rhodian said: At Rhodes old men are honest, young men shamefast, and women solitarie, and of few words. The Athenian said: In our Commonwealth rich men are not suffered to be divided into factions, nor poore men to be idle, nor the gouernours to be ignorant. The Lacedæmonian said: In Sparta enuie reigneth not, for all are equal; nor covetousnesse, for all goods are common; nor sloth, for all labour. In our Commonwealth (said the Embassadour of the Sicyonians) voyages are not permitted, that they should not bring home new fashions at their retorne: Physitions are not suffered, least they should kill the scound: nor Orators to take vpon them the defence of causes and suites. If all these good customes were ioyntly kept in any one Estate, I doubt not but the greatnesse of it might be continued long, and all causes of sedition cut off. But to speake more plainly and particularly, and to handle the preseruatiō of Monarchies and Commonwealths, with the remedies that keepe them from sedition, I say first that Horace, that most learned Poet, had reason to begin his Satyres or profitable speeches with those men that are neuer contented, considering that the discontentment of mortall men is the fountaine and spring of all vices. For I pray you, what vice is not grounded vpon an vn-satiabie desire of hauing, as may appeare in all them that cannot content themselves with their present Estate, nor appoint an ende in that which they haue, but place it alwaies in that which they would haue. Couetousnesse committeth robberies, executeth murders, exerciseth spoyling, causeth battles, breedeth schismes, hindreth reformation, and the generall Councell, cloketh abuses, nourisheth ignorance, asketh iniustly, receiueth dishonestly, dissolueth bargaines, breaketh faith, peruerteth iudgements, and to conclude, it overturneth and confoundeth all right, both diuine and humane. Therefore couetousnesse is very fitly called an vnquenchable fire, an vn-satiabie desire, a bottomlesse gulfe. So that the contentation both of soueraigne Magistrates, and of such as are vnderneath them, and their moderate affections whereby they seeke to inuade and possesse other mens right, nor to heape vp treasures and riches, but direct their leuell to common profit onely, to gouerne prudently, and to order as it becommerh them whatsoeuer is vnder their authoritie: this I say, is a strong bonde to keepe every Commonwealth in a flourishing estate, and an vnconquerable bulwarke against all sedition. Many Princes being desirous to extend their limits vniustly, and to conquer new estates, haue oftentimes lost or diminished their owne dominion, besides the burdensome calamities, which they haue brought vpon their people. And when they haue placed vnder them couetous Gouernours and Magistrates, that were slaues to their purses, the ruine, or great trouble at least of their Estates followed after. Therefore Iethro said to Moses: Provide thou among all the people, men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truly, hating couetousnesse: and appoint such ouer them to bee Rulers ouer thousands, ouer hundreds, ouer fifties ouer tentes, to iudge the people at all times. Tiberius Nero knowing that his subiects were naturally giuen to tender greatly their owne profite, would not send any to succede (as the custome was before) and to take the place of the Gouernours and Lieutenants of his Prouinces, vntill the other were dead. For (said hee) when they perceiue that they draw neere the end of their office, they double their polling, and a new Gouernour doth as much: whereas otherwise, when they are once full gorged and satisfied, they are at the least occasioned thereby to cease from rauening, and to ease their people: namely, when they know that they shall alwaies enioy their power and authoritie. The custome that Aurelius Seuerus vsed, is much more praise woorthy. For when he sent Gouernours into the prouinces, hee caused their names to bee published many daies before, to the ende that whosoever knew any thing in them woorthy of reprehension, he should giue notice therof: and they that reported truly, were promoted to honor by him and slanderers grieuously punished. Hee gaue to all Magistrates golde, silver, seruants, and all necessary things, yea Concubines also, to the ende that in their charges they should not bee constrained by necessity to commit iniustice, or to extort vpon the people. Moreover, the modesty of Magistrates in commanding, serueth for a good remedy to retaine their subiects within their duty, especially, if to bring them forward the better, they adde to their commandements gentle perswasions grounded vpon liuely reasons, and holy admonitions, whereby they seeme willing rather to instruct their people, than by force to compell them to obedience. Thou shalt gouerne thy kingdome very well (saide one of the interpreters of Ptolemy) if imitating the gentlenesse of God in all things, thou vseth patience and long suffering. This is also one point that greatlie stayeth the alteration and chaunge of Commonwealths, when both great and small are contented with that Estate whereunto they are called, and are not carried awaie with ambition, to desire higher degrees

Discontentment is the spring of all vices. The effects of couetousnes.

The contented minde of Magistrates is the first meane to preserue an estate

Exod. 18. 21.

Why Tiberius would not change his Lieutenants.

A notable custome vsed by Seuerus in making vnder-gouernours

The second meane to preserue an Estate

Of whom a prince holdeth his sovereignty. Subjects compared to a set of counters. The fourth meane. Magistrates must be punished as well as the common people. Aristotle misliked perpetuall Magistrates

General commissioners requisite in a Monarchy. The fifth meane.

Delay in punishing the wicked is dangerous. The sixth meane.

Geometrical proportion ought to be obserued in Commonwealths.

Vpon what men publike charges are to be bestowed.

Two sorts of equality.

The seventh meane.

The eighth.

The beginning of euils must be staid.

degrees of honour than their condition requireth. Againe, they ought not to respect their owne valure and desert so much, as to thinke that great Estates and honours are a due and necessary reward for their vertue: and that vpon their deniall, they haue iust cause to make some commotion in the Common wealth. But let them rather consider that the prince holdeth his soueraignty of God, and of the auncient lawes of the Estate: and that all his subjects in respect of him are but as a set of Counters, whereof hee maketh one to be one in value now, then to stand for a thousand, by and by for a hundred thousand, and afterward for nothing. If we haue lesse fauour and grace, we shall bee lesse enuied, which alwaies taketh hold of the greatest. Exact and precise obseruation of iustice is no lesse necessary for the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, as we haue elsewhere discoursed: and it ought to bee exercised not onely vpon the simple people, but also vpon Magistrates when they abuse their calling and dignitie. For when their faults are vnpunished and winked at to the oppression of the meaner sort, they are easily induced to murmore and to moue sedition. *Aristotle* approoued not this custom in Lacedemonia, that the power of the Senators was perpetuall during their life, and that they were exempted from correction, and from yeelding an account of their dooings: because (as he said) to appoint perpetuall Magistrates, is to kindle the fire of sedition in the Common wealth. But this is contrary to the opinion of *Plato*, and of many Politicks, albeit there is no want of arguments and excellent reasons, as well on their side who would haue Magistrates annuall, as on theirs that would haue them perpetual. But as contrary Estates ought to be governed by contrary means, so it is necessary that in a Monarchy some offices should be perpetuall, and other mutable. And if need be, generall Commissioners may be appointed, as it was practised in the time of *Lewes* the ninth, and of *Philip* the Faire. To this purpose *Buda* complaineth, because the Commissioners, had no authority ouer the Magistrates of France, especially ouer the Parliaments, as also because they were not perpetuall. Hee maketh a goodly discourse of them, and sheweth what manner of men ought to bee chosen thereunto. The speedy punishment of wicked and condemned persons, all delay set aside, is a good remedy to preserve policies. For when they see that for their offences and mischievous dealings they are daily taken, and examined, put to torture, condemned and executed, according to their deserts: if before their execution they haue any leasure and respite through the negligence of Magistrates, they seeke by all meanes to moue sedition and trouble in the Common wealth, hoping thereby to saue their liues, and to auoide that punishment vnto which their consciences iudge them to be indebted. The equall proportion and measure of all and euery particular part in a Politike body, according to the degrees of callings and persons, is necessary for the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, that there may bee equality not of things, but of proportions, and that degrees may bee kept. As for example, albeit the diuine Lawyer, Captaine, Counsellor, Treasurer, differ one from another, yet they must of necessity agree, and be made equall, not in their calling, but by like proportion, that euery one may execute his office without the hinderance of another. Therefore *Plato* said, that the publike estate is in a good case, if it be instituted according to Geometrical proportion, and all benefits bestowed accordingly. If the King giue the office of Chancellorship to a wise and learned man that loueth iustice and publike quietnesse: the office of Constables, or of the Marshallship of Fraunce, to good Captaines and such as are experienced in State affaires: the government of the Church to a Diuine of good life and manners, and one that is well skild in Ecclesiasticall government: the office of iustice to an honest Lawyer: the keeping of the treasure to a Treasurer of an vpright conscience. Then if euery one keepe his owne place, and performeth his duty without incroching vpon another, or hindering of him to the end that publike conueniency and agreement may not bee troubled, this order will make an equalitie betweene vnlike persons. For we finde two sorts of equality namely, equalitie of quantity, and of proportion. Equality of quantity is requisite in commutative iustice, that euery one may take as much as he ought. Equality of proportion is requisite in distributive iustice, and in rewarding men according to their desert. This equalitie (saith *Plato*) giueth the greatest honors to them that excell most in vertue, and the lesser places of dignity to such as are inferiour in vertue and learning, distributing to both that which belongeth vnto them by reason. Besides, the meanes alledged already by vs for the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, *Aristotle* setteth downe these that follow. Let nothing (saith he) bee done against the lawes and customes, which, as before we discoursed, are the chaines and bonds of all Empires, Powers, and Common wealth. Let remedy be vsed against the beginning of an euill

equill, how small soeuer it bee. For oftentimes of a small occasion, as it were of one sparkle, a great fire of troubles is kindled in the Common-wealth. And as great stormes and tempests proceede from exhalations and vapours that are not seene: so seditions and ciuill warres begin for the most part of very light matters, which a man would neuer thinke should haue such an issue. Let no credit be giuen to crafty and subtil devices, inuented to deceiue common-wealths withall. These are meanes commonly practised by forraine and domestickall enemies to Estates, who thereby disguise the truth of matter: whereof we haue had good experience in France, when in the Councell of our Princes information hath bene giuen cleane contrary to the truth: insomuch that we haue felt the cruell hand of strangers before euer we would haue beleued that they had taken horse in their owne countrey. And therefore among such nourishers of our miseries, this prouerbe is rise: *That a lye is alwaies good how little a while sooner it bee beleued.* Let those that are placed in the offices of Magistracie, be haue themselves modestly both towards those that deale not at all in publike affaires and towards them that meddle therewith: offering no iniury to the one sort, and liuing friendly with the other. Let them that are to care for the safety of the Estate, watch alwaies, and stand vpon their guard, and oftentimes propound causes of feare, to make the subiects more attentiu and heedfull to that which they should doe. Let there be no contentions or quarrels betweene the Nobles, and let others bee preuented that are not yet ioyned to those dissensions before they enter into them. This is the chiefe thing at this day, whereunto our Kings and Princes ought especially to looke. For amongst their traines there is nothing but leagues and part-takings, from which nothing will proceed in the end but trouble and hurt to their Estate. Therefore they must take away all occasions of hatred and quarrelling, and remooue such farre from their court that loue contentions: because that as quarrellers of themselves tarry not long in seruice, so by their meanes princes loose other good seruants. And if they will not, or are afraid to put them from the Court, at leastwise let them take knowledge of all their enmities, factions, and discontentments that are amongst them & labour to ende them, not in outward shew onely, but by some good effect. Let them content such as are not well pleased, if they can iustly do it: let them grant meanes of safety to them that say they haue cause to distrust others: and let them reconcile professed enemies. But aboue all things let not the prince make himselfe a party in the contentions of his subiects, if the occasion of their strife be not grounded vpon the Estate. For in stead of keeping to himselfe the place of soveraigne Iudge, he shall bee onely the chiefe of a faction, and so bring his estate and life into danger. The punishment of rebels is one meane also to preferue estates and Common-wealths, and to preuent seditions, wherby they are altered and changed. But regard must be had (according to the counsell of *Hypocrates*) that medicines be not applied to incurable diseases. For when all the people, or the most of them are culpable, to punish all, is as much as to overthrow the Common-wealth. It is also a good meane and most vsuall for the auoiding of seditions, to take from the people their armour, and to haue fortresses fenced and furnished with all things necessary for them. For the neglecting of this giueth occasion to troublesome heads and to such as desire nouelties to execute their wicked purposes, and to trouble the estate: and the liberty of armour maketh them more fierce and insolent therein. Moreouer wee may comprehend that which is requisite and necessarie for the preferuation of every good Common-wealth, vnder five things: namely, let it be loued faithfully, defended manfully, adorned with nobility, ordred profitably, and gouerned prudently. It is naturally ingrafted into every living creature, to loue that place where it tooke beginning. The sauage beasts (saith *Cassiodorus*) loue woods and Forrests: birds loue the aire: fishes the sea and riuers: men loue the originall place of their birth and being: in a word, both men and beasts loue those places where they purpose and to liue continue long. He that is more in loue (saith *Aristotle*) with his priuate profite, than with publike wealth, looseth the name of a good citizen, and taketh vnto him the name of a wicked subiect. Therefore every one both great and small ought to dedicate all good gifts in them to the benefit of their countrey, louing their fellow subiects, and exercising their charges and callings faithfully. It is their duty also manfully to defend the Common-wealth against all forraine incursions: and hee that defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe and his. He that refuseth to die (as *Cicero* saith) in the defence of his countrey, dieth together with it: which being ouerthrowne, the inhabitants are therewithall destroyed. No man therefore ought to feare danger in defence of his countrey: and it is better to die for many, than with many. They that die (saith *Iustinian* the Emperor) in the defence of their Common-wealth, liue alwaies by glory. Therefore enery

The ninth.

The tenth.

The eleuenth.

The twelfth.

Contentious persons must be remooued from the Court.

Princes must labour by all meanes to end the contentions of their subiects.

They must not be parties in their subiects quarrels.

The thirteenth.

The fourteenth.

Five necessary things for the preferuation of every common-wealth.

All living creatures loue the place of their birth.

It is the duty of every subiect to defend his countrey.

one

The nobility
is the orna-
ment of a
Common-
wealth.

Of the law
prosapia.

To whom the
defence of a
countrie chie-
fly belongeth

VVhat order
is.

The ende of
order.

VVhat go-
uernment is.

Ignorance is
no sufficient
excuse for a
magistrate.

What pru-
dence is.

What Christi-
tian Empire
is.

one ought to arme himselfe with manhood, which is one kinde of heroical fortitude, as the morall Philosophers say that he may be seruiceable for the safegard of his countrie in time of neede, and of a iust war. The Nobilitie is the ornament of euery Common-wealth. For commonly the Nobles are of greater abilitie, of better behauiour and more ciuill than the common people, than artificers, and men of base estate, because they haue beene brought vp from their infancie in all ciuility and amongst men of honour. Moreouer, to haue a noble heart and invincible to resist the enemy, great to exercise liberality, courteousnesse and honest in talke, bolde to execute, gentle to forgiue, are graces and vertues proceeding from honesty, which are not so commonly found among men of base condition, as among those that come of good and ancient stockes. For this cause there was in Rome a law called *Prosapia*, that is to say, the law of linage, whereby it was ordained, that they which descended from the race of the *Fuluians*, *Torquates*, and *Fabritians*, should haue the Consulship, when it so fell out, that the Senate disagreed about the election of Consuls. In like manner they that came of *Lycurgus* in Lacedæmon, of *Cato* in Vtica, of *Thucydides* in Galatia, were not onely priuiledged in their owne Provinces, but also greatly honoured of all nations. The defence and preseruatiō of the countrie belongeth chiefly to the Nobles, as they that haue greater vse and practise of weapons, than the common people haue, whome God and nature hath subiected to them, that they should bee their defendours and protectours. In this sort then is the common-wealth decked and adorned of the nobilitie, and by their meanes honoured of neighbour friends, and feared of her enemies. Next it must be ordered profitably. Where no order is, there is all confusion. And therefore as a good father of a familie taketh order in his house, and a Pilot in his ship: so the magistrate must appoint an order in his city and common-wealth. For all communitie is confusion, if by order it bee not brought to vnity. Order is the due disposition of all things. The order of the heauens, times, and seasons teacheth vs among other things the wisdom of the Creator, who hath appointed all diuine, celestiall and earthly things by a wonderfull disposition. Neither doth any thing make Magistrates of commonwealths more admired and commended, than the good order which they establish in them. The ende of all good order tendeth to profite, as the ende of confusion to losse and destruction. And if profit be to be considered in any thing, it is chiefly to bee thought vpon in a politike body, *The more common and generall a good thing is (saith Aristotle) the more it is to bee esteemed aboue another.* Therefore if it bee a good thing and commendable to appoint a profitable order in a house or ship: it is a great deale better, yea most excellent, to order a Commonwealth profitably. Last of all, a Commonwealth must bee gouerned prudently. Gouernment presupposeth order, because no man can rightly and duly gouerne without order. Gouernment is a right disposition of those things of which a man taketh charge vpon him to bring vpon them to a conuenient ende. Euery Monarch Emperor, King, Prince, Lord, Magistrate, Prelate, Iudge and such like, may bee called a Gouernour: in whome wisdom, patience, and diligence, are necessarily required for the discharge of their duties. Neither may ignorance or any error be receiued for sufficient excuse of him that hath taken vpon him a publike charge, and much lesse if he required and fought for it himselfe. Yea he may bee charged with the least fault, especially when it concerneth the Estate, or some greate matter wherein the Commonwealth hath interest. For this cause wee said, that the Commonwealth must be gouerned with Prudence. But Prudence (saith *Aristotle*) presupposeth wisdom, and the right reason of things that are to bee done. Without Prudence (saith *Xenophon*) wee can haue no vse at all of vertue. For in the administration either of priuate or publike matters, we can come to no good ende, without the direction of Prudence, which teacheth vs to prouide for all things to come, to order things present, and to call to minde things past. We haue hertofore discoursed more at large both of that vertue, and also of others requisite in euery Magistrate for the faithfull execution of his charge. Whereunto we will adde this thing onely, that euery gouernour must remember, that Lordship, Empire, kingdome, maiestie, dominion and power are rather heathen than Christian words: & that the Empire of a Christian prince is nothing else but a iust administration, protection and meane to doe good. Therefore when he beholdeth an innumerable multitude of his subiects, he is to thinke that so many millions of men depende of his carefulnesse, not to doe with them what pleaseth him, but to labour and trauell to make them better than when hee receiued them. And in all things wherein the safety of the Commonwealth consisteth, whether it bee in preventing the causes of change therein, or in redressing seditions which trouble it, hee must alwaies resolute with himselfe to bring

his

his purpose to passe, how difficult soeuer the way be, releasing rather somewhat of the extremity of right, (as *Lucius Papinius* said) seeing the quietnes and safety of the people is the chiefest, and most vpright law among men that can be. So that when the Common wealth is in danger or in necessity, we must freely bestow vpon that blood and name, which is common to vs with all the members of the politike body, whatsoeuer cannot be kept backe without violating that common kindred, and the Estate of the Common wealth. So that if he hinder pulike benefite, and hurt the Estate, it is not to be called right any longer, as *Appius Claudius* saide, speaking of the authority of the Tribunes among the people of Rome. And it is a point of true and naturall prudence sometime to giue place to the times, But to necessity alwaies. A good Pilot neuer opposeth himselfe willfully against a tempest, but striketh saile and keepeth himselfe still: then weighing his anchors, he floteth safely vpon the waves, which not long before were swollen and lift vp to drowne him. If a man strue against a tempest and against heauen, doth he not euen blindfolde cast himselfe downe headlong, and as it were desperately seeke his owne destruction? Now if all these things hitherto mentioned by vs be diligently obserued, there is no doubt (God prospering all) but that the preservation of Estates and Monarchies, with good remedies to keepe them from trouble and sedition will follow after.

We must spare
no cost to
help the com-
mon wealth.

Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the Dissimilitude or vnlike callings of subiects, by reason of the dutie and office of euery estate. Chap. 66.

A CHI-TOB. **VV**E saw before (my Companions) that a citie or ciuill company is nothing else but a multitude of men vnlike in estates or conditions, which communicate together in one place their artes, occupations, workes and exercises, that they may liue the better, and are obedient to the same lawes and magistrates. We learned also, that of such a dissimilitude and harmonie agreement ariseth by due proportion of one towards another in their diuers orders and estates, euen as the harmonie in musick consisteth of vnequall voices or sounds agreeing equally together. I am of opinion therefore, that to prouoke euery one particularly to seeke after and to practise this apt agreement, we are to consider severally of all the principall parts that are in a politike body well ordered, and to handle the seuerall duty and office of euery one of them, But I leaue this discourse of this matter to you.

A SER. As there is but one Lord, one faith, one Baptisme, one God and father of all, which is aboue all and through all, and in vs all: so all that beleue in him ought to be one, and to haue but one heart and one soule, euery one referring his gifts and graces to the exercise of perfect charity.

Eph. 4. 5. 6.

A MANA. O how happy a thing is it to see one flocke guided vnder one God and one king in one religion and policy. Although they be many members: yet they make but one body, of which euery one hath a like care. But let vs heare **ARAM** discourse at large vpon that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. As we see that in the body of this vniuersall frame, there is (as the Philosophers say) matter, forme, priuation, simplicity, mixture, substance, quantity, action, and passion, and that the whole world being compounded of vnlike elements, of earth, water, ayre, and fire, is notwithstanding preferred by Analogie and proportion, which they haue together: and as we see in a mans body, head, hands, feete, eies, nose, eares, in a house, the husband, wife, children, master seruants: in a politike body, Magistrates, Nobles, Common people, artificers: and that euery body mingled with heate, colde, drie and moist, is preferred by the same reason of analogie and proportion which they haue together: So it is in euery Common-wealth, well appointed and ordered. which consisteth of many and sundry subiects, is maintained by their vnitie, being brought to bee of one consent and will, and to communicate their workes, artes, and exercises together for common beenefite and profit. For euery one is best in his owne art, neither can all men do all things. And if it bee a very harde matter to be excellent in any one vocation, it is impossible to excell in all, and to exercise them duly. Now we may say that fixe things are necessarily required to frame a happy city & ciuill society, namely, sacrifices, iudgments, armes, riches artes, & aliments, vnto which fixe

All things
stand by pro-
portion.

Sixe sundry
callings of
men necessa-
ry in euery
good com-
mon wealth.

No nation but
adoreth some
diuinity.

The sacrifices
of Christians
Three sorts
of sacrifices.

Of priestes
and pastours.

Wherein the
office of true
pastors con-
sisteth.

Esa. 56. 10. 11
Against dumb
dogs & coue-
tous sheepe-
heards.

Tit. 1. 7. S. 9.
The qualities
of a good Pa-
stour.

1. Pet. 5. 2. 3.

Vices to bee
a voided in a
Pastor.

The duty of a
good magi-
strate consist-
eth in foure
things.
Iustice distri-
buted into se-
uen parts.

Of armes &
of the necessi-
ty of them.
What nobility
is.

things & works, sixe sorts of men are answerable, Pastors, magistrats, nobles, burgeses, artificers, and husbandmen. Therefore to begin the particular handling of the duty and office of these callings, and that as briefly as I can, we are first to note, that neuer any nation in all the world was so barbarous, or so far estranged from ciuility, that did not acknowledge & adore some diuine nature, and vse some kind of sacrifices, and so consequently that had not some priests to exercise them, and some proper ceremonies. *Aristotle* in his *Politiques* saith expressly that it is a necessary thing to haue priests in every city, to take care of the worshipp of the gods and of sacrifices. Every worke that we do (saith *Augustine*) to be ioyned neerer to God by a holy society, is a sacrifice. There are three general sorts of sacrifices: the first is the sacrifice of the soule, which we offer to God by contritiō, deuotion, contēplation & prayer, the second is of the body, which we offer to God by fasting, abstinence, or by suffering martyrdom to maintaine his law, iustice, & truih. The third sacrifice is of outward goods, when wee offer them vnto him in the works of charity according to his holy ordinance. So that if sacrifices & priests alwaies tooke place among the Barbarians, much more careful ought they to be to maintain this diuine mystery, that adore & perfectly know God. And as men haue liued vnder 3. lawes, the law of nature, the written law, & the law of Grace, so there were sacrifices & priests vnder every one of them. *Melchisedech* liued vnder the law of nature, *Aaron* vnder the written law, and vnder the law of Grace, vnder which we liue at this present, *Iesus Christ* that great and eternal Priest and sacrificer, who hath offered himselfe a sacrifice for our redemption, and hath left vs his disciples and Apostles & their successors to be our Pastors in the guiding of our soules vnder his testament & new couenant, which is the infallible rule of his holy and iust wil. Therefore let them that boast, that they are called of God to such an excellent charge, looke to discharge themselves faithfully, by teaching the truth, & leading a life agreeable to their doctrine. Otherwise if they sit in the chaire of pestilence (as *Dauid* speaketh) let them looke for an horrible iudgement of God vpon their soules, when he shall say vnto the by way of reproach, that in this world they sate in their pontificall seates, as the Scribes and Pharisees did long since in the chaire of *Moses*. Their watchmen (saith *Esaie* speaking of euill Pastours) are al blind, they haue no knowledge, they are dumb dogs: they cannot barked; they lie & sleepe, & delight in sleeping. These greedy dogs can neuer haue enough, & these sheepeheards canot vnderstand, for they all looke to their owne way, every one for his aduantage, and for his own purpose. But contrariwise, A pastor (saith *Saint Paule*) must bee vnreproachable, as Gods steward, not froward, not angry, not giuen to wine, no striker, not giuen to filthy lucre, but harberous, one that loueth goodnesse: wise, righteous, holy temperate, holding fast the faithfull word according to doctrine, that he also may bee able to exhort with wholesome doctrine, and improoue them that say against it. Feed the flocke of Christ, which dependeth vpon you (saith *Saint Peter*) caring not for it by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind: not as though ye were lords ouer Gods heritage, but that yee may bee enamples to the flocke. Therefore if Pastors preach the Gospel, giue example of good life by their workes, fight against the enemies of the truth with the weapons of charitie, praier, perswasions, testimonies of the holy Scripture: if they remooue from them couetousnesse, pride, dissolutenes, and superfluitie of expences, and walke in this sort in their vocation, the first place of honor is due to them amongst men, and a greater and vspeakeable prepared for them in heauen. The second thing that is necessarie in every Common-wealth and citie, are iudgements, and consequently magistrats to execute them. But because we discoursed at large of this matter before, wee will not stand long vpon it, but comprehend in few words the whole duty and office of a good Magistrate, which consisteth in foure things: in taking nothing vniustly from any body, in giuing to every one his owne, in despising his owne profite, and in preserving publike profite. He performeth these duties perfectly by the distribution of iustice into seuen parts: By procuring that God may be worshipped, that reuerence bee giuen to superiours, that concord bee amongst equals, that discipline bee used towards inferiours, patience towards enemies, mercy towards the poore, and that integrity of life proceede from himselfe. Now let vs consider of Armes, and of Nobles. Armes (as *Varro* saith) are all warlike instruments, seruing both to set vpon our enemies, and to defend our selues from their assaults and enterprises. They are necessary in a Common-wealth and citie for these three causes, to resist the outward force of enemies, and to keepe them in feare: to repress naughtie citizens, both by compelling them to obey magistrats and lawes, and by punishing the guilty: and last of all, to defend the libertie of subiects. The exercise and vse of armes, warres and battels, bath from all antiquitie beene committed to the Noble men. Nobilitie (as *Aristotle* saith) is a glittering excellencie proceeding from ancestours, and an honour that commeth from an auncient lineage

linage and stocke, Or according (to *Bortius Senerinus*) Nobilitie: is a praise that proceedeth from the deserts of our Elders, and forefathers. Many make three kindes of Nobility one that is bred of vertue and of excellent deeds: the second that proceedeth from the knowledge of honest disciplines and true sciences, and the third that commeth from the scutcheions and Armes of our auncestours, or from riches. But to speake truly, there is no right Nobilitie, but that which springeth of vertue, and good conditions. For as hee is a theefe that stealeth, and hee vniust that doth vniustly: so hee is a base and vile person, that dealeth villanously. Hee boasteth in vaine of his great linage, and seeketh to bee esteemed for the nobilitie and vertue of his auncestours, that hath no goodnesse in him, nor commendable qualitie of his owne to ioyne with those of his predeceffours. Let no man please himselfe too much (saith *Agapetus*) in the nobilitie of his auncestours, for all men haue done for their stocke from whence they come: both they that are pricked vp in purple and fine linnen, and they that are afflicted with pouerty and sicknesse: as well they that are decked with crownes as they that lie naked vpon the strawe. Let vs not therefore bragge of our earthly race, but let vs glory in the integritie of maners. Although vice be in one that commeth of noble blood, yet it is alwaies lothsome and infamous: yea it doth so much the more appeare shameful and odious, as it is ioyned with greater nobilitie. But vertue is the very lively colour and ornament of nobility, and causeth it to be honoured for loue of it selfe onely. *All kings and princes saith Plato came of slanes, and all slanes of kings. What profit is there saith Macrine the emperour writing to the Senate of Rome* in nobility, if the heart of a prince be not replenished with bounty and gentlenes towards his subiects? The goods of fortune come oftentimes to the unworthy, but the vertue of the soule alwaies maketh a man worthy of the greatest praise. Nobilitie, riches, & such like, come from without a man, and are subiect to corruption, but iustice, bonnie, and other vertues, are not onely wonderfull because they come from the soule, but procure also to him that hath them and useth them vertuously, a perfection of all felicity. Yea it is far better and more commendable in a man, to leane to his posteritie a good beginning of nobilitie by vertue, than to defame by villany and wicked behauiour that praise which hee hath receiued from his predeceffours. Therefore we ought not to be puffed up with pride because we come of a great race, seeing that honor belongeth more to our progenitors than to vs, if we be not noble by our own vertue. Is not one God (as *Malachy* saith) father of vs al? he made the first kings of a poore, & base stocke, to teach vs that men ought not through arrogancy & vain boasting of their nobility, esteeme themselves better than others, but so farre forth only as his holy gifts & graces are more abundantly in them, *Saul* was chosen king as he was seeking his fathers asses: *Dauid* when he was shepheard, & the yongest of his brethre. The brier & the rose came of one & the same root, so noble men & vile persons came of one masse and lumpe. The brier is reiected because it pricketh, & the rose for her good smell is esteemed & held in mens hands. So he that maketh himselfe vile through vice, ought to be reiected, & he that is odoriferous and smelleth sweetly by good vertues and noble actions, ought to be esteemed, honoured and accounted noble of what race & stocke soeuer he commeth. True it is, that auncient nobilitie ioyned with excellent vertue, is very commendable among men, especiall in euery Monarchy well established of which the nobilitie is the chiefest pillar, being appointed by God, and approoued by the law of man, for their fidelitie towards their kings, and defence of their subiects, wherein the true duty and office of noble men consisteth. Riches are the fourth thing necessarie in euery commonwealth, and consequently Citizens, who commonly possesse them, and are settled from all antiquitie in towns, hauing rents, reuenues and possessions, and being as it were the stronge pillars of cities, and of the whole politicall body. *Cicero* saith, that riches are the sinewes of battles. For as the whole body of a man feeleth and mooueth by the sinews: so the body of the commonwealth receueth strength and power by riches to gather men of war together in defence of her liberty. For this cause *Aristotle* in his platforme of a happie commonwealth requireth abundance of wealth and money to helpe publike affaires at home, and warlike matters abroad. And in another place he saith, that a happie life consisteth in the perfect vse of vertue, assisted with bodily and external goods, as with instruments that serue to execute honest actions wel & vertuously. It is certaine that golde and siluer in respect of the soule, are neither good nor ill, but by good vsage they are made profitable for this life, and the abuse of them is hurtful both to the body & soule. And indeede riches of their owne nature are not to be condemned *Abraham, Lot, Iacob, and Iob*, were rich and holy men. *Iosephus* writeth that neuer any king either of the Hebrews, or of any other nation, left so great riches to his successor as *Dauid* did to *Salomon*. For he left him to build the temple withall, 10000 talents of gold, and 100000.

Three kinds
of nobility.

Which is right
nobility.

Macrines letter
to the Senate
of Rome
touching
nobility.

Malach. 2. 10

When nobility
of birth is
to be esteemed.

Of riches &
burgeses.

Riches are the
sinewes of
war.

They are necessary
in a
Commonwealth.

The exceeding
riches
that *Dauid*
left to *Salomon*.

The number
of workmen
about Salo-
mons temple
Augustus
maintained
yearly 44.
Legions of
souldiers.
The fruits of
the Romane
Empire in
the time of
Augustus.

Of artes and
Artificers.
What an Art
or occupation
is.

Art is an imi-
tation of na-
ture.

Three things
necessary for
the life of
man.
The vse of
Aliments.

The vse of
monie.

The vse of
garments.

The duty of
all artificers.

Artificers of
one Science
ought not to
dwell all to-
gether.

of silver, besides infinite store of stuffe, of wonderfull cost and value, which he had caused to be prepared and made ready. The sumptuousnesse of that Temple, as it is described by this Historiographer, is wonderfull. Hee saith that it was made and finished in seven years, by 80000. Masons, 3200. Overseers, 30000. Hebrewes that hewed wood in the forest, & 7000. other that brought stones and such like matter for the worke. If the riches of the Romane Empire had not bin great, I meane both the publike and priuate wealth, it is certaine, that it had not so long time maintained it selfe in such a glorious and flourishing Estate, as the like was neuer before, causing the farthest and most vnknowne nations to stand in feare of her weapons. Hereof we haue good prooffe by that which we reade of *Augustus Caesar*, who ordinarily defraied the charges of 44. Legions, which amounted yearly to twelue millions of gold. But the Romane Empire was then come to the top of her greatnes, hauing for her bounds the riuer of Euphrates on the East side, the Ocean sea on the West, on the South side the fruitfull religion of Africa, and on the North side the riuers of Rhine and Danubius. At this day 50. kingdomes and estates are diuided out of that Monarchie. Therefore if the citizens of the common wealth possesse riches, if they imploy them vpon good workes, and that liberally for the tuition, defence and setting forth of their countrey, they behaue themselves like good citizens, borne to doe good, and to profite the Common-wealth. The fift thing necessary in euery good Common wealth and citie, are occupati- ons, and consequently craftsmen. An art is an habite of working according to right rea- son, as *Aristides* saith. Or else, an art is the knowledge of some certaine thing gotten by vse, instruction, or reason, tending to necessarie vse, for mans life. Some arts consist in Speculation, and others in practise. Wee call Speculation Theoricall, that is to say, Specu- lative: and Action practicall, that is to say, Actiue. This word Artificer is deriued of the of the word Arte. Now because that nature is most perfect next to God, the nearer that art approacheth to nature, the better and perfecter it is, as appeareth in images and pictures: so that arte is nothing lesse but an imitation of nature. Those Artes that are commonly called Mechanicall, or handy craftes, whereby they differ from liberall artes, of which wee haue al- ready discovered, are of diuers sorts. For the better vnderstanding of them wee will presup- pose that man hath need of three temporall things for the maintenance of this life, namely of *Aliments*, *Houses*, and *Cloathing*. He standeth in neede of Aliments to restore the consump- tion of radicall moysture, wasted by naturall heate, (as the weeke consumeth the oyle in the lampe) I say to restore it againe by moist nourishment, as by bread, wine, flesh, and other ali- ments, without which a man could not liue. These nutriments are provided and prepared by men of Occupations, as by Butchers, Fishmongers, Bakers, Cookes, Vintners, and other handicraftsmen, which serue and looke to the prouision of victuals. Next, men haue neede of houses, that euery one may haue his priuate place of refuge to keepe his bo- dy, family, and goods, vnder couert: and these are edifices and frames erected by the arte and building, and made by Masons, Carpenters Geometricians, Sawyers, Iohners, and other handy crafts that are occupied in caruing. Likewise a city, in respect both of ornament and of defence, standeth in neede of wals, towers, bulwarks, rampires, and other things of de- fence, as also of temples and other common places, all which cannot be made without the artes of building and of Masonry. The third thing which men stand in neede of, are gar- ments to cloth themselves withall, to preserue naturall heat, & to keep out external cold, & these are provided by Mercers, Drapers, Tailors, Hosiers, & such like. Besides the aboue na- med things, we stand in need of armor & of horses to defend our liberty & for our greate co- modity, & so consequently Armerors, Glazers, Sadlers, Spurmakes, Smiths, & such like are necessary. Likewise for the preseruatiou and recouerie of our health, wee must honour the Phisition, Chirurgion, Apothecarie, Drug seller and such like. The duty and office of all arti- ficers, is to auoide idlenes sloth, and negligence, and especially to vse no deceit in their artes, but to referre the end of their labours more to common profite than to their priuate gaine. And for the auoiding of Ingrossers, it is very expedient that the crafts men should bee diui- ded into diuers parts of the city, and not placed all on a rowe in one quarter thereof, as they doe in the townes of Afrike, and in many cities of Europe. For besides the discommodities in great townes, when euery quarter hath not in it such artificers as are commonly necessarie, it is to bee feared that there will bee among them Ingrossers to forestall the merchandise and wares: or else iealousie and quarrelles are to bee feared, if one sell better cheape than an other, euen before his eies that refused to take that mony. It is true that such artificers as are least required, as men that liue by the hammer, may bee ranged in one quarter, that thereby they may be separated from men of learning & quietnes. The sixt &

last thing necessary in a Commonwealth remaineth to be considered of, namely, Aliments, and consequently labourers. We haue already spoken of Aliments: but as for that which concerneth husbandry especially, there is no other arte, that doth more awaken the minde of man, that rauisheth his senses more, that affordeth greater pleasure, or is more necessarie and profitable for the life of man, than husbandry. Moreover nothing fauoureth of greater antiquitie, nothing doth better discover the greatnesse of the workes, of God, nothing doth cast tooorth more liuely markes and beames, of a wonderfull diuinitie, than husbandry. For most of other arts were inuented long time after man was created of God, and augmented since by the industry of many. Onely husbandrie gaue sufficient testimony of it selfe, and of the incomprehensible power of God, when presently after the creation of the elements, there came out of the bowels of the earth all kinde of herbes and plants garnished with their proper vertues for the seruice and commodity of men. Man himselfe also by a diuine and naturall instinct hath bene from the beginning more inclined and disposed to the tillage of the earth, than to any other study and vocation whatsoeuer: as we reade of our first Fathers, who commonly called themselves laborers of the earth, and feeders of cattell. Husbandrie and the countrey life were so much commended and esteemed of the ancients, that many of them haue written sundry bookes therof in Greeke, and Latine: and many monarches haue heretofore left their great places, and contemned their purple robes and diademes, that they might giue themselves to the manuring of the countrey commodities. *Cyrus* was neuer better pleased and contented, than when he might be dressing of some goodly peece of ground, and setting of certaine number of trees checkerwise. *Dioclesian* forlooke the scepter of his Empire, that he might withdraw himselfe into the fields, and tirm with his owne hands, trees grafts, seuerall plots of ground, and gardens. Besides in husbandry and the countrey life, profite aboundeth with pleasure, and gaine with delight. As for profite it is very euident. For a good husbandman is alwaies provided for bread, wine, flesh, fruite, wood, and other aliments. And concerning pleasure, it is incredible to one that hath skill and will to consider of the maruels of nature, besides a thousand delights, with exercises as pleasant & profitable for his health as can be. And that benefite which is most excellent & chiefest of all, I meane tranquillitie of minde, may more easily be obtained by the Muses, darlings, and louers of knowledge in the midst of the open filds and pleasant sound of waters, than amongst the noise of fuits and dissensions wherewith cities are replenished. It belongeth to the duty of laborers to liue in their simplicity, and to do their endeavour in tilling the fields. For the performing herof they stand in neede of three things: of skill to know the nature of the soile, and the seasons of sowing and gathering: of will to be diligent and carefull to continue in their countrey labor: and lastly of abilitie to prouide oxen, horses, cattle, and other instruments of husbandry. By this discourse therefore we may see what things are most requisite and necessary for the institution of a happy commonwealth, & that no man is so industrious, witty or prudent, that of himselfe without the helpe of another he can liue without society, and minister to himselfe all necessary things. For this cause the fellowship of many together was found out, that by teaching, iudging, defending, giuing, taking, changing, seruing and communicating their workes and exercises one with another, they might liue well and commodiously together. Which thing will vndoubtedly come to passe in euery commonwealth, when euery one walking in his vocation, directeth his will and worke to the seruice of God, his Prince and countrey.

Of Aliments
and labourers
The praise of
husbandry.

The Antiqui-
Thereof.

Men haue
bene alwaies
more inclined
to husbandry
than to any o-
ther vocation.
Princes haue
forfaken their
diademes to
fall to hus-
bandry.

Cyrus.
Dioclesianus.
Profite and
pleasure are
ioyned toge-
ther in hus-
bandry.

The countrey
fitter for stu-
dents than the
city.

The duty of
husband-men
Three things
necessary for
them.

Euery com-
monwealth
must bee al-
waies prouid-
ed against al
euents both of
peace and
war.

Of Peace, and Warre. Chap. 67

A R A M. *Iustinian* the Emperor in the Preface of his Institutions saith: That it is necessary for the imperiall maiesty to haue respect to two times, namely, of peace and war, that it may be provided against all euents either of the one or the other. Lawes and good politike statutes are necessary for it in time of peace, that the prouinces may bee quietly governed: but in the time of war it must alwaies haue armour ready and conuenient forces, to helpe friends, to resist enemies, and to containe disobedient subiects within compasse. Now hauing hitherto intreated of that policie, which chiefly respecteth the time of peace, wee must hereafter (my companions) refer to our discourses that small knowledge which we haue of warre-like discipline. And first I thinke we must oppose these times of peace and warre one against the other, and consider of their cleane contrary effects, that wee

may be so much the more easily led and perswaded to desire and procure that which is best and most profitable for euery estate and monarchie. Therefore I propound vnto you this matter to discourse vpon.

Rom. 11. 18.
Col. 3. 15.

A CHITOR. *If it be possible, as much as in you is (saith the Apostle) haue peace with all men: and let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which ye are called in one body.* For truly without peace all riches is but pouerty, all mirth but mourning, all life but death. But no man can perfectly know the benefit of peace, that hath had no triall of the burthen of warre.

Leuit. 26. 3. 6.
14. 15. 16.

A SER. *If ye walke in my ordinances (saith the eternall God) I will send peace in the land: but if ye will not obey me, but despise mine ordinances, I will send a sword vpon you, that shall avenge the quarrell of my covenant, and ye shall be deliuered into the hand of the enemy.* Now let vs heare **A MANA** discourse vpon that which is here propounded vnto vs.

Lycurgus referred all his lawes to war, appointing the Ilotes onely to deale with occupations.

Numa referred all his lawes to peace.

The keeping of Ianus temple shut, was a signe of peace among the Romans.

The discomforts of a long peace.

A MANA. *Lycurgus* entring into the gouernment of the Lacedæmonians, and finding their estate greatly corrupted, determined with himselfe to change their whole Policie. For he thought that if he should onely make some particular lawes and ordinances, it would doe no more good, than a slender medicine would profite a corrupt body full of many diseases, before order were taken for the purging, resoluing, and consuming of the euill humours, that a new forme and rule of life might afterward be prescribed. His enterprise although great and difficult, yet fell out very well, and his lawes were receiued and approoued of the people, after a little force and feare wherewith at first they were restrained. But this law-maker referred all his lawes to warre and to victory, and kept his subiects in continuall exercise of armes, not suffering them to learne any other science or handy-craft, vnto which hee appointed the Ilotes onely, who were men brought in subiection by the right of warre. Whereby *Lycurgus* seemeth to haue beene of this minde, that force ought to be mistresse in all worldly matters, and that other things serue to no purpose if they want Armes, which by a certaine right of warre that shall alwaies continue amongst men, bring in subiection to Conquerours the persons and goods of those whom they overcome. It seemeth also he thought that there was neuer any true peace among men, but onely in name, and that all Princes and people liue in continuall distrust one of another, and doe nothing else for the most part but watch how to surprise each other, (as *Plutarke* elegantly setteth it out) notwithstanding all leagues and goodly agreements that passe betweene them. *Numa Pompilius*, second king of the Romanes cleane contrary to *Lycurgus*, was so farre in loue with peace, and referred all his lawes in such sort thereunto, that during his reigne, there was neither warre, nor ciuill dissention, nor any motion of nouelty in the gouernment of the Common-wealth. Much lesse was there any enmity or enuie conceiued against him particularly, or conspiracie against his person through desire of ruling, but all occasions of warre being extinguished and remooued, the Temple of *Ianus* was continually kept shut for the space of forty yeares, which was a signe of peace amongst the Romanes. For not onely at Rome the people were tractable through the example of the iustice, clemency, and goodnesse of king *Numa*, but also in the townes round about there was a maruellous alteration of manners: insomuch that as the beames of a cleere Sunne are dispersed abroad, so there was shed in the hearts of men a secret desire to liue in peace, to labour the ground, to bring vp their children quietly, and to serue and honor their gods. And *Plutarke* writeth in his life, that in his time there was nothing but feasts, plaies, sacrifices, and bankets throughout all Italy: so that a man might say, that the wisdom of *Numa* was a liuely fountaine of all goodnesse and honesty, out of which many riuers issued to water all Italy; and that his peaceable prudence was communicated as it were from hand to hand vnto the whole world. Now, although these two men haue beene greatly praised and commended for sundry rare vertues, yet all men approoue not the extremities which they followed in this forme of gouernment. For as hee is pernicious that mooueth and continueth warre onely to subdue his neighbours, to inlarge the borders of his Countrey, and to vsurpe other mens right, which sauoureth more of brutishnesse than of humanity: so a long peace bringeth with it many discomforts, making men insolent commonly through too great prosperity, as also nice, lauish, and effeminate, through abundance of wealth and idleness. Therefore *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *Polybius*, reprove *Lycurgus*, because he propounded onely the exercise of the vertue of warre to his Citizens, which is the least of those foure, that are necessary for the establishment & preservation of euery Empire: saying, that all his lawes were well ordained to make men valiant, but not iust, temperate, and prudent. On the other side, they that are too much affected to peace and quietnes, weaken themselves by little and little before they be aware, and by their example mollifie the

courage

courage of youth, wherby they lie open to the iniuries of those that invade them, and so loose their libertie, not being able to defend their persons and goods. But as the world is compounded of foure elements, by whose mixture it is so made, that it is both seene and touched, and withall is preserved in such loue and concord, that it cannot bee dissolved by any other than by him that made it: so every publike estate must bee established by foure vertues, by whose harmony and agreement it is preserved. And as the fire and the earth were first created to make the whole frame subiect to sight and feeling, and then the water and the aire mingled with them, that the dissimilitude of those extremes might bee tempered according to proportion: so fortitude and iustice are first required in the ordaining of commonwealths, because they cannot continue without law and strength; and next prudence and temperance being ioyned with them, moderate rigour and remissnesse of both. Again; as by these natures of which all things are made, being dispersed aboue and beneath, and on all sides, the world is preserved and continued, so that light things are kept from ascending through the weight of heavy things, and contrariwise heauie things helde aloft, that they fall not: so by these foure vertues dispersed amongst men, a commonwealth well instituted and guided by discipline, is maintained. And although by reason of the varietie and change of humane affaires it cannot continue so long, and so adorned as the world, yet it will abide many yeares. Moreover, as the elements are bred one of another, & alter to and fro, going into, and returning continually from the first matter, which receiveth them into it selfe, for which cause they cannot be seene simple, but mixed: whereupon ariseth such a temperature of all things, that they wither not by drought, nor burne with heate, neither are overwhelmed with two great moisture, nor grow stiffe with excessive colde: so these vertues whereby cities are instituted, must be mingled one with another, and agree together for the mutuall preservation, wisdom being President over them, in which they are all contained. For they cannot maintaine themselves one without another, nor keepe their vigor and dignity. Iustice without temperance is rigor: fortitude separated from iustice is rashnesse and cruelty, and without prudence iustice is but craft and subtletie. To conclude, temperance without fortitude ought rather to be called cowardlinesse and nicenesse: wherby we see that they are so enterlaced, and depende in such sort one of another, that they cannot bee separated. If it fall out otherwise, that estate wherein such disorder taketh place, must of necessity be vtterly ouerthrowne or changed. Out of these learned Philosophicall discourses wee will draw a very good lesson: namely, that in euery Estate well instituted for continuance, this temperature of the foure vertues must necessarily be kept, that men may bee instructed how to gouerne themselves well both in time of peace and of war, and obserue such a moderation therein, that knowing how to deale in both times they may bee ready and fit for war when necessity vrgeth, hauing this ende before them to attaine to peace, which must alwaies be preferred, as rest is before trauell, and good before euill, as we shall easily vnderstand by considering their contrary effects. It is certaine that Philosophie is best exercised in time of peace. For when there is no trouble of war, the spirit is quiet, and fit for every honest kinde of rest, so that arts and sciences go well forward, lawes are in force, iustice flourisheth, vertue sheweth her effects better, vice languisheth, the zeale of piety increaseth, the discipline of the church is authorized, both the noble & meane man preserveth and augmenteth his wealth, trade and trafficke is free: briefly, euery one receiveth good & commodity, & so consequently the whole body of the commonwealth. But if we looke to those effects, which the time of war commonly bringeth forth, the desire of hauing is awaked, couetousnes increaseth, iustice falleth to the ground, force and violence beareth sway, spoiling reigneth, riot is set at liberty, wicked men, are in authority, good men oppressed, innocency troden vnder foot, maidens & wiues deflowred, countries wasted, houses burnt, Churches destroyed, tombes broken down, goods spoiled, murders committed, al vertue banished from amongst men, vice honoured, the laws contemned & broken, the seruice of God forsaken, the estate of the Church derided, the nobility and people burdened with infinite charges and costs, all kinde of trades hindered: briefly, there is no calamity or misery that aboundeth not in the common-wealth, in time of war. We may iudge that kingdome happy, wherein the Prince is obedient to the law of God and nature, Magistrates to the Prince, private men to Magistrates, children to their Fathers, seruants to their Masters, and subiects being linked in loue one with another, and all of them with their Prince, enjoy the sweetnesse of peace, and true quietnesse of minde. But warre is cleane contrary thereunto, and souldiers are sworne enemies to that kinde of life. For warre maketh men barbarous, mutinous, and cruell, as peace maketh them

Excellent
comparisons
betweene the
composition
of the world,
and of euery
happie Com-
mon wealth.

How the ver-
tues are knit
together and
depend one
of another.

Peace is to be
preferred be-
fore war.
The effect of
peace.
The effect of
war.

War maketh
men cruell, &
peace gentle.

curteous and tractable. Wee readethat Englishmen were in times past so seditious and vntameable, that not onely their Princes could not doe what they would, but also the English merchants were of necessity lodged apart by themselves. For so the towne of Antwarpe was constrained to doe, where there was one house common for all merchant strangers, except Englishmen, who had a house by themselves, because they could not abide to be ioyned with others. The chiefe cause of that strange quality was because their countrey bordered vpon two estates and nations that were their enemies: namely, vpon the Frenchmen and Scots, with whom they had continuall warre: but since they concluded a peace, and ioyned in league with France and Scotland, they became very milde and ciuill. And contrariwise the Frenchmen, who were inferiour to no nation whatsoeuer, in curtesie and humanity, are greatly changed from their naturall disposition, and become sauage since the ciuill warres began. The like (as *Plutarke* saith) happened to the Inhabitants of Sicilia, who by meanes of continuall warre grew to beelike brute beasts. *Archidamus* king of Lacedæmonia, knowing well the effects of peace and warre here briefly touched by vs, and hearing that the Elians sent succours to the Archadians to warre against him, tooke occasion to write vnto them after the Laconicall manner, in stead of a long discourse. *Archidamus* to the Elians: *Peace is a goodly thing.* And another time he gaue a notable testimony how farre he preferred peace before war, when he made this answer to one that commended him, because he had obtained a battell against the foresaid Archadians: *It had beene better if we had overcome them by prudence rather than by force.* The selfe same reason of louing peace, and abhorring the breakers thereof, was the cause why *Cato* in a full Senate opposed himselfe against the request which *Cæsars* friends made, that the people should offer sacrifice by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the notable victories which he had gotten against the Germanes, of whom he had surprised and discomfited 300000. I am (saith *Cato*) rather of this opinion, that he should be deliuered into their hands whom hee hath wronged without cause by violating the peace, which they had with the people of Rome, that they may punish him as they thinke good, to the end that the whole fault of breaking faith and promise with them, may be cast vpon him alone, and not be laid vpon the city, which is no cause at all thereof. And to say truth, wise men are greatly to feare all beginnings of warre. For being in the end growne to some ripenesse, after that some men wanting experience in worldly affaires, haue rashly and vnskilfully sowne the seed thereof, hardly can the greatest and wisest kings plucke it vp againe without great labor and perill. Therefore they that are too desirous and hasty to begin warre, peruert the order of reason: because they begin by execution and force, which ought to be last, after due consultation. But he deserueth greater honour and praise that procureth peace and winneth the enemies hearts by loue, than he that obtaineth victorie by shedding their blood cruellie. For this onely reason (saith *Cicero*) we must begin war, that we may liue in peace, and not receiue wrong: but this must be done after we haue required satisfaction for the iniury offered. It was for these considerations that *Phocion*, the great Athenian capitaine laboured to stop the war, which the people of Athens had determined to make against the Macedonians, at the perswasion of *Leosthenes*. And being demanded when he would counsell the Athenians to make warre, when I see (quoth he) that the yong men are fully resoluéd not to leaue their ranks, that rich men contribute money willingly, and Orators abstaine from robbing the Commonwealth. Neuerthelesse the armie was leuiéd against his counsell, and many wondring at the greatnes & beauty thereof, asked him how he liked that preparation: It is faire for one brunt (saith *Phocion*) but I feare the returne and continuance of the war: because I see not that the citie hath any other means to get money, or other Vessels and men of war, beside these. And his foresight was approoued by the event. For although *Leosthenes* prospered in the beginning of his enterprise (whereupon *Phocion* beeing demanded whether hee would not gladly haue done all those great and excellent things, answered that hee would, but not haue omitted that counsell which he gaue) yet in the end he was slaine in that voyage, the Græcian armie ouerthrowne by *Antipater* and *Craterus* two Macedonians, and the citie of Athens brought to that extremitie, that it was constrained to send a blanke for capitulations of peace, and to receiue within it a garrison of strangers. Thus it falleth out commonly to those that seeke for warre by all meanes either by right or wrong. Every prince that desireth it in that manner, stirreth vp against himselfe both the hatred and weapons of his neighbours, hee vexeth and grieueth his subiects vnworthilie, seeking rather to rule over them by violence, than to gaine their good will by iustice; hee quite ouerthroweth his country, preferring dominion, and greatnesse of his owne glory, before the benefit, quietnesse, and

Archidamus
letter to the
Elians.

Cato misliked
Cæsar for
breaking of
peace.

Wherefore
and when we
must begin
to warre.
Phocion dis-
swaded the
Athenians
from warre.

The fruits of
vniust warre.

and safety thereof: and oftentime he diminisheth his owne authority, and is brought in subiection to his enemies, whilst he laboureth to possesse another mans right by force. *Augustus* the Emperor said, that to haue a good and lawfull warre, it must be commended by the gods, and iustified by the Philosophers. And *Elins Spartianus* affirmeth, that *Traian* onely of all the Romane Emperors was neuer overcome in battell, because he vnderooke no war, except the cause thereof was very iust. But we may say, that no warre betweene Christians is so iustified, but that still there remaineth some cause of scruple. The testimony of *Antigenus* the Elder, wherein he accuseth himselfe, is very notable to shew what great wickednesse and iniustice is in warre, when hee vsed this speech to a Philosopher that offered and dedicated vnto him a treatise, which he had made of iustice: *Thou art a foole, my friend, to come and tell me of iustice, when thou seest me beate downe other mens townes.* *Cesar* answered little lesse to *Metellus* a Tribune of the people, who being delirous to keepe him from taking the money that was in the common treasury, alleadged vnto him the lawes that forbad it: to whom this Monarch replied, that the time of warre, and the time of lawes were twaine. Moreover, wee see, that famine and the pestilence commonly follow war. For the abundance of all things being wasted, want of victuals must of necessity succeed, whereupon many diseases grow. Briefly, it bringeth with it nothing but a heape of all euils and miseries, and easily draweth and allureth the violence and euill disposition of many to follow the state of the time. For they that desire a change, are very glad of such an occasion to ground their plat-formes vpon: which they could not doe in time of peace, because men are then of a better iudgement and affection, as well in publike as in priuate matters. But whatsoeuer we haue spoken of the miseries that follow war, warlike discipline must not be suffered to degenerate in a common-wealth well established: seeing there is neuer want of euill neighbours that are desirous to incroach vpon other men borders, and seeing the lawes, iustice, subiects, and the whole state, are vnder the protection of Armes, as it were vnder a mightie buckler. And forasmuch as the defence of our life, and pursuite of the eues is warranted both by the law of God, of nature, and of man, it followeth that the subiects must needs bee trained vp in feates of Armes, both defensive and offensive, that they may be a buckler to the good, and a barre to the bad. Wherein the example of *Augustus* is very notable, who in time of an assured peace would not dissolve and dismisse the forty legions, but sent them to the Provinces and borders of those nations that were most barbarous, to keepe them in warlike discipline, and withall to take away as neare as he could, all occasion of ciuill warre. Whereof *Constantine* the Great, had sorrowfull experience, when he discharged his bands of souldiers, whereby hee opened the gates vnto his enemies, who after that invaded the Romane Empire on all sides. For the conclusion therefore of our discourse, let vs learne to desire peace rather than war, the one being a certaine signe of the blessing of God vpon his people, and the other of his wrath and malediction. Let the Prince thinke with himselfe (as *Traian* wrote to the Senate) that he is called not to war, but to gouerne: not to kill his enemies, but to roote out vices: not so much to goe forth to war, as to tarry in the common wealth: not to take another mans goods from him, but to do iustice to euery one, especially considering that in war a Prince can fight but in the place of one, at which times he is wanting to many in the common wealth. And yet because the sword is put into the Magistrates hand, for the preseruacion of publike peace, he cannot imploie or vse it better than in resisting, breaking, and beating downe their attempts, that tyrannically seeke to trouble it, being led with ambition and desire to enlarge their bounds with other mens right. Now, because the greater part of Potentates, and neighbour Princes direct their purposes to this marke, it is very expedient and necessary in euery well ordered estate, that the youth, especially the nobilitie should be trained vp and exercised in feates of Armes, to the end that in time of necessity, and for common profit, they may bee apt and ready to serue their Prince and country.

When a warre is lawfull. Traian neuer vnderooke vniust warre. Antigenus testimony of the iniustice of warre. Cesar.

Famine & the plague follow warre. Malecontents are glad of warre. Causes why the exercise of armes must alwaies continue.

Augustus kept 40. legions in continuall exercise of warlike discipline. Constantine the great.

Good considerations for a prince.

Of the ancient Discipline, and order of War. Chap. 68.

AMANA. **B**Vt following our purpose, which is to discourse of the state of warre, according to the small experience that our age affoordeth, and our state hath gathered, wee are now to speake my (companions) of warlike discipline, which for the excellent order thereof vsed in auncient time, is so much the more woorthy to be noted, as ours is to be contemned, for the great disorder that is scene in it. Therefore I leaue the

the handling of this matter to you.

A R A M Discipline among souldiors is the cause that order is kept in all matters of war, which procureth in armies obedience and victorie.

A C H I T O B The vnbridled licence that is vsed now adaies among souldiors, breedeth such boldnes in them, that all warlike discipline is supplanted thereby. But let vs heare **A S E A** discourse of this matter.

It is not the
weapon that
maketh a
warriour.
From whence
valure proceedeth.

Three things
necessarily re-
quired in men
of warre.
Good will
commeth
from good
institution.
Reuerence
from the wis-
dome and ex-
perience of
Captaines.
Obedience is
wrought in
them by the
diligence of
Heads.

The vertue
of the Cap-
taines is
much in war.

The ancient
order of the
Romanes
army.

The Romans
diuided their
army into
three parts.

A S E R. If we appoint to euery one (saith *Socrates* in *Plato*) his seuerall art whereunto he is aptest by nature, and which he must vse all his life time, forsaking all other trades, to the end that obseruing oportunities, he may discharge it the better, there is no doubt but that in warlike discipline, which is a great deale more excellent than any other trade, greater leasure, greater cunning and practise is necessarily required. For if a man take a Target, or some other warlike weapon and instrument in his hand, hee is not by and by fit to fight, much lesse of sufficient courage to serue manfully, if he bee not long before prepared thereunto by sound reasons and resolutions. It is no worke of an houre, or of a day, to perswade men, that if they will get praise, they must settle themselves to sustaine all trauels, to assay all perils, and to hold this opinion constantly, that it is more to be desired to die fighting in a good and iust quarrell, than to escape with life by flying away. But that which breedeth and nourisheth such thoughts in mens hearts, is the good education and institution of youth in the discipline of vertue, and in the knowledge of Fortitude and Magnanimitie, which are inseparably followed of honour and immortall glory: whereby all feare of enemies is taken away, and watching traouelling, suffering obeying, well liked of, that they may bring to passe their noble enterprises. The assyrians, Persians, Grecians and Romanes, whose deedes of Armes are almost incredible, had alwaies in singular recommendation the maintenance of warlike discipline, but their chiefe desire was to imprint these three things in the hearts of their souldiors. *Willingnes, Reuerence, and Obedience* of which things the happy conduct of all war dependeth. They that were well brought vp and instructed in vertue, could not want good will to execute vertuous actions. Those Heads and leaders of armies that were wel chosen, and had wisdom and experience, did by their wonderfull vertue prouoke euery one to reuerence them. Moreouer, this Maxime of warre was diligently practised of the Heades: namely, to make their souldiors more deuout and obedient to their commandements, than affectioned to any other thing, how gainefull soeuer it were. At this day, as the former education and instruction is wanting, so the Heads and Captaines are insufficient. And from thence proceedeth the disorder and disobedience of men of warre, whereupon losse of the battle and destruction of the Armie followeth in steade of victorie. But that wee may begin to consider of this ancient warlike discipline, we will here onely weigh the order of the Roman armie and battles, who excelled all nations in feates of Armes: and then we wil looke into that great obedience & seuer rule of liuing, that was obserued amog the men of war. We shal not find in al the Roman Histories any battle of greater or more importace between the people of Rome, and any other nation, than that which they had with the Latines when *Torquatus* and *Decius* were Consuls. For as the Latines by loosing the battle were brought in to bondage, so should the Romanes haue beene, if they had not woone it. *Titus Limius* is of this opinion, who maketh both the armies in all respects alike, both for number, vertue, resolution and order, and putteth the difference onely in the vertue of the Captaines, which hee supposeth was greater on the Romans side, and so consequently cause of their victorie. The likenes and equalitie of these two hoasts proceeded of this, because they had long time followed and practised feates of armes together, vsing the same order, language, and weapons, and keeping the selfe same manner of ordering their battles, insomuch that both their orders and their Captaines had the same names. Now this was the order of the Roman armie: their whole hoast was diuided into three principall parts, whereof the first consisted of pikemen. the second of the chiefe Gentlemen and Lords, the third was called the rere ward, and euery part was chiefly compounded of foot men, being accompanied with a certaine number of horsemen. Their battles being ordered in this sort, they placed pike men in the forward, right behinde them were the noble men, and in the third place behinde they appointed their rere ward, which they called by the name of *Triarii*. They had also certaine troups of horsemen, both on the right and left side of euery part of their armie, whom they called wings, in respect of the place which they had, because they seemed to bee the winges of that body. They set the forward close together in the forefront, that it might both break in vpon the enemy, and sustaine the on set. The battle because it was not to fight first, but to suc-

cour

succour the foreward when it was either put to the woorst or driven backe, was not ioyned so close, but kept their ranks wider asunder, so that it might without disorder to it selfe receiue the foreward within it, if by any mishap or breach of aray, it should bee constrained to retire. The rereward had their ranks farther distant one fro another than the battell, that it might bee able to receiue within it both the foreward and the battell when neede required. Their battles then being thus ranged, they began the skirmish, and if their pike men were driven backe and vanquished, they retired into the distances, and voides spaces of the noblemen. Then both of them being knit together in one, made one bodie of two battles, and so began the fight againe. But if they both being ioyned together were put to the woorst, they gathered themselves together in the wide & large ranks that were left for them in the rereward of the *Triarii*. And then these three parts ioyned in one, renewed the fight, and so either lost or woone the battell, being vnable to repaire themselves againe. Therefore when the rereward entred into the conflict, the armie was in danger: whereupon arose that prouerbe, *Res redacta est ad Triarios*, which is as much to say in Englishe, as *The matter is brought to the Rereward*, and to the extremitie. Now the captaines of these our times, hauing forsaken all order of ancient discipline, make no account of this ordinance of warre although it bee well considered, it will bee found a matter of great importance. For hee that ordereth his host so that he may repaire himselfe thrice in one battell, must haue fortune his enemy three sundry times before he can loose it, and be vtterly ouerthrowne. Whereas hee that trusteth onely to the first encounter, as the most doat this day, offereth himselfe rashly vnto danger and losse. For one onely disorder, one small vertue may carie the victory from him. Now that which hindereth our armies from repairing themselves thrice, is the lacke of skill to gather one battell into another. Wee also appoint onely a foreward and a maine battell for the most part, and lay the hope and strength of the armie vpon the horsemen: whereas the auncient made most account of the footemen. So that if the horsemen receiuing the onset should haue the repulse, and their aray broken, the rest were easily to bee dealt withal: besides, that commonly the footmen are disordered by their owne horsemen, being compelled to retire. For this the Switzers, called by some masters of these late wars, when they purpose to fight, especially on the Frenchmens side, are very carefull to haue the horsemen on the one side, and not to follow next after them, to the end that being wide of them if by mishap they should be repulsed, yet they might not ouer-run and disorder them. And this hath bene oftentimes noted, that the Frenchmen according to the aduantage or discomfort of the first brunt giuen by their forward or battell, haue bin partakers of the like issue and euent afterward: so that if they were put the woorst in the first encounter, their enemy was in a manner assured of the victorie. This caused *Titus Livius* to write in many places, that Frenchmen in the beginning of a battell are more then men, but in the ende lesse than women. But that which causeth them to breake their order so quickly, may bee better knowne if we set down here 2. kinde of armies, the one where there is fury & order, as there was in the Romane armie, in which, according to the testimony of all histories, good order through continuance of time had planted such a warlike discipline, that nothing was done amongst them but by rule. They did neither eate nor sleepe, nor deale in any other warlike or priuate action, without the appointment of the Councell, or Heade of the army. So that all vertue being thus settled amongst them, they exercise their fury by meanes, and as time and occasion serued: neither could any difficulty arise, that could quaille their resolution well begun, or cause them to be discouraged, by reason of their good order which refreshed them and strengthened their courage, that was nourished with the hope of victory, which is neuer wanting as long as good orders are truly obserued. But in the other kinde of army, there fury beareth swaie, and not orders, as it falleth out often in the French armies, if victory doth not follow their first assaie. For their fury, wherein their hope consisted, is not succoured with settled vertue, neither haue they any other confidence but in their fury, so that as soone as they are somewhat cooled, and see neuer so little disorder and breach of aray, they are presently discomfited. Contrariwise, the Romanes being lesse afraide of perils, because of their good order, fought firmly and resolutely together without any distrust of the victorie, being as couragious & vertuous in the end as in the beginning: yea the harder they were charged with weapons, the more were they inflamed and set on fire. Moreover, concerning their warlike discipline, it may easily bee knowne by that speech which *Titus Livius* rehearseth of *Papirius Cursor*, who complained of the corruption that began to grow in their armie, for the which hee would haue punished *Fabius* Generall of the horsemen. No

The benefite of this Romane order.

The wisdom of the Switzers fighting on the Frenchmens side.

Frenchmen loosing the first encounter, loose also the victory

Some armies are furious, & yet keepe good order.

Good orders in armies is neuer without hope of victorie. In the French armies is fury without order

The ancient
warlike disci-
pline of the
Romanes.

What maner
of campe the
ancient Ro-
manes had.
Of the anci-
ent obedience
of souldiers
to their cap-
taines.

Of the execu-
tion that was
shewed vpon
souldiers that
offended.

The tithing of
armies was
most seuer.

How Cap-
taines were
punished if
they offeded.

Aurelius let-
ter to a Tri-
bune touch-
ing warlike
discipline.

The corrupti-
on of warlike
discipline in
these daies.

man (saith he) beareth any reuerence either to men, or to the gods. The Edicts of the capitaine, of the Caronell, and of the soothsaires are not obserued. The souldiers goe wandring vp and downe like vagabonds, both in countries that are at peace with vs, & also in our enemies lands: they discharge themselves at their pleasure, and forget their oath. The Ensignes are desolate, and not followed. Besides, they ioinc not together as they are commanded, nor consider whether it be by day or by night, whether in a place of aduantage, or of disadvantage. They fight without the Capitaines commandement: they keepe not their ranks and signes. Briefly, whereas war was wont to be solempne and sacred, it is disordered, inconsiderate and guided at all aduerture, after the manner of the euerie. But as long as warlike discipline tooke place among the ancient Romanes, their campe was a schoole of honour, of sobriety, of chastity, of iustice, & of al vertue, so that noman might reuenge his owne iniuries, or proceede of him selfe peremptorily. They knew not what it was to liue at discretion, much lesse to go a foraging, to rob, steale, beate, or murder, as men do now adaies. And as touching obedience towards their capitaines, it was very wonderfull. For they feared not to preferre it before the safety of their owne liues, and before all victory. At the battell of Cannas the Romane knights seeing the Consul alight and certaine others with him because he was hurt, & thinking that he had commanded them all to do so, they presently left their horses, which was the cause of their ouerthrow. And this did Hannibal then declare with a loud voice, saying: I would not desire rather to haue them deliuered to me bound, than as they be. The executions that were shewed vpon the disobedient and offenders were full of rigour, and the quality of their punishments maruelous strange. For the Heads of armies sometime sticked not to cause a whole legion to passe through the dikes, (which consisted of 6000. footmen, & 500. horsemen) for some notable fault committed by them. But among all their terrible executions, the tithing of armies was most seuer, when every tenth man throughout a whole host was by lot put to death. Now kinde of punishment could be found that was more fearefull for the correcting of a multitude than this which they practised especially when the chiefe author, and they that were the procurers of some notorious fact, were not knowne. For then had it bin too much to haue chastised the whole company: and if some had bene corrected, and others left vnpunished, innocents preadventure should haue suffered, and the guilty escaped scot free. Whereas by tithing, they that were punished, could not complaine but of the lot: and the rest were kept in feare, least the like faults should fall out againe amongst them. Whereupon they obserued one another, that as many as did not their duty might be knowne and chastised. The Capitaines and Heads of armies were no lesse rigorously handled by them that had the soueraignty of the Estate, if they did capitulate, or make any agreement with the enemies, to the detriment and disadvantage of the Commonwealth. For they sent them backe againe naked, and not the Heads onely, but also all that had any charge in the armie, and consented to the composition that the enemies might returne vpon their heads all the sin of breaking that oath which they had taken, and that appointment which they had sworn to. The Emperor Aurelius laboured earnestly to bring in againe the ancient discipline of war, and to cause it to be strictly obserued: whereof his letter is a sufficient testimony, being written by him to a Tribune of warre, in these words. *If thou wilt bee a Tribune, or rather if thou wilt liue, restraine the souldiers hands, that none steale another mans henne or touch his sheepe. Let no man take a grape, or spoile and treade downe the corne. Let no man exact of his Oast oyle, salt, or wood, but let euery one be content with his allowance. Let them enrich themselves with the pray of their enemies, and not with the teares of our subiects. Let their armour bee glazed and cleane: their hose and shooes good and strong. Let new apparell, drine away the olde and let them keep their wages in their purse, and not spend it in tanerns. Let them lay aside bracelets & rings. Let euery one dresse his owne horse, and one helpe another. Let the Phisitions and Chirurgions looke to them with out mony, & let soothsayers haue nothing giuen them. Let them liue chastly in their Oasts houses: and let such as are mutinous and giuen to quarrelling, be punished and corrected. Let them trench their camp euery day as if they were nere their enemy. Behold surely an excellent forme of warlike discipline expressly in few words, which is so farre from our bebauiour, that the people in these daies would thinke they were fauourably dealt withall, if the souldiers tooke no more from them, but that which this Emperor forbiddeth his to take vpon paine of life. And truly the vnmeasurable licence that is granted them, causeth the souldiers to enter into the field onely to spoile and robbe, and to etchue the fight. And in stead of helping one another, and taking care euery one of his owne horse, there is not a souldier so beggerlike, but will haue his foure Lackeis, so that a thousand souldiers in these daies will bee more chargeable to the people, than twenty thousand that are well ordered would be. If a Romane souldier had committed adultery*

adulterie with his Oasts wife, *Aurelius* caused him to be torne in sunder with two trees bow. *Aurelius* punished adulterie and theft committed by his souldiers, with death. True punishment of souldiers redresseth many disorders amongst them.

ed downe one against another. It was death also to take an egge. If hee went out of his ranke whilest the armie marched, he had the bastannado. Oftentimes for one simple fault a whole Legion was discharged and the captaine severely punished: and yet for all this rigour, the souldiers loued the Emperour as their father. He also gaue them their pay well and truly, and rewarded liberally such as did their duty. This is the way to redresse so many disorders and calamities as are seene in our armies, and to restore in some sort that warlike discipline which is abolished. For souldiers alledge this as an excuse for all their wicked deedes, *that they are not paid*, and many would not be paid, that so they might cloke their robberies. When the small tax, and since that the payment of fifty thousand footemen, was laide vpon the subiects, the king promised to imploy that money vpon no other vse, than vpon the payment of his men at war, as also to keepe that money apart from his ordinary receipts. But because this is not duly obserued, the people are doubly vexed: for they pay their money, & yet are polled on all sides. Notwithstanding all these ordinary charges, the poore peasants would thinke themselves happy if they were discharged by erecting of victualing tents for the men of war, as they haue bin forced to do of late years. Now what good issue can bee hoped for, when the souldiers through an vnbrideled licence, sacke, spoile, and burne the poore subiects? This hath alwaies bin seene, that houses, families, kingdomes and Empires, haue come to ruine and pouerty, because the poore were contemned, and the subiects giuen ouer to the robberies of souldiers. The immoderate licence of the Pretorian souldiers (who were to the Emperors as the Ianizaries are to the Turke) and of other men of warre, was no small helpe to ouerthrow the Romane Empire. For taking vpon them to elect Emperors at their pleasure, one was chosen in one armie and another else where, and presently murdered by those that had elected them. Their insolency also caused seditions and ciuill warres, whereupon those kingdomes & countries that were vnder the Romane obedience, reuolted. And it cometh to passe oftentimes, that their vnruely behauiour incenseth the people in such sort against them, that their destruction followeth. As it hapned to all the Frenchmen that were in the Ile of Sicilia, in the yeare 1281. vpon Easter day, at the first peale of Euen song, at what time they were all put to death by a secret conspiracy for their insolencies and whoordomes: whereupon this Prouerbe doth yet remaine among vs, *The Sicilian Euen song*. There is no corner of this kingdome where the people being halie mad through the iniuries received from the men of warre, haue not committed infinite and cruell massacres. We may not here forget to propound the wise and warlike discipline of *Belizarins*, lieutenant Generall to the Emperour *Iustinian*, who for valure and temperance was equall to the ancient Romanes (as histories testifie of him) which was the cause that he conquered all Italy possessed by the Barbarians. Not long since during the warre of Piemount (which was a very schoole of vertue, and of warlike knowledge) the peasant, husbandman, and artificer, were suffered quietly at the worke, the war continuing betweene warriors onely for the possession, and not the ruine of the countrey. And as the people were then glad to receiue amongst them such armies, so they despaire no lesse at this day, because all warlike discipline, all policy both diuine and humane, is in such sort extinguished, yea all kinde of humanitie and society which is to be seene amongst barbarous people; that it is lawfull for Frenchmen to sacke, spoile, and put to ranfome Frenchmen that are many times of the same side, faith and condition, and that without punishment. But let vs not looke for prosperity and good successe in our enterprises, before there be some other order and discipline obserued.

The end of the seuenteenth daies worke.

The eighteenth daies worke.

Of the Office and dutie of a Generall. Chap. 67.

A S E R. **I**Hose men commonly prosper in their affaires that vnderstand them thoroughly, and manage them well and diligently: considering aduisedly what hath bene heretofore, that they may in some sort iudge of that which is to come, because all worldly things haue euermore some agreement with the ages past. Which cometh

Time and occasion are diligently to be weighed in all matters.

The good or ill successe of an army dependeth of the captaine

A captaine must not offend twise in warre.

Prudence gotten by vse must be hastened forward by knowledge

No man ought to be generall before he haue obtained the renowne of a valiant man.

Cimon preferred an army of Harts before an army of Lions. What Captaines are worthiest of their charge. Coruinius oration to his soldiers.

meth of this, that beeing the workes of men, they haue had, and will alwaies haue like formes, and therefore must of necessity haue like effects. But the cause of the good or euill successe of men (in respect of mans nature) consisteth in this, that the meanes and manner of proceeding iumpe with the time, wherein the very condition thereof, and the occasion offered, is diligently to be obserued. And if this consideration taketh place in all priuate affaires, it is much more necessary in warre, wherein a light fault oftentimes procureth losse and ouerthrow to a whole armie, whose good or ill happe dependeth of the Heade and leader thereof, according as hee is either woorthy or vnwoorthy of his charge. My opinion therefore is (my Companion) that we alledge in this place what soeuer we know belongeth to his duty and office. I propound now the discourse of this matter to you.

A M A N A. Men disdain commonly to obey such as know not how to command well. Therefore every Generall of an army ought to labor carefully, that men may behold & see a certaine greatnes, magnanimity and constancy in all his dooings.

A R A M A. Generall must be had in estimation of his souldiers, and of that reputation, that they may giue credit to his prudence: otherwise an army doth quickly become rebellious, and troublesome to be guided. But let vs learne more amplie of **ACHITOB** whatsoeuer concerneth this matter.

ACHITOB. *Lamachus* a great Athenian Captaine saide, that no man must offend twise in warre, because the faults are of so great weight, that for the most part they bring with them the ouerthrow of the state, or losse of life to those that committe them, and therefore that it was a hard and dangerous matter to haue experience thereof. So that prudence gotten by vse ought to be hastened forward, because it is dearly bought and so long a coming that oftentimes death preuenteth it. It must be hastened forward by the diligent enquiry of those things that haue fallen out both before and since our time, that wee may become wise by other mens perils. For this cause it is very necessary, that whosoever taketh vpon him the honour of guiding an army should exercise his mind as much as in science, and in the knowledge of Histories, as he doth his body in all martiall actes, that so hee may diligently obserue the deeds of famous personages, see how they gouerned themselves in warres, and examine the causes of their victory, thereby to flie the one and to follow the other. And because it is against reason, that a well armed man should obey him that is vnarmed, or that they should take the rudder out of the Pilots hand to save the ship in a storme, that haue no skil in seafaring matters: it is very requisite that whosoever vndertaketh to commaund an army, should first haue gotten a good report of all men for his valure and greatnes of courage wher by his authority will be reuerenced, as beeing bestowed vpon one that is woorthy of it: forasmuch as titles of dignity do not honour men, but men are an ornament to titles. Now if souldiers haue conceived a good opinion of the desert and valure of their Captaine, it will be a sharpe spurre to prickethem forward in well dooing, and cause them to honour and to loue his commandements. For true zeale of vertue, that is to say, the desire to imitate it, is not imprinted in mens hearts, but through a singular good will and reuerence towards that partie that worketh the impression. It was not then without good cause, that the Auncients greatly esteemed the dignity of a Generall, beeing ioyned with prowesse, knowledge & experience: seeing the happy or vnhappy euent of warre ordinarily depend thereof (next to the chiefe cause proceeding from God) as wee shewed yesterday what *Titus Linius* wrote of the battle betweene the Romanes and the Latines. For this reason *Cimon* a great man of Athens saide, that hee had rather haue an armie of Harts guided by a Lyon, than an armie of Lyons hauing a Hart to their Captaine. Now if wee desire to vnderstand in few words what manner of men are most woorthy of such charges, wee may learne it by the answer that one of the wisest Interpreters made to *Ptolemy* concerning this matter: *They* (saide hee) *that excele in prowesse and iustice, preferre the safety of mens liues before victory.* But to discourse more particularly of the duty and office of the head of an army, *Valerius Coruinius* Generall of the Romanes against the Samnites, to whom he was ready to giue battle, encouraged his souldiours to doe well in few words, and taught euery one how he should proceed to obtaine the place and degree of a Captaine. *A man must consider well* (quoth he vnto them) *under whose conducti- on he entreteth into battle, whether vnder one that can cause himselfe to be heard as if he were some goodly Orator, that hath a braue tongue, but otherwise is a Novice and unskilfull in all points of war, or vnder such a one as hath skill himselfe to handle his weapon, to march first before the ensignes, and to doe his duty in the hottest of his fight. I would not souldiours, that yee should follow my wordes, but my deedes*

I set before you an example ioyned with the instruction and discipline as bee that hath gotten three Consulships with his arme not without exceeding praise. Hereby wee learne, that the auncient Captaines and heades of armies had this laudable custome to make Orations to their men of warre thereby to make them more couragious, as appeareth in all histories both Greeke and Latine. This fashion is now lost together with the rest of warlike discipline: at least wise there is no account made of it in Fraunce, whereupon it commeth to passe, that many great men are but badly followed and serued in warre. For as hee that standeth in neede of the faithfull seruice of men ought to win them rather by gentlenes & good turns, than by authority & rigor: so he that would haue prompt & resolute soldiours for war, that he may vse their seruice in time of need, must make much of them, and allare them to his obedience by liberality, and by good and gracious speeches. For in troth they must be good friendes and affectionate seruitors vnto a man, that setting all excuses aside (of which there is neuer any want) are to fight for him: they must neither bee enuious at his prosperity, nor traiterous in his aduersity. And there is no doubt but that in a matter of great importance, the graue exhortations of a Generall, grounded vpon good reasons and examples, greatly encourage and hartten a whole armie, in somuch that it will make them as hardie as Lyons that before were as fearefull as sheepe. Moreover, if he that is esteemed and iudged to be valiant and noble minded, sheweth foorth effects answerable thereunto, he doubleth the courage and strength of his army: as contrariwise, the least shew of cowardlines, discouragement or astonishment shewed by him, draweth after it the vtter ruine of his souldiours. But to returne to the duty and office of a good Captaine of an army, as the best worke that a man can doe, is first to bee honest and vertuous: and then to take order that himselfe and his family may haue abundantly all things necessary for this life: so euery wise and well aduised leader of men of warre, must dispose and prepare himselfe to the same end, and foresee that nothing be wanting vnto them, neither munitions of warre nor victuals. Hee must not thinke to make new prouision when necessity vrgeth him, but euen then when he is best furnished, hee must bee carefull for the time to come. Whereby taking all occasion of complaining from the souldiours, he shall be better beloued and obeyed, and more feared and redoubted of his enemies. To this purpose Cyrus saide to his chiefe men of war: *My friendes, I reioyce greatly that you and your men are contented that ye haue abundance of all things, and that wee haue wherewith to doe good to euery one according to his vertue. Notwithstanding we must consider what were the principall causes of these good things, and if ye looke narrowly ye shall find, that watching, trauel, continuance in labor, and diligence haue giuen vs these riches. Therefore ye must shew your selues vertuous also hereafter, holding this for certaine, that ye shall obtaine great store of riches and contentation of mind by obedience, constancy, vertue, sustaining of trauel, and by courage in vertuous and perillous enterprises.* Moreover, a good captaine of an army must be very carefull that hee neuer suffer his hoast to be idle: but cause his souldiours either to annoy the enemy, or to do themselves good. It is a burthen something to nourish an idle body, much more a whole family, but especially an army, and not to keepe them occupied. His meaning that warreth of necessity, or through ambition, is to gette or keepe that which is gotten, and to proceed in such sort, that he may enrich, and not impoverish his countrey. Therefore both for conquering, and for the maintenance and preservation of that which is his owne already, hee must necessarily beware of vnprofitable expences and doe all things for common commoditie. So that whosoeuer would thoroughly put in practise these two points, he had neede to follow that custome, which the auncient Romans vsed, namely, at the beginning to make them short and terrible, as wee vse to say. For entering into the felde with great power and strength, they dispatched their warre speedily within few daies: in somuch that all their iournies made against their Latines, Samnits, and Tuscans were ended, some in six, other in ten, and the longest in twenty daies. And although afterward they were constrained to keepe the fieldes a longer time, by reason of the distance of places and countries, yet they did not therefore giue over the following of their first purpose, but ended as soone as they could, their enterprises of warre by quicke battles, according as place and time suffered. True it is, that a prudent captaine must beskilfull to take the enemy at aduantage: but if it bee so that he cannot, the better and more venturous man he thinks himselfe & those that follow him to be, so much the more paines is required of him for his owne & their preservation, as men vse to keepe safely those things which they account deere, & to lay them vp in a sure place. The dignity of a Head of an army, is in truth greatly to bee accounted of, especially when it is ioyned with prowesse and experience, the chiefe point whereof is to saue him that must saue all the rest. Therefore *Timotheus* and *Athenian* Captaine, and

luring A
dion flum
Captains vsed
in old time to
make orations
to their sol-
diers.

Captaines
ought to
make much of
their soldiers.

The benefit of
making orati-
ons to soldiers.

A good cap-
taine must be
alwaies furni-
shed with mu-
nitions and
victuals.

Cyrus Orati-
on to his cap-
taines.

A good cap-
taine must ne-
uer suffer his
army to be
idle.

War ought to
be speedily
ended.

A good cap-
tain must not
be over ven-
turous.

A general
must not rash-
ly hazard
himselfe.

When he
ought to ven-
ture himselfe.

Antonius pre-
ferred the life
of one citizen
before the
death of a
thousand e-
nemies.

Scipio would
haue al waies
tried before
the sword were
used in warre.

When Augu-
stus would
haue battle
giuen.

Narſes al-
waies wept the
night before
he gaue battle

Two faults to
be eschued of
euery captain.

A good gene-
rall must al-
waies feare
the worst.

I had not
thought it, a
dangerous
speech in a
captaine.

A good cap-
taine must
haue skill to
discerne the
situation of
places.

The benefite
of Geometrie
in a Generall.
Philopame-
nus in time of
peace studied
the discipline
of warre.

Chares also another captaine shewed one day openly vnto the Athenians, the skers of many wounds which he had receiued in his body, and his shield also that was spoiled and thrust through with many pushes of a pike: but now (quoth he) I am of another minde. For when I besieged the city of Samos, I was very much ashamed that an arrow shot from the walles fell hard by me, beeing then two venturous a yong man, and hazarding my selfe more rashly than became the Head of so great an army. And yet when it greatly profiteth the whole enterprise, and is a matter of no small importance, that the Generall of the army should put his life in danger, then he must yeeld, and imploy his person, not sparing himselfe, nor giuing place to their words who say, that a good and wise Captaine ought to die of age, or at least to be old. But where small benefite ariseth if he prosper well, and contrariwise, an vniuersall losse and generall hurt to all, if any thing but well betide him, no wise man will require it, or be of the opinion, that he should venture himselfe as a common souldiour doth, whereby he being the Generall should be in danger of destruction. And yet in the meane while he must not be lesse carefull ouer the safety of those valiant men that follow him, or thrust them into danger but very warily, remembring the saying of that good Emperour *Antonius*, That he had rather saue one citizen, than put a thousand enemies to death. The answer of *Scipio* was very like it, when he was earnestly requested by the souldiours at the siege of *Numantia* to giue an assault. I had rather (quoth he) haue the life of one *Romane*, than the death of all the *Numantines*. He vsed also to say, that all things ought to bee assailed in warre before the sword be taken in hand. And indeed there is no greater victorie than that which is gotten without shedding of blood. *Sylla*, *Tyberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* had no skill, but to command and to kill: but that good *Augustus*, *Titus*, and *Traian*, were alwaies ready to sollicite, to request, and to agree by forgiving. *Augustus* also said, that although a prince were mightie, yet if he were wise, he would neuer giue battell vnlesse there were more apparant profit in the victory, than losse if the enemy should ouercome. And indeed he neuer gaue battell but vpon necessity. We reade of that great captaine *Narſes*, who subdued the *Goths*, vanquished the *Bactrians*, and ouercame the *Germanes*, that hee neuer gaue his enemies battell, but hee wept in the Temple the night before. *Theodosius* the Emperour suffered not his men to assault any towne, nor to lay siege vnto it before ten daies were past, causing this proclamation to be made vnto them, that he granted these ten daies to the end they might accept and tast of his clemency before they had experience of his power. It is a common saying, that it is not enough for a Captaine to know how to leade his men well to the fight, vnlesse he fore-see also the meanes to retire and to saue them in time of neede. And it is no lesse fault in a Captaine to fall into an inconuenience vnlooked for, than through too much mistrust to let slip an occasion of doing some great exploit when it is offered. For want of experience breedeth rashnesse in the one, and taketh away boldnesse from the other. Neither must a good Captaine onely vse present occasion well, but he must also iudge wisely of that which is to come, distrustling alwaies the doubtfull issue of all enterprises of warre. For this cause the ancient Generals of armies, both *Greekes* and *Latines* neuer marched but in armour, nor incamped, although they were farre from their enemies, but they closed their campe round about with a trench. And when *Leonidas* was demanded the reason hereof, he answered, *Because as the sea hath his sands, gulfes, and rockes, so hath warre his, among which none is more perillous and hurtfull than this of, I had not thought it.* Among other things necessary in a captaine, the knowledge of nature, and of the situation of places is very requisite: which is to know how the mountaines are lift vp, how the vallies hang, how the champions fields are couched together, and to know the nature and course of riuers, & the breadth of marishes. This is profitable in two respects. First a man learneth thereby to know his owne country, and so to be more skilfull to defend it. Secondly, hauing by that meanes had good practise of the seate of that countrey, he may easily conceiue the situation of another place, of which sometime he must necessarily consider. So that if a Generall be wanting herein, he is destitute of the chiefe vertue which a good captaine ought to haue. For it is that which teacheth him to finde out the enemy, to incampe himselfe, to guide an host, to set his men in aray for the battell, and to take the aduantage at the siege of a towne. Among other great praises that authors giue to *Philopameus* prince of the *Acheans*, they forget not this, that in time of peace he studied diligently how he might war more skilfully. And when he was in the fields with his friends, he would stand still many times and conferre with them, vling such like speeches: *If the enemy were in this mountaine, and wee here with our campe, who shall haue the aduantage, and how might wee seeke him out, marching on in battell? If we would retire, how should we doe? If they retired, how should we follow*

follow them? Thus in the way he set before them all the chances that might happen to a camp then he would heare their opinions, and after set downe his owne, confirming it with reasons. This he did so well, that by reason of these continuall disputations and cogitations, no hinderance could befall him whē he guided an armie, which he could not redresse. *Xenophon* sheweth in *Cyrus* his life, that being ready to set forward in that voiage which he vndertook against the king of Armenia, he said familiarly to his men, that this iourney was but one of those huntings which they had so often practised with him. Hee willed those whom hee sent to lie in ambush vpon the mountaines, to remēber when & how they went to pitch their nets vpon the smal hils: and to those that went to begin the skirmish, he said, that they resembled such as went to rouse a beast out of his den, to driue him to their nettes. This noble prince shee'd well that his exercise of hunting was not vnprofitable vnto him (as indeede it is a true patterne of warre) but that it did helpe him greatly to iudge of the nature and seate of those places which hee frequented in his countries. And because all lands are like in some things, the perfect knowledge of one country (which often vse of hunting bringeth) may helpe one to iudge well of another, *Publius Decius* Tribune of the soldiers in the armie which *Cornelius* the Consul led against the Samnites, beholding the Roman hoast brought into a vally where they might easily be inclosed of the enemies, went to the Consul, and said, Doe you marke, O *Cornelius*, the top of this mountaine aboue our enemy? It is the fortresse of our hope and safety if we make halt to take it, seeing the blinde Samnites haue forsaken it. Wee see then how profitable, yea how necessary it is for a Captaine to know the being and nature of countries, which helpeth a man much in that principall point touched before by me, namely, to compell our enemies to fight when he perceiueth that he is the stronger, & hath the aduantage of them: and if he be the weaker, to keepe himselfe from such places where he may be compelled thereunto. This is that wherby *Cains Marius*, who was six times Consul, got the renoune to be one of the greatest captaines in his time. For although he were generall of many armies, and fought three great battles, yet he was so warie in all his enterprises, that he neuer gaue his enemies occasion to set vpon him, and to force him to fight. And that was a notable answer which he made to the Generall of his enemies, who willed him to come out of his campe to battell, if hee were such a great captaine as men reported him to be. Not so (quoth he,) but if thou art the great captaine, compell mee to it whether I will or no. This is one thing also wherein the Head of an armie must be very vigilant, that all secrecies be closely kept among the captains of his hoast. For great affaires neuer haue good successe when they are discovered before they take effect. To this purpose *Suetonius* saith, that no man euer heard *Iulius Caesar* say, *To morrow we will doe that, and to day this thing: but wee will do this now, and as for to morrow we wil consider what is then to be done.* And *Plutarke* saith in his treatise of Policie, that *Lucius Metellus* being demanded by a Captaine of his when hee would giue battle, said, *If I were sure that my shirt knew the least thought in my hart, I would present lie burne it, and neuer weare any other.* Therefore affaires of war may be handled and debated of by many, but the resolution of them must be done secretly, and knowen of few men: otherwise, they would be sooner disclosed and published than concluded. Notwithstanding it is very necessary, that the Generall should oftentimes call a councell, so that it be of expert and auncient men, and of such as are prudent and voide of rashnesse. But in all cares of necessity a man must not stand long in seeking for reason, but suddenly set vpon them. For many times sundry captaines haue vndone themselves in wars vpon no other occasion, but because they lingred in taking counsel, when they should without losse of time haue wrought some notable enterprise. Moreouer, for the instruction and pattern of the duty and office of a good head and captaine of an army, we can alledge none more worthy to be imitated than *Cato* of *Vtica*, a Consul of Rome, who had the guiding of a legion when he first took charge vpon him. For from that time forward he thought, that it was not royall or magnificall to be vertuous alone, being but one body: and therefore hee studied to make all that were vnder his charge like himselfe. Which that he might bring to passe, he took not from them the feare of his authority, but added reason thereunto, shewing and teaching them their dutie in euery point, and alwaies ioining to his exhortations reward, for those that did well, and punishment for such as did euil. So that it was hard to say, whether he had made them more apt for peace or for war, more valiant or more iust, because they were so stout and eager against their enemies and so gentle and gracious to their friends, so feareful to do euill, and so readie to obtaine honour. The vertue of *Pompey* is also worthy to be followed, of euery great captaine, for the temperance that was in him, for his skill in arms, eloquence in speech,

Cyrus resembleth his going to war to hunting.

Hunting is an image of war.

P. Decius.

C. Marius neuer gaue his enemies occasion to force him to fight.

The captaine of an armie must be very secret.

I. Caesar very secret in time of warre. *L. Metellus.* Affaires of war must be debated by many, but concluded by few. Urgent occasions in war require short deliberation.

Cato a notable patterne for all captaine to follow.

Pompey.

How Cato
diuided the
spoile.

fidelity in word, as also because he was to be spoken with, and so lovingly entertained every one. And if with these things the example of the same *Cato* be followed in his prudent liberality, and diuision of the spoiles and riches of the enemies, that captaine that so behaueth himselfe shall deserue eternall praise, and please all those that follow him. For when this vertuous captaine had taken many townes in Spaine, he neuer referued more for himselfe than what hee did eate and drinke there. He deliuered to every one of his souldiers a pound weight of siluer, saying, that it was better that many should returne to their houses from the warre with siluer, than a few with gold: and as for the captaines hee said, that during their charges and governments they should not grow and increase in any thing but in honor and glory. For the conclusion therefore of our speech, we note, that a Generall of an armie desirous to be obeyed (which is necessary) must behaue himselfe so, that his souldiers may thinke him worthy to prouide and care for their necessary affaires. Which thing will come to passe, when they see that he is couragious and carefull, that he keepeth his place and the maiestie of his degree well, that he punisheth offenders, and laboreth not his men in vaine, but is liberal, and performeth his promises made vnto them.

Of the choise of Souldiors, of the manner how to exhort them to fight, and how victorie is to be vsed. Chap. 70.

One godly
man in a
campe is in
place of ma-
ny.

Souldiors
ought to be-
gin their war
with praier,
and end with
praise and
thank-giuing

Why a man
must vse his
owne subiects
in warre.

Three causes
from whence
proceeded the
ruine of the
Romane Em-
pire.

ACHILLES **T O B.** **A** Gamemmon generall Captaine of the Grecians before Troy, speaking of *Achilles*, and being grieved because herefused to succour them, hauing beene offended by him, said, *That a man beloued of God is in the place of many men in a campe, and farre better than a whole company that is unruly, and cannot be governed but with great paine and care.* This reason was the cause that good men here-tofore were greatly honoured in warre, and much sought after by great captaines, because they were very religious, and vnderooke nothing before they had praied to their gods, and offered sacrifices after the maner of their country. Also after they had done some great exploit, they were not slothfull to giue them thanks, by offerings and hymnes sung to their praise. But all these good considerations haue no more place amongst vs, than the rest of their warlike discipline, principally in that no regard is had what manner of men are to be vsed in seruice, but onely how a great number may be had. And many times he that is knowne to be a bold murderer, and giuen ouer to all wickednes, shall be preferred to an office before an honest man: and which is more, we despise our owne country-men, whom the welfare of our countrie concerneth as well as our selues, and rather trust strangers & hirelings, who seeke nothing but destruction, so that we our selues also bewaile, but too late, the mischiefes that haue light vpon vs. For this cause I propound vnto you (my Companions) to discourse vpon, the election and choise which is to be considered of, in taking such men of war to whom a man may safely commit himselfe: and if you thinke good, you may speake somewhat also of the manner of exhortation to fight vsed by the Ancients, because I touched it by the way in my former discourse: and lastly how victory ought to be vsed, which commonly followeth good order and discipline of warre, whereof we haue hitherto discoursed.

ASER. Forasmuch as the chiefe force of an armie consisteth in the sincere and constant good will of the souldiers toward him for whom they fight, it is not to be sought for elsewhere than in his owne natural Subiects, to whom prosperity and good successe is common with the Prince,

A MANA. My friends (quoth *Cyrus* to his men of warre) I haue chosen you, not because I haue had prooffe heretofore of your manhood, but because from my young yeares I haue knowne you ready to do those things, which we in this Country account honest, and to eschue all dishonesty. This cannot be truly said of strangers neuer scene before, who come out of their Country to enrich themselves with the ouerthrow of their neighbours. But it belongeth to thee **ARAM** to handle this matter heere propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. If we consider diligently of the causes, from whence came the ruine of the Romane Empire, we shall finde, that those meanes which the wisest Emperors inuented for the safety and preservation thereof, turned in the end to the destruction of it. First, the ordinary armies placed by *Augustus* neare to Rome, and in the borders of his estate, ouerthrew many of his successors, and euen the Empire it selfe, which they would sometimes set to sale, and deliuer vp vnto him that gaue most for it. Next, the translation of the Empire which

Constantine

Constantine the great made from Rome to Bizantium, afterward called by his name *Constantinople*, thereby to make it more sure against the Persians and other people of Asia, greatly hastened forward the overthrow of the same. For when hee carried thither the chiefe strength and wealth of Rome, and diuided the Empire into the East and West, he weakened it very much, so that the West was first destroyed, and then the East, which if they had continued vnited and knit together, might for a long time, and in a manner for ever, haue resisted all inuasions. Thirdly, when the Emperours thought to strengthen themselves with strange hired, and forren power, called to their succour, as namely, the Gothes, thereby weakening their owne forces and naturall strength of the Empire, they put ere they were aware, Rome and Italy, and consequently the other Provinces, into the hands of the Barbarians. Yea we finde, that the greatest calamities that euer happened to Common wealths diuided was when the Citizens were seuered among themselves, and called in strangers to helpe the who vsing often to go that way, at the least made themselves masters ouer them. The Germanes called by the *Sequani* to their succour against those of Antun: compelled them to deliuer halfe their land vnto them: and at length they droue awaie all the naturall people of the countrey, and became Lords of the greatest part of the Gaules territorie. But not to goe so farre off, it is high time for vs to grow wise by our owne perill. The factions of the houses of Orleans and of Burgundie, called in the Englishmen into Fraunce, who by this meane set such footing therein, that they possessed a great part thereof a long time after. What lacked in our time why the French men blinded and carried away with partialities (and God graunt they may throughly know it) did not bring their countrey to that extremitie of miseries, as to submit it to the seruice and slavery of a strange yoke, vnder the colour of begging helpe at their hands? What letteth why there was not plaied among vs, of vs, and by vs, the cruellest and most sorrowfull tragedie that euer was, when men came hither from all quarters to behold the sight? Would not a man haue thought, that both great and small had wittingly purposed to overthrow the goodliest & most noble kingdome of the world, and themselves withall, and so in the ende haue shamefully lost the glory & renowne, which their ancestors had woorthily gotten for them? Now if any good happe hath turned this tempest from vs against our wils, at the least let vs call to minde the danger wherein we had willingly cast ourselves, and let vs not forget the admonition that was giuen vs by those barbarous fellows, whose Captaines and Counsellours asked vs why we called them in, when a little before their departure out of this kingdome, they were complained vnto for the extortions and cruelties which their men practised. *What think you (said they) is the intent and purpose of our men in following vs, but to enrich themselves with your overthrow? Agree among your selues and neuer call vs more, except ye minde to tast of that which shall be worse.* But let vs enter into the particular consideration of the perill and hurt that commeth by forren and mercenary souldiors that we may know whom wee ought rather to vse. The armes wherewith a Prince defendeth his countrey, are either his owne, or hired of strangers, or sent to his succour by some Prince his friend, or else mingled of both together. They that maintaine, that it is necessary for the prosperity and preseruacion of euery happy Common wealth, not to vse forren helpe, say, that hired force and succour of strangers is woorth nothing, but rather dangerous, and that if a Prince thinke to ground the assurance of his Estate vpon forren force, hee cannot safely doe it. For they agree not easily together, they doe all for profit, and will bee neither well ordered nor obedient. On the other side, they are not ouer faithfull, they are all in their brauery among friends, but hartlesse among enemies. They neither feare God, nor are faithfull to men. The reason thereof is this, because no loue, nor any other occasion holdeth them but pay, and hope of spoile. Which is no sufficient cause to moue them to die willingly in his seruice, whose subiects they are not, and whose ruine they desire, rather than his increase. The last destruction of Italy came by no other thing, than because it trusted a long time to forren & hired forces, which brought something to passe for some men, but as soon as another stranger came, they shewed what they were. Hereupon it came, that king *Charly* the eight easily ouer ranne all Italy with chalke, as wee vse to speake, that is to say, that without resistance hee sent before to take vp his lodging, because they that should haue withstood him, and were called in to keepe the countrey, did of their owne accord take his part. But there is a further matter. Strange hired Captaines either are excellent men, or haue nothing in them. If they be valiant, the Prince is not to trust them. For out of doubt they will seeke to make themselves great, either by his overthrow that is their master, or by destroying others against his will. And if the Captaines haue no valure in them, hee

The diuision
of the Empire
weakened the
same.

Dangerous to
an Estate to
call in forrain
succors.

As appeareth
by the Sequani.

By the french
men.

The end that
forraigne soldi
ers propound
to themselves

Reasons why
forraigne force
is woorth no
thing.

The cause of
the last destru
ction of Italy

The discom
modity of
bringing in
hired captaines

Dangerous
for a Prince
to call in a
Potentate to
succour him.

Examples of
the change of
Estates by
means of for-
ren succour

Charles the
fift, bound by
oath not to
bring any for-
ren souldiers
into Germanie.

Charles 7.
made decrees
for French
souldiers.

What incon-
ueniences
France is fal-
len into by
hiring Swit-
zers.
Francis the
first establish-
ed 7. legions
of footmen.

cannot hope for any thing but for the cause of his owne perdition. Succour is most hurtfull to an Estate, when some Potentate is called in with his forces for aide and defence. Those souldiers may well bee good and profitable for themselves, but are alwaies hurtfull to such as call them. For if a man loose the field, he is ouerthrowne: if he winne it, he is their prisoner. Such succour is a great deale more to be feared, than hired strength, which obeyeth the Prince that calleth them, and requireth their helpe. But when a man receiueth in an armie vnited, and accustomed to obey the Captaine that conducteth and bringeth them in, his destruction is already prepared, and cannot be auoided, who openeth the doore of his owne house to let, in an enemy stronger than himselfe. Therefore it were expedient for euery Prince to trie all waies before he haue recourse to such men for helpe and succour. And who-soeuer shall reade and consider well the times that are past, and run ouer the present state of things, he shall see, that whereas one prospered well, an infinite number were deceiued and abused. For a Commowwealth, or an ambitious Prince, could not wish to haue a better occasion whereby to get the possession of a City, Seignory, or Prouince, than when hee is required to send his army to defend it. But what? The ambition, desire of reuenge, or some other affection of men is so great, that to accomplish once their present will, they forget all duty, and cast behinde them the care of all danger and inconuenience whatsoever, that may light vpon them. The Herules, Gothes, and Lumbards by these meanes became Lords of Italy: the Frenchmen of the Gaules countrie, the Englishmen of great Britaine, the Scots of Scotland after they had driven out the Britons, and Picts, who called them in for succour. The Turkes made themselves Lords of the East Empire, and of the kingdome of Hungarie, beeing likewise required of helpe by the Emperors of Constantinople, and by the States of Hungarie. Not long since *Carradin* a Pirate, beeing called by the inhabitants of Alger to driue the Spaniards out of the fortresse, after he had vanquished them, he slue *Selim* Prince of the towne, and made himselfe king, leauing the estate to his brother *Arradin Barberossa*. And *Saladine* a Tartarian Captaine, beeing called by the *Calipha* and Inhabitants of Caire to driue the Christians out of Soria, after the victorie slue the *Calipha*, and became absolute Lord thereof. The foresight which the Princes of Germanie had of the perill and hurt that all strangers bring to an estate, caused them to binde the Emperour *Charles* the fift, by the twelfth article of conditions, vnto which he sware before hee received the Imperiall crowne, that he should not bring in any forren souldiers into Germanie. And yet thorough the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Flemings that came into the country, being called in against the Protestants, there wanted little of changing the estate of Almain into an hereditary kingdome. Which had beene soone done if king *Henry* the second had not staid it by his French power: for which cause hee was called by bookes published, and arches erected in their countrie, *Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer of the Princes*; who since haue concluded among themselves, that they will neuer choose a forren Prince. *Charles* the seuenth king of France, hauing by his great good successe and vertue, deliuered France of Englishmen, and knowing well that it was necessary for him to bee furnished with his owne forces, instituted the decrees of horsemen, and of the companies of footemen. After that, king *Lewes* his sonne abolished his footemen, and began to leuy Switzers: which being likewise practised by other kings his successors, many men haue noted, that by countenancing the Switzers, they haue caused their owne forces to degenerate and grow out of vse, disannulled the footemen, and tied their horsemen to other footmen: insomuch that since they haue beene vsed to fight in company of the Switzers, they thinke that they cannot obtaine the victory, nor yet fight without them. Therefore the prudence of king *Francis* the first, must needs be honoured with exceeding great praise, in that he established seven legions of footmen, accounting 6000. men to a legion: so that there could be no better deuice for the maintenance of warlike discipline, nor more necessarie for the preservation of this kingdome, if those good ordinances that were made to this end be well marked. Neuerthelesse they were abolished in his raigne, established againe by *Henry* the second his successor, and after that abrogated. I am of opinion that if these ancient institutions both of horsemen and footmen were reuiued, they would be a good meane, whereby we might alwaies haue men of warre to defend this kingdome, to conquer that which is taken from it, and to helpe our friends: whereas now wee are faine to vse the seruice of vnskilfull men that are made captaines before euer they were soldiors, or else of necessity compelled to beg and to buy very deere the succour of forren nations. My meaning is not that a Prince should neuer vse the helpe of others, but alwaies take his owne forces collected among his subiects: Nay I say to

to the contrary, that it must needs be profitable for him to vse the succors of his Alies, so that they be ioynd with him in league offensive & defensive. For by this means, he doth not only make himself stronger, but withal taketh away both that aid from his enemy, which he might otherwise have drawne from thence, and occasion also from al men to make war with the one, except they will haue the other also their enemy. But aboue all things, let no Prince trust so much to the succour of his alies, except himself with his subiects be of greater strength. And if alies are to be feared when they are stronger in another countrey, what assurance may a man haue of forren souldiers, that are at no league either offensive or defensive with vs? Now if vpon the due consideration of these things, souldiers be carefully trained vp in good discipline of war, which may be collected out of many institutions that are extant, and if the guiding of them be giuen to good, vertuous, and expert Captaines, led onely with a desire to do their duty to their King and countrey, this kingdome will be feared of strangers, and without feare it selfe of their assaults and enterprises. Especially if in the Prince his absence, the soueraigne authority of commanding absolutely in the army, be committed into the hands of a captaine woorthy his charge, as we haue discoursed, who is able to win the hearts of men, and to prouoke them to their duty by liuely and learned reasons: as namely, *That all men must die, and therefore that it were two great follie in a man to refuse to die for publike profit, which bringeth vnto vs immortall glory, seeing that he must once of necessity yeeld up his life: that a glorious death is alway to be preferred before a shamefull life stained with reproch: briefly, if he can ground his exhortations vpon the occasion of taking armes, of time, place, estate and condition of the enemies, and of the good that will come to them, if they obtaine victory.* But in all these things the iustice and equity of the cause of war, is that which most of all maketh good men couragious, who otherwise neuer ought to fight. We may reade a million of goodly orations made in the time of war, & set forth in one volume, with which euery wise and prudent Captaine may helpe himselfe according as occasion is offered. Now, if that ancient order and discipline, of which we haue hitherto discoursed, and which may be learned more at large in their excellent writings, were renewed and imitated by our armies, as the late vse and practise of Armes exercised at this day, is apt and fit for the same, being more terrible than that of the Ancients, who had no gunpowder, no doubt but great obedience of souldiers towards their Captaines would arise of it, whereas nowadaies in steade of commanding, they haue nothing left but an humble request to be vsed towards their souldiers, who neuertheless turne it into contempt and want of courage. But if true obedience were ioynd with good order, the hope of prosperous successe in our enterprises would be far greater. Now when our affaires succeed happily, so that we haue our enemies at aduantage, or haue gotten some victory, wee must beware least insolency blinde vs in such sort, that trusting to our good hap, we goe beyond our bounds, and loose the occasion of certaine and sure benefit, through hope of some greater good as yet vncertaine. *Hannibal*, after the discomfiture of the Romanes, at Cannas, sent men to Carthage to cary newes of his victory, and withall to demand a new supply. Whereupon the Senate was long in deliberating what was to be done. *Hannibal*, a prudent olde man was of opinion, that they were to vse the victory wisely, and to make peace with the Romans, which they might obtaine of them with honest conditions, and not to expect the hazard of an other battell. Hee said that the Carthaginians ought to be satisfied with this declaration already made to the Romans, that they were such men as could stand against them: and therefore seeing they had woone one victory of them, they should not venture the losse of it, in hope of a greater. This prudent counsell was not followed, although afterward the Senate did acknowledge it for the best, when that occasion was lost. *Alexander* the Great had already conquered all the East, when the commonwealth of Tyrus, being great and mighty, because the city was scituated in the water (as Venice is) and astonished at the greatnes and fame of that Monarchs power, sent their Embassadors vnto him to offer what obedience and subiection he would require, vpon condition that neither he nor his men would enter into the city. *Alexander* disdainig that one city should shut their gates against him, to whom the whole world was open, sent them backe againe without accepting their offer, & went thither to pitch his Campe against it. After he had continued the siege towre monthes, he thought within himselfe, that one onely Towne would shorten his glory more than all his other conquests had done before: whereupon he purposed to try an agreement by offering that vnto them which themselves had required before. But then the Tyrians were waxen so lusty and bolde, that they did not onely refuse his proffers, but also executed as many as came to conclude with them: Whereupon *Alexander* being moued with indignation, caused an assault to be made with such heat and violence,

How a Prince may vse the succours of his Alies.

How a Captaine should exhort his souldiers.

How victory is to be vsed.

Examples of such as knew not how to vse victory wisely & to take opportunity offered.

The Tyrians besieged and subdued by Alexander.

It is not good
to fight with
desperate men.

Iohn King of
France taken
by the English
men.

Gaston de
Foix.

Small armies
that ouercame
great.

Victory com-
meth onely
from God.
Valiant men
are full of com-
passion.
No true victo-
ry without
clemencie.
Ring-leaders
of euill are to
be punished,
and the mul-
titude to be
pardon ed

that he tooke and sacked the towne, put some of the inhabitants to the edge of the sword, and made the residue seruants and slaues. Agreement and composition is alwaies to be preferred before continuance of warre. And how soeuer a man may seeme to bee assured, and as it were certaine of the victory, yet ought hee to doubt the vncertainty of humane things. That couragious and valiant *Hannibal*, being called out of Italy by his countrey men to succour them against the Romans, by whom they were besieged, when his army was yet whole, demanded peace of them before he would enter into battell, because hee saw that if he lost it, he brought his country into bondage. What then would another do, that hath lesse vertue and experience than he? But men fall into the error of the vncertain hope, vpon which staying themselves without further consideration, they are ouerthrowne. Sometimes when we contemne our enemy too much, and bring him into a desperate estate, wee make him more venturous to vndertake, and violent to execute any dangerous matter. Despaire (saith *Tubero*) is the last but the strongest assault, and a most inuincible tower. For this cause the ancient Romane Captaines were very diligent and carefull to lay all kinde of necessity to fight vpon their men, and to take it from their enemies by opening vnto them passages to escape, which they might haue shut vp against them. King *Iohn*, because hee would not make peace with the English host, which desired to escape onely with life, was taken and carried prisoner into England, and his army consisting of forty or fifty thousand men, was discomfited by tenne thousand Englishmen, some say more, some lesse. *Gaston de Foix*, hauing woone the battell at Rauenna, and following a Squadron of Spaniards that fledde, lost life, and made all that a preie vnto the enemy, which he had conquered before in Italy. Ancient histories are full of such examples, and namely of small armies that ouercame those that were great and mighty. *Darius* against *Alexander*, *Pompey* against *Cesar*, *Hannibal* against *Scipio*, *Marcus Antonius* against *Augustus*, *Mithridates* against *Sylla*, had greater forces without comparison than their enemies. Therefore good *Traian* said, that To accept, of warre, to gather a great number of men, to put them in order, to giue battell, appertaineth to men; but to giue victory was the work of God onely: so that great armies preuaile but little against the wrath of the Highest. If then we would know a good way how we shall neuer be vanquished, wee must not trust to our armour or force, but alwaies call vpon God to direct our counsels for the best. By this also we shall be perswaded to vse victory mildly, seeing it is the property of valiant men to be gentle and gracious, ready to forgive, and to haue compassion of them that suffer and endure affliction. There is no true victory (as *Marcus Aurelius* wrote to *Popilius* captain of the Parthians) but that which carieth with it some clemencie: so that a rigorous and cruell man may not in reason be called victorious. And it is most true, that to overcome is humane, but the action of pardoning is diuine. As touching the sacking and ouerthrow of towne taken in warre, carefull heede (saith *Cicero*) must be taken, that nothing be done rashly or cruelty. For it is the property of a noble heart to punish such onely as are most guiltie and the authors of euill, and to saue the multitude. Briefly, to obserue in all things whatsoever is right and honest, to be valiant and gentle, to be an enemy to those that do vniustly, favorable to the afflicted, seuer to quarrellers, and full of equitie to suppliants, are those praise woorthy qualities for which *Alexander*, *Iulius Cesar*, *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, *Cyrus*, and many other both Greeke and Romane Captaines are most commended, who ought to be imitated in the art of war by all excellent men.

Of a happie Life. Chap. 71.

Humane sci-
ences are but
darknes in re-
gard of the
word of God

AR AM **V**VE haue hitherto discoursed (my companions) of vertues and vices, for which the life of man is praised or dispraised in all estates and conditions whereunto the variety of manners, and inclinations to sundry studies and workes all men, and make them fit. Wherein we haue chiefly followed the endes and bounds of honesty & equitie propounded by Morall Philosophers, from whence they draw particular duties, and all actions of vertue, vling a very commendable and excellent order and disposition. Now seeing we are come to the end of the cause of our assembly, as we began it with the true and Christian knowledge of the creation of man, and of the end of his being vnkowne to so many great personages in the world, who are lightened onely with humane sciences, which are but darknesse in regard of that heavenly light, the eternall word of God that guideth the soules of the beleeuers; I thinke that wee ought also to ende and breake vp this our meeting together with the manner of a happie life and death, according to those ends

andes that are propounded vnto vs by the infallible rule of all vertue and truth, which if they be not so subtilty set downe and disputed, as the Philosophie of the Ancients is, yet the least they are without comparison better and more certaine. Go to then, let vs heare you discourse first of a happy Life.

A CHITOB. Blessed are they (saith the Prophet) that dwell in the house of God, and that evermore praise him, having his waies in their hearts. He will give them grace and glory, and will withhold no good thing from them that walke uprightly.

ASER. What happier life can we require, than that which Saint Iohn calleth eternall life: namely, To know onely truly God, and Iesus Christ whom he hath sent? But it belongeth to thee **A MANA** to feede our spirits with this excellent subiect.

A MANA. Although the spirit of God, teaching his iust and holy will by a doctrine that is simple and voide of all vaine shew of words, hath not alwaies obserued and kept so strictly such a certaine order and methode, to prepare and to direct their liues that shall beleue in him, as the Philosophers did, who affected the greatest shew outwardly that they could, thereby to make manifest the sharpnesse of their wit, and the greatnesse of their humane vnderstanding, yet may we easily gather out of this diuine doctrine (which doth more deface all glittering shew and beauty of humane sciences, than the Sunne excelleth darkenes) a most excellent order, teaching vs to frame a happy life according to the mould & patterne of true and heavenly vertue. This order consisteth of two parts; the one imprinting in our hearts the loue of iustice, the other giuing vnto vs a certaine rule, that will not suffer vs to wander, hither and thither, nor to slip aside in the framing of our life. Concerning the first point, the Scripture is full of very good reasons to incline our hearts to loue that Good, which indeede is to bee desired, I meane perfect righteousness. With what foundation could it begin better, than by admonishing vs to be sanctified, because our God is holly? Whereunto the reason is added, that although wee were gone astray as sheepe scattered and dispersed in the Labyrinth of this world, yet wee hath gathered vs together, to ioyne vs to himselfe. When wee heare mention made of the coniunction of God with vs, we must remember, that the bond thereof is holiness, and that we must direct our steps thither, as to the end of our calling, that we may bee transformed into the true image of God, which through sinne was defaced in the first man, and consequently in vs. Moreover, to moue vs the more to imbrace that onely & true God the spirit of God teacheth vs, that as he hath reconciled vs vnto himselfe in his sonne Iesus Christ, so he hath appointed him to be vnto vs an example & patterne, vnto which we must, conforme our selues. This heavenly word also taketh occasion to exhort vs thereunto in infinite places, drawing his reasons from all the benefits of God, and from all the parts of our salvation. As when it is said: That seeing God hath giuen himselfe to be our Father, we are to bee accused of notable ingratitude, if we behaue not our selues as his children. Seeing Iesus Christ hath cleansed vs by the washing of his blood, and hath communicated this purification vnto vs by baptisme, there is no reason why we should defile our selues with new filthines. Seeing he hath ioyned and ingrafted vs into his body, we must carefully looke, that wee defile not our selues in any sort, being members of his body. Seeing hee that is our Head is gone vnto heauen, wee must lay aside all earthly affections, and aspire with all our heart to that heavenly life. Seeing the holy Ghost hath consecrated vs to bee the temples of God, wee must labour and strue that the glory of God may bee exalted in vs, and beware that we receiue no pollution. Seeing our soules and bodies are fore-appointed to enioy that immortalitie of the kingdome of heauen, and the incorruptible crowne of God his glory, we must endeavour to keepe both one and the other pure and unspotted, untill the day of the Lord. Beholde surely good grounds, meete to frame and institute a happy life, by and to moue a christian to bring forth the effects of such an excellent and woorthy title through the loue of righteousness, having this marke alwaies before his eyes to direct all his actions therunto: namely, to aspire to that perfection which God commandeth. From which although the affections of our flesh seeke to seperate vs, and the difficulties are great, so that is impossible for vs to attaine perfection in this mortall prison, yet let vs leaue off to follow that way which wee haue once begun, looking to our marke in purity, & prightnes, and simplicity, & striving to come to our end, vntil we perfectly see that soueraigne goodnes, when hauing cut off the infirmity of our flesh, & being made partakers of that goodnesse in full measure, wee shall bee receiued of God into his heavenly kingdome. Let vs now come to the second point. Although the Lawe of God comprised in tenne Commandements, and those tenne also contained onely in two, hath a most excellent methode and well ordered disposition, whereby to direct our life, and to make it happie, yet it hath pleased our good Master, his eternall Sonne, to frame

Psal. 84. 5. 11.

Iohn. 17. 3.

Of the loue
of righteous-
nesse.
Leuit. 19. 2.
1. Pet. 1. 15. 26

Holines is the
end of our cal-
ling.

Christ is a pas-
terne of
righteousnes
vnto vs.

Malach. 1. 6.
Eph. 5. 26. 30

Col. 3. 1. 2.
1. Cor. 6. 19.
1. Thes. 5. 9.

We must al-
waies strue
to come to
perfection.

them

What the duty
of every
faithfull man
is.

Rom. 12. 12.

What it is to
consecrate our
selues to God

Gal. 2. 20.

The loue of
God breedeth
in vs a dislike
of our selues.

Math. 16. 24

Fruites of the
deniall of our
selues.

Selueloue is
cause of the
most of our
imperfections
The definition
of charity

1. Cor. 13. 4.

The effect of
true charity
towards our
neighbour.

The naturall
inclination of
man.

them that are his by an exquisite doctrine, according to that rule which hee had giuen vnto them in his Law. The beginning of that way which hee taketh, is after this fortynamely, to teach them that it is the duty of every faithfull man, to offer his body a liuing, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God, wherein consisteth the chiefest point of that seruice which wee owe vnto him. Then he goeth on to exhort vs, that we would not fashion our selues to this world, but be changed by the renewing of our minde, that wee may proue what is the good will of God. That is no small reason to say that we must consecrate and dedicate our selues to God, that from hence forward we should neither thinke, speake, meditate, or do any thing but to his glory. For it is not lawful to apply any thing that is consecrated to a prophane vse. Now if wee be not our owne, but belong to the Lord, wee may thereby see both how to auoide error, and whither we must direct al the parts of our life: namely, to the rule of his holy and iust will. Let vs not propound to our selues this ende, to seeke after that which is expedient for vs according to the flesh. Let vs forget our selues as much as may bee, and all things that are about vs. We are the Lords, let vs liue and die to him, and let his will and wisdom gouerne all our actions. Let all the parts of our life be referred to him as to their onely ende: and let all our humane reason yeelde and retire, that the holy Ghost may haue a place in vs; and that our reason may be subiect to his direction, to the ende we may no more liue of our selues, but haue Iesus Christ to liue & reigne within vs. *I liue* (saith Saint Paul) *yet not I now, but Christ liueth in me.* Truly he that hath Iesus Christ liuing in him, and that liueth in Iesus Christ, liueth no more in himselfe, and careth least for himselfe. For if all true loue hath such force within the heart where it is placed, that it careth not for it selfe, but delighteth in, and is altogether partaker of the thing that it loueth: how much stronger shall the heavenly loue be to withdraw all our affections from the earth vnto the things of the Spirit? O good Iesus, O loue of my soule (saith Saint Augustine) as often as loue beginneth in mee, it endeth with hatred in thee: but when it beginneth in thee, I come to the hatred of my selfe: so that the scope of thy loue is nothing else but dislike of our selues. Therefore our Sauour said to his disciples, that if any man would follow him, he should forsake himselfe. Moreover, after the heart of man is once possessed with this deniall of himselfe, first, all pride, haughtinesse, and ostentation, are banished out of the soule: next conuetsuene, intemperance, superfluitie, desire of honour, and of all delights, with the rest of those vices that are engendred through the loue of our selues. Contrariwise, where the deniall of our selues reigneth, not, there is man giuen ouer to all kind of villanie, without shame or blushing: or if any shew of vertue appeare in his actions it is corrupted before God through a wicked desire of glory. Most of our imperfections proceede from the loue of our selues, which hindereth vs from discharging our duty towards God and towards our neighbours, according to charity. Charity is nothing else but to loue God for himselfe, and our neighbour for his sake: I say, to loue God, because he is the soueraigne good, and because the greatnesse of his goodnesse deserueth it: to loue our neighbours, because the image of God shineth in them, whom hee hath substituted in his place, that we should acknowledge towards them the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon vs. And who is able to performe those duties that S. Paul requireth in charity, vnlesse he hath renounced himselfe, that he may seeke nothing but the profit of his neighbor, *Loue* (saith he) *suffereth long: it is bountifull, it enuieth not: it doth not boast: it is not puffed vp: it disdaineth not, it seeketh not her own things: it is not prouoked to anger, and so forth.* If that only saying were there that we must not seeke our owne profite, it should be of no smal force with our nature, which draweth vs so much to the loue of our selues, that we forget what we owe to our neighbours. But if we would faithfully discharge this duty, let vs whilest we do good, and exercise the offices of humanity, remember this rule: That wee are *Stewards of all that God hath giuen vs*, whereby we may helpe our neighbour, and that one day wee shall giue account how wee haue executed our charge limited vnto us in the practise of charitie, by a true and sound affection of friendship. Which thing will haue place amongst vs, when we take vpon vs their persons that stand in neede of succour, when we pity their misery, as if we felt and sustained it, and when wee are touched with the same affection of mercie to helpe them, that is in vs to helpe our selues. As for that which onely concerneth our duty towards God, the deniall of our selues will make vs patient and meeke. And when our affections pricke vs forward to seeke how wee may liue in rest and ease, the scripture alwaies bringeth vs backe to this, that resigning our selues and all that we haue, into the hands of God, we should submit the desires of our heart to him, that we may tame them, and bring them vnder his yoke. We are led with a furious kinde of intemperance, and with an vnbridled lust, in desiring credit and honor, in seeking after power and might

might, in heaping vp of riches, and in gathering together whatsoever wee iudge meete for pompe and magnificence. On the other side, we maruellously feare and hate pouerty, basenes, and ignominy, and flie from them as much as we can. Hereupon we see in what disquietnesse of minde all they are, that order their liues after their owne counsell, how many waies they assay to attaine to that, vnto which their ambition and couetousnes carrieth them. But they that submit themselues wholly vnder the yoke of Gods will, neuer intangle themselues in these snares. For first, they neither desire, hope or imagine of any other meanes to prosper by, than the blessing of God: and therefore they stay and rest themselues assuredly thereupon, as vpon that which is able to giue them a good issue in all things, & true felicity, which cannot in any wise be in the doings of wicked men, what false prosperitie soeuer appeareth in the eyes of flesh. Hereof it commeth, that they aspire not through iniustice or other sinister meanes to any worldly goods, but contemne them, seeking after the only true goods, which turne them not aside from innocencie. For they are assuredly perswaded that the blessing of god is not extended vpon the workers of iniquity, but only vpon such as are vpriight in their thoughts and workes. Moreouer it serueth for a bridle to restrain them, that they burne not with a disordered desire of worldly goods, because they hold this for certaine, that the blessing of God cannot helpe them to obtaine that which is cleane contrary to his word, whereby we are commanded to withdraw our whole heart from this world, that we may lift it vp in the meditation of eternall happines. The Lord (saith *Iustine Martyr*) will not honour his children with worldly happines, for a reward of their pietie. For those things that are subiect to corruption cannot be a recompence to good men for their vertue: because they are circumscribed and limited by the change of the mortall estate of vertuous men, who are deprived altogether of them at the time of their death. And as good men are not said or accounted to be of the world, so their glory, riches, and wealth, are not in the earth. So that in what estate soeuer a Christian man is, he feeleth himselfe alwaies moued to giue glory to God, and iudgeth that all things are appointed by him in such sort, as is most expedient for his saluation. If aduersity presse him, and the miseries of mans life seeke to make him distrust the grace & fauour of God, or to murmur against him through impatiencie, he striveth so much the more on the other side to consider of his heauenly iustice and goodnes, in that he chastiseth him iustly, and for his benefite: and arming himselfe with patience, he expecteth with a quiet and thankfull minde the issue of God his ordinance, whereunto he wholly submitteth himselfe. Besides, he considereth how God calleth all his to beare their crosse, and teacheth them to prepare themselves to sustaine a hard and laborious life, full of travell and of infinite kindes of euils, vnto which Iesus Christ their head was first made subiect. Where this consolation followeth presently vpon it, that such a life is a preparation to follow him into his eternall glory. Yea the more we are afflicted and endure miseries, the more is our society with Christ Iesus certainly confirmed unto vs. Now the chiefe rule propounded vnto vs by the spirit of God concerning this matter is, that with what kinde of tribulation soeuer we are afflicted, we should looke to this ende, to acquaint our selues with the contempt of this present life, that we may thereby be brought on to meditate vpon the life to come. But because this diuine wisdom knoweth full well that wee are inclined and led with a blinde and euen brutish loue of this world, it vseth a very apt reason to draw vs backe and to awake our sluggishnesse, that our heart should not bee too much setled vpon such a foolish loue. There is none of vs that will not seeme to aspire throughout the whole course of his life to a heauenly immortality: yea to strue for the obtaining of it. For we are ashamed not to excell the brute beasts in something, whose condition would seeme to bee more happy then ours, if we had no hope of eternity after death. Neuerthelesse, if a man examine the counsels, deliberations, enterprises and works of euery one, he shall finde nothing but earth in them, being such as tend altogether to the commodity of this life. Now this blockishnes proceedeth fro hence, that our vnderstanding is as it were dimmed with that vaine brightnes which riches, honors, and powers haue in outward shew, whereby it is hindered fro looking farther. In like maner our heart being pressed with the affectious of the flesh, which propounded vnto it couetousnes, ambition, and all other carnal desires, our soule is at length perswaded to seeke for her felicitie vpon earth. The Lord therefore to meete with his mischief teacheth his seruants to know the vanity of this present life, by exercising them daily with diuers miseries. Hee sendeth them no prosperity, which is not mingled with greater aduersity, that by learning to contemne altogether this earthly life, they may frame their harts to desire and to meditate vpon the life to come. Wherefore when they try by afflictions, that this

Corruptible things are no sufficient recompence for vertuous men

Rom. 8. 18.

Math. 16. 24.

25.

Rom. 8. 17.

How God teacheth vs to know the vanity of this life.

We must not
hate the ble-
ssings of this
life.

The comfort
of the godly
in the midst
of troubles.

Isai. 25. 8.
Apoc. 7. 17.

The [some] of
our duty to-
wards, God.

The true vse
of temporall
things.

Wherein a
happie life
consisteth.

present life, considered in it selfe, is full of disquietnesse, of troubles, altogether miserable, and in no respect happy, that all the wealth thereof and in so great estimation, is transitorie and vncertaine, vaine, and mingled with infinite miseries, they conclude therupon that nothing is to be sought or hoped for in this world but calamity, and that the crowne of glory and true felicitie is to be looked for else-where, namely, in heauen. Notwithstanding, as long as they enioy this life, he would not haue them so to contemne it, as to grow into a hatred thereof, or to be vnthankfull to God for the benefits which they daily receiue therein of his Maiestie, but rather to account it a speciall gift of his heauenly clemency, in that through the midst of those tribulations which they endure, he maketh a way and entrance for them vnto eternall life. For which, and for those infinite blessings which they receiue also in this life of his goodnesse, they acknowledge that they are bound to yeelde vnto him immortall thanks, labouring onely to vnfolde themselves out of this ouer great desire of man, carried away with the disordinate loue of this life, that they may transfer their chiefe affection to the celestiall and heauenly life. And seeing it is so, that all the faithfull, as long as they remaine vpon earth, are as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, to the end they might bee made comformable to their head Christ Iesus, surely they should bee accounted passing wretched, if they did not lift their mindes on high to surmount all that is in the world, and to goe beyond the regard and care of things present. On the contrary side, if they haue once lift vp their thoughts aboue the earth, when they shall see the vniust prosper in the world, when themselves shall be vnghently handled by them, when they shall endure reproch, when they shall be polled or afflicted with any kinde of iniury, their comfort in all these evils will bee to haue the last day before their eyes, in which they know that the Lord will gather his faithfull ones together into the rest of his kingdome, that he wil wipe away the teares from their eies, crowne them with glory, clothe them with gladnesse, satisfie them with the exceeding sweetnesse of his delicacies, exalt them vnto his high mansion, in a word, make them partakers of his happinesse. In the meantime going on their course with all tranquility and ioy of spirit, they are cheefully to giue vnto God that homage and worship that is due vnto him, submitting themselves wholly to his greatnes, and receiuing with al reuerence his commandements. Next, they must put that trust and barty assurance in him, which they haue receiued by knowing him aright, attributing to him all wisdom, iustice, goodnesse, vertue & truth, and making this account, that all their happinesse is in communicating with him. Inuocati^o followeth, whereby their soules must haue recourse vnto him as to their onely hope, whē they are pressed with any necessity. In the last place is thanksgiuing, which is that acknowledgement, whereby all praise is giuen vnto him. Vnder these foure points, of worship, trust, prayer, and thanksgiuing, all those innumerable duties which wee owe to God, may well bee comprehended. Moreouer, the contempt of this present life, and the meditation of that which is immortall and heauenly, will teach vs the right vse of earthly goods created of God for the seruice of man, as necessary helpes for this life. Which things wee must not neglect in such sort, that we neuer vse them but vpon constraint and necessity, taking no delight in them as if we were sencelesse blocks. Much lesse may wee abuse them by ouer great lust in superfluity and delights, but apply them to that end for which God hath created and appointed them for our good, and not for our hurt, namely, that should sustaine, nourish, preferue and delight our nature, vsing them in all temperance and mediocritie with thanksgiuing. So that we are to vse these goods as though we vsed them not, that is to say our chiefe affection and desire must be so smally set vpon them as if wee were wholly deprived of them: and we must be disposed and affected as well to sustaine pouerty patiently and with a quiet minde, as to vse abundance moderately. Especially let vs referre the true and holy vse of all our earthly commodities to the workes of charity, as wee haue already touched knowing that all things are so giuen vnto vs by the goodnesse of God, and appointed for our commoditie, as things committed to our trust, of which wee must one day giue account before his maiestie. For the conclusion therefore of our speech, wee learne that the life of a Christian is a perpetuall study and exercise of the mortification of the flesh, vntill it bee so thoroughly dead, that the Spirit of God may reigne fully in his soule. We learne also that our whole life ought to be a meditation & exercise of godlines, because we are called to sanctificati^o: that true happines of life in this world consisteth therein, namely, whē being regenerated by baptisme & the Spirit of God, we haue the loue of righteousness thoroughly imprinted in our harts, & follow the diuine rule thereof by directing al our actiōs to the glory of our God & profit of our neighbors. Wherefore euery one of vs must take his calling

for a principle and ground, and for a station assigned of God, vnto which we must direct our leuell, withdrawing our minds from the yoke and bondage of those naturall perturbations that are in vs. We must not be led with ambition and desire to take holde of many fundrie matters at once, being assured, that euery worke done according to our calling, how contemptible soeuer it be among men, shineth before God, and shall be rewarded by him, being accounted very precious in his sight.

of death. Chap. 72

A MANA

NO man ought to be ignorant of this, that after God had created man in the beginning, hee placed him in a garden and paradise full of all pleasures, and delights, and gaue him leaue to vse all things contained therein, the fruite of the knowledge of good and euill onely excepted, which was expressly forbidden. Neuertheless being vnable to keepe himselfe in that high degree and great dignity, he fell by disobedience: so that thinking to make choise of life, he chose the fruit of death, as God had foretolde him saying, *Whensoever thou eatest of this fruite of the knowledge of good and euill, thou shalt die the death:* which thing fell vpon him, and vpon all his posterity. Whereby we see, that the reward and recompence of sinne, is death, not onely bodily death, but which is more, spirituall, whereby we are banished and shut out of the heavenly kingdome and inheritance, if we apprehend not that great grace and mercy of the father offered to all that draw neere vnto him by true confidence in Iesus Christ: to the ende (as the Apostle saith) that as sin reigned vnto death, so grace might reigne by righteousnesse vnto eternall life through Iesus Christ our Lord. And this is the onely way whereby to passe from death to life, when wee shall be subiect to no condemnation or affliction. Moreouer, neither sword, famine, nor any other misery can hurt vs, so not temporall death, which (according to mans iudgement) is the extreamest of all miseries, shall in any sort confound vs, but rather be a meane and pleasant way for vs to passe by from pryson and bondage to ioyfull liberty, and from miserie to happiness. Therefore my companions, as death is the end of all men, happy to the elect, and vnhappie to the reprobate, so let vs finish our discourses with the handling thereof.

Gen. 2. 17.

Rom. 6. 23.

Rom. 5. 21.

Temporall death is the way that leadeth the godly from bondage to blessednesse.

A RAM. Nothing but death and the end of this bodily life is able to accomplish the wish and desire of a faithfull Christian. For the spirit being then deliuered, as it were out of a noisome and filthy prison, reioyseth with freedome and liberty in those pleasant places, which it seeketh after and desireth so earnestly.

Heb. 9. 27.

Ecclus. 7. 36.

ACHITO. It is declared that all men must once die. And therefore (as the Wis. man saith) *what soeuer thou taketh in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt neuer do amisse.* Now ASER, as thou beganst to lay the foundation of our Academy, so make thou an ende of it with the treatise of Death that endeth all things.

ASER. It is no maruell if naturall sense be moued & astonished, when we heare that our body must bee seperated from the soule. But it is in no wise tollerable, that a Christian heart should not haue so much light as to surmount and suppress this feare whatsoeuer it be, by a greater comfort and consolation. For if we consider that this tabernacle of our body which is weake, vicious, corruptible, casuall, & inclining to putrefaction, is dissolued and as it were pulled downe by death, that it may afterward be restored to a perfect, firme, incorruptible and heavenly glory, shall not this certaine assurance compell vs to desire earnestly that which nature flieth and abhorreth? If we consider that by death we are called home from a miserable exile, to dwell in our countrey, yea in our celestiall countrey, shall we not conceiue singular consolation thereby? But some men may say, that all things desire to continue in their being. For the same cause I say, we ought to aspire to the immortalitie to come, where wee haue a settled estate, which is not seene at all vpon earth. How commeth it to passe, that the brute beasts and senceles creatures, euen wood and stones, hauing as it were some feeling of their vanity and corruption, are in expectation of the iudgement day that they may be deliuered fro their corruption, & yet we that haue some light of nature, and boast that we are illuminated by the spirit of God, lift not vp our eies about this earthly putrefaction, whē we talke of our being? But what shal we say of those men (whose number alas is very great) who quenching al natural light, & apposing themselves directly against the testimonies of truth, which presse their consciences and sound daily in their eares, dare yet doubt of, yea impudently deny this day of iudgement, & the change of this mortall life in a second, which is

The comfort of euery true christian against death.

Rom. 8. 12.

Against Atheists and Epicures that deny the immortality of the soule.

Plato proueth that there is a iudgement to come, & a second life.

How good men are discerned from the wicked.

The afflictions of the godly in this world proueth a second life.

Three kinds of death.
Apoc. 20. 6.

Why the faithfull ought to desire death.

What the life of man is.

immortall? If the word of God so expressly set downe for our assurance bee of so little credit that it will not satisfie them, yet how is it that they are not conuincd by the writings of so many Ethnike and heathen Philosophers, who make the immortality of the soule out of doubt, and by the consideration of the being of this life conclud a iudgement to come, which bringeth perpetuall happinesse and felicity to the soules of the blessed, and euerlasting misery and paine to them that are vnhappy? *Plato* vnder the name of *Socrates* may serue for a fit teacher for such Epicures and Atheists that will not heare the heavenly word of the Almighty. *From whence cometh it (saith he) that we see so many wicked men passe the course of their daies in worldly happines and felicity, and die in great rest and quietnes, whereas on the other side so many good men liue and die in great afflictions, and most hard calamities. The reason is, because God doth not punish and chastise all the wicked vpon the earth, to the end men may know, that there is a iudgement to come wherein the vngodlines of such men shall be corrected. Neither doth hee recompence all good men with blessings in this world, to the end they may hope that there is a place in the other life where the vertuous shall be rewarded. Likewise he doth not punish all the wicked, nor reward all good men here beneath lest men should thinke that the vertuous followed vertue in hope of a carnall & earthly reward, or eschewed vice for feare of punishments, and torments in this world. For so vertue should be no more vertue, seeing there is no action that may carry the surname of vertuous, if the intent of him that doth it be in hope of some earthly and carnall recompence, and not for the love of vertue it selfe, and that he may be accepted of God, and so conceine hope of eternall rewards in the other life. Also hee punisheth and correcteth some wicked men vpon earth, and rewardeth some good men, lest if good men onely were afflicted, & the wicked suffered in quiet, men might be brought to beleue that there were no providence, and that the diuine nature had no care of vs, and so all men would giue ouer themselves to follow iniustice. By the sequelle of this speech *Plato* inferreth and proueth, that there is one God that hath care ouer his creatures, and that naturally euery spirit loueth him better that striveth to resemble him in manners and fashions of liuing, that reuerenceth and honoureth him, than those that feare him not, but despise him whose conditions are altogether vnlike his. Moreover, hee proueth evidently, that good men in feare and reuerence of the Deity, strue to imitate it by good works done to the benefite and safety of others: and contrariwise, that the wicked despise God and all lawes both diuine and humane: whereupon it followeth that God loueth good men, and hateth the wicked. And because wee see that good men are subiect to calamity and ignominy in this world, we must therefore vndoubtedly confesse that there is another life after this, wherein good men are eternally rewarded, and the wicked punished. Otherwise, it would follow, that God cared more for the wicked than for the good, which were too absurd to grant. From hence that diuine Philosopher draweth this conclusion: that the life of a wise man ought to bee a perpetuall meditation of death, and that the very feare to die, and not any desire to liue, is that which maketh death fearefull to them that know not the immortality of the soules. Now then ought not these men to blush for shame, that dare doubt of the second life, and future iudgement, when they heare this discourse of an Ethnike and Pagan, destitute of that true light of God, and sincere religion which is manifested to vs in Iesus Christ? Truly nothing is more clere in al the holy Scripture, than that as before the first day mentioned in *Genesis*, all things were possessed of Eternity, so that there was neither time, nor yeare, nor moneth, nor season, but al things were in thar Eternity, so when the last day shall come, all shall bee eternall for the felicity of the good, and torment of the wicked. But to returne to our speech of death the word of God giueth vs to vnderstand of three kinds of death: the one is the separation of the soule from the body, with the dissolution of the body vntill the resurrection, and of this is our present discourse. The second is the death of sinne, as it is said oftentimes, that they are dead that nourish themselves in sinne. The third is called in the *Apocalyps*, the second death, and sometimes eternall death, vnto which the wicked shall bee condemned in the last iudgement. Therefore to continue our speech of corporall and temperall death, if the doctrine of the Sonne of God bee neuer so little apprehended of vs by faith, wee shall see cleerly enough that the faithfull ought to haue that in great request, which to humane sense seemeth neither happy, nor to bee desired, seeing it turneth to their saluation. It belongeth to him that will not goe vnto Iesus Christ, to feare death: and to be vnwilling to goe to Christ, is a badge of such a one as will not reigne with him. What traeller hauing passed many dangerous waies, reioyceth not when hee draweth neere to his country? and who is not content to depart out of an old ruinous house? What pleasure haue we in this world, which draweth neere to an end euery day, and which sellet vnto vs so deare those pleasures that we receiue therein? What other thing is this life but a perpetuall battle and a sharpe skirmish, wherein wee are one while hurt with enuy, another while with ambition, and by and by with*

some

some other vice, besides the sudden onsets giuen vpon our bodies by a thousand sort of diseases, and floods of aduersities vpon our spirits? Who then will not say with Saint Paul, I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ? Why doe wee daily pray that the kingdome of God should come, if it be not for the desire which we ought to haue to see the fulfilling thereof in the other life? We haue a thousand testimonies in the Scripture, that the death of the body is a certaine way by which we passe into that true and eternall life, and into our owne countrey. *Flesh and blood* (saith S. Paul) cannot inherite the kingdome of God, neither doth corruption inherite incorruption. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortall must put on immortality: then shall be fulfilled that which is writen: Death is swallowed up in victory. They that beleue in Iesus Christ haue already overcome death, sinne, and hell. And therefore contemning death they may say: O death, where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory? The sting of death is sinne, and the strength of sin is the law: but thanks be vnto God which hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Iesus Christ. He that hath raised up the Lord Iesus, shall raise vs up also. Our conuersation is in heauen, from whence also we looke for the Saniour, euen the Lord Iesus Christ, who shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like vnto his glorious body, according to the working, whereby he is euen able to subdune all things vnder himselfe. Ye are dead (saith he to the Colossians) and your life is hid with Iesus Christ in God. When Christ which is our life shall appeare, then shall ye also appeare with him in glory. My brethren (saith hee to the Thessalonians) I would not haue you ignorant concerning them which are asleepe, that ye sorrow not euen as other which haue no hope. For if we beleue that Iesus is dead, and is risen, euen so them which sleepe in Iesus will God bring with him. Iesus Christ (saith he to the Hebrewes) was partaker of flesh and blood: that is to say, was truly man, that he might destroy through death, him that had the power of death, that is, the diuell. And that he might deliuer all them, who for feare of death were all their life time subiect to bondage. God hath saved vs, and called vs with an holy calling (as he saith to Timothie) not according to our workes, but according to his owne purpose and grace, which was giuen to vs through Christ Iesus before the world was, but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saniour Iesus Christ, who hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality vnto light through the Gospell. I am sure (saith Iob) that my redeemer liueth, and he shall stand the last on the earth. And though after my skin wormes destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh. Whom I my selfe shall see and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me. Iesus Christ is our head, and we are his members. This head cannot be without his members, neither can forsake them. Where Christ is, there shall we be also. He that considereth diligently these places of Scripture, and infinite others contained therein, it cannot be but he should haue great ioy and comfort in his heart against all feare and horror of death. And then comming to compare the miseries which neuer leaue this life, with that vnspeakable happinesse and felicity, which eye hath not seene, neither eare hath heard, neither came into mans heart, which God hath prepared in the second and eternall life for all faithfull beleeuers: a Christian will not onely passe over this mortall life with ease and without trouble, but will euen contemne and make no account of it, in respect of that which is immortall. But to whom is death sweete if not to them that labour? The poore hireling is well at ease when he hath done his daies worke. So death is alwaies sweete to the afflicted, but to them that put their trust in worldly things, the remembrance thereof is bitter. Now then the children of God are not afraid of death, but (as Cyprian writeth in an Epistle sent to the Martyrs of Christ) he that once hath overcome death in his owne person, doth daily overcome him in his members: so that we haue Iesus Christ not onely a beholder of our combats, but also an assistant and fighter with vs. And by his grace abounding in the hearts of the faithfull, they are so much the more bent to meditate vpon the benefits of the future and eternall life, as they see that they are enuironed with greater store of miseries in this fading and transitory life. Then comparing both together they find nothing more easie than to finish sweetely their race, and to value the one as little, as they account the other absolute in all felicity. Moreover, seeing heauen is our countrey, what is the earth else but a passage in a strange land? And because it is accursed vnto vs for sinne, it is nothing else but the place of our banishment. If our departure out of this world be an entrance to life, what is this world but a sepulcher? And to dwell here what is it else but to bee plunged in death? If it be liberty to be deliuered out of this body, what is the body but a prison? And if it bee our chiefe happinesse to enioy the presence of our God, is it not a misery not to enioy it? Now vntill we goe out of this world, we shall be as it were separated from God. Wherefore if this earthly life be compared with the heavenly, no doubt but it may be contemned and accounted as it were dung. True it is that we must not hate it, but so far forth as it keepeth vs in subiection to sinne. And yet whilest we desire to see the end of it, we must not be carelesse

1. Cor. 15. 50
53, 54, 55, 56
57.

2. Cor. 4. 14.
Phil. 3. 20, 21

Col. 3. 3, 4.

1. Thess. 4. 13.
14.

Heb. 2. 14, 11.

2. Tim. 1. 9,
10.

Iob 19. 25,
26, 27.

Ioh. 12. & 17

1. Cor. 2. 9.

Who they bee
that feare not
death.

A comparison
betweene
this life and
that which is
eternall.

Psal. 123.

Tit. 2. 13.

Luk. 21. 28.

How death
cannot hurt.

Psal. 116. 19.

to keepe our selues in it to the good pleasure of God, that our longing may be farre from all murmuring and impatiencie. For our life is as a station, wherein the Lord God hath placed vs, that wee should abide in it vntill he call vs backe againe. *S. Paul* indeed bewailed his estate, because he was kept as it were bound in the prison of his body longer than he would, and groined with a burning desire vntill he was deliuered: but withall to shew his obedience to the will of God, he protested that he was ready for both, because he knew himselfe indebted for the glorifying of his name, whether it were by death or by life. For it belongeth to him to determine what is expediēt for his glory. Wherefore it behooueth vs to liue & die vnto him, let vs leaue both our life & death to his good pleasure, but yet so that we alwaies desire rather to dy thē to liue, & be ready cheerfully to renounce this life, whensoever it pleaseth the Lord, because it holds vs vnder sin. And let vs hold this Maxime, that no man hath throughly profited in the school of Christ Iesus, but he that with ioy & gladnes expecteth the day of death, & of the last resurrectiō. *S. Paul* in his Epistle to *Timus* describeth al the faithful by this marke: and the Scripture when it propoundeth vnto vs matter of reioycing, calleth vs backe thither: *Reioyce* (saith the Lord in *Luke*) *and lift up our heads, for your redemption draweth neare.* It were absurd that that thing should breed nothing but sorrow and astonishment in vs, which Christ thought was fit matter to worke ioy in vs. Now then, seeing death is dead to them that beleue in him, there is nothing in death which a man ought to feare. It is true that the image thereof is hideous and terrible, because that besides the violent taking away of life, it representeth vnto vs the wrath of God, which biteth like a serpent; but now the venome of it is taken away and cannot hurt vs. And as through the brazen serpent which *Moses* lift vp in the wildernes, the liuing serpents died, and their venome hurt not the Israelites: so our death dieth, and is notable in any sort to hurt vs, if we behold with the eies of faith the death of Iesus Christ. Briefly, it is nothing but an image and shadow of death, and the beginning and entrance vnto true life. Wherefore concluding our present speech, let vs learne that as our miserable nature had brought vs to the like condition of death: so the grace of God maketh this difference, that some, namely the wicked, die to their destruction, and others which are the children of God led by his Spirit and word, die to liue more happily, so that their very death is precious in the sight of God. And although the lust of our flesh, being blind and earthly, strueth continually against the desires of the spirit, seeking to separate vs as farre as it can from our soueraigne Good: yet let vs haue this ingrauen in our hearts, that they are happy that know the vanity of this world, more happy that let not their affections vpon it, and they most happy that are taken out of it to be with God in the kingdome of heauen.

The end of this Academie.

Ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἑλλάδος.

THE
SECOND PART OF
THE FRENCH
ACADEMIE.

Wherein, as it were by a naturall history
of the body and soule of man, the creation, matter,
composition, forme, nature, profite and vse of
all the parts of the frame of man are handled,
with the naturall causes of all affections, vertues
and vices, and chiefly the nature, powers,
workes and immortalitie of
the Soule.

By PETER DE LA PRIMAUVDAVE Esquire, Lord
of the same place and of Barre.

And translated out of the second Edition, which was reuiewed
and augmented by the Author.



LONDON,
Printed for Thomas Adams.
1618.

THE
SECOND PART OF
THE FRENCH
ACADEMIE

Wherein, as it were by a natural history
of the body and soul of man, the creation, manner
composition, form, nature, profits and use of
all the parts of the frame of man are handled
with the natural causes of all affections, virtues
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the Soul.

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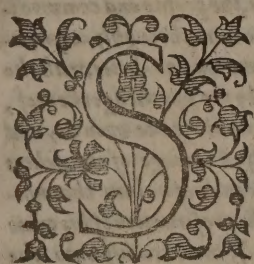


LONDON
Printed for Thomas Aldrich
1618.



TO THE CHRISTIAN

READER GRACE AND PEACE.



SENECA the Philosopher reporteth (gentle Reader) that the looking glasse was first inuented to this end, that man might use it as a meane to know himselfe the better by. Now besides that in a glasse wee may attaine to some kinde of knowledge of our selues when wee take a view of our owne countenance, and of the lineaments and proportion of our bodies outwardly, Socrates applied the same to a further use for the instruction of maners. For as Apuleius writeth of him, he earnestly perswaded his Auditors to looke often into a glasse, and to beholde themselves therein, to this intent, that hee which thought himselfe beautifull and faire, might take occasion thereby to auoide al kinde of deformity in manners and conuersation, whereby that beauty of his would bee greatly blemished: and that whosoever perceined by the glasse any defect of comeliness in his countenance, might labour so much the more seriously by the helpe of vertue and inward graces of the minde to recompence the outward wants and imperfections of his body. In which respect this booke may most fitly be resembled to a glasse, as that which affordeth vnto vs both these uses in far more excellent manner than can be performed by any looking glasse how rare and surpassing soener it be. For euen the best of that kinde doeth represent vnto our eyes only so much of the surface of our owne bodies as is directly before it, but as for the hinder parts we take no view of them by a glasse, much lesse is it able to giue vs a sight of the internall members of our bodies, whereby we may attaine to any profitable knowledge of them. But if wee take a diligent view of this booke, and with the eyes both of body and minde looke intently vpon the same, it will in most euident manner represent vnto vs not onely the outward members of mans body both before and behinde and on euery side, but euen the most hidden and inward parts thereof, which otherwise before life haue left the body cannot possibly be seene of any man. Here may you behold all the bones as it were the frame and timberworke of mans body, yea the very foundation vpon which all the residue of the building is laide. Heere may you see the exquisite frame and composition of the head, as it were the vpper lodging of this house, the seuerall ventricles of the braine, as so many sundry chambers for the entertainment of the Animall spirits: the singular workmanship of the eyes, as of the lights and windowes, appertaining to this pallace of mans body: the matter and forme of the humors in the eyes, as it were the cristall glasse set in the windowes, together with the eye-lids, as casements to open & shut, to receiue in or keepe out the light as neede requireth, besides the eyebrowses as penthouses to defend those windowes from the violence of stormy weather, What should I speake of the eares, as of high watch towers whereby warning is giuen to the internall senses so often as any aduersary noise giueth notice of enemies approaching to annoy this good castle? The mouth is it not as the doore that receiveth in all kinde of provision meete for the reparation and maintenance of this great building, as occasion serueth? It is a world to thinke what excellent workmanship appeareth in the voice and tongue of man, and singular uses it hath very requisite for the perfection of this piece of worke. Now if we shall descend and enter into the contemplation, as of the breast, as of the middle story of this building, and consider what with what goodly householde stuffe those roomes are adorned, who is able either with tongue to utter, or with heart to conceiue, the rare deuises, the precious Iewells the singular art there to bee found? What an exceeding faire roome is the dining chamber of the heart, the receptacle of the will and affections, the shoppe wherein the vitall spirits are wrought, and the forge from whence is deriued that fire and heate which warmeth the whole house? And least this fire should breake forth into such a flame as might bring perill of burning to this goodly building, the chamber of the heart is daily and continually refreshed with coole blasts proceeding

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ding from the lungs as from an outward roome that is built round about a great part thereof. Here also is to be scene the Artery which as a lively conduite carrieth forth continually most christall streames of vitall spirits into every roome and office of the house. Betwixt this second story and the third is laide the Midriffe as a store that maketh a seperation betwene the instruments of the vitall parts being the implements of that middle roome, and the naturall instruments of the neather story which serue both for the upholding and maintenance of the whole building, and also containeth in it matter for the erecting of a new frame, which is to stand after the former is come to his full period. In this third story or partition is to bee scene the stomake, which being as it were the kitchen of the body receiueth at the doore of the mouth all such meates and drinckes as are requisite for the keeping of it in sufficient reparations and for the defence of it against two mighty enemies Hunger and Thirst, who by continuall undermining of the same, labor, to lay it euen with the ground. And because nothing can be prepared in the kitchen without heate, and the maintenance thereof besides the naturall heat of the stomake it is compassed on the right side with the liver, on the left with the spleene, behinde with the muscles of the chinebone before with kal, above it hath the haert and midriffe, and within it are sundry vitall spirits, from all which as from so many seuerall fires, it receiueth heat for the better dressing and concocting of that which is conueyed into it. Neither are the gutters and sinkes necessarily belonging to every house, wanting to the perfection of this beautifull building of mans body: as may appeare by the guts and other parts of baser seruice, without which it is not possible that this frame should long continue. Now besides the singular delight & pleasure, which this naturall knowledge of our owne bodies yeeldeth vnto our minds, the profite and commoditie that issueth here from is great and manifolde. For first in regard of our selues, if we were thoroughly acquainted with the Anatomy of our bodies, with the substance and situation, with the forme and qualities, with the vses and offices of every part and member of the same, it is out of all question, that by the knowledgethereof, we might both preuent many diseases and infirmities, which through want thereof would seaze vpon vs, and being overtaken with any, might recover our selues more speedily by a wise and skilfull cariage of our selues according to the same. Neither is it laide vpon every one to haue so much skill as is requisite for him that maketh profession of that art towards all men, but onely so far forth as may serue for the preservation of his owne health eyther in imploying the talent of his priuate knowledge, or in yeelding himselfe more readily vnto the wise direction of the skilfull Physitian. Secondly as Salomon sendeth vs to the industriens nature of the Pismire to learne diligence and forecasse in our calling, so the Apostle taketh occasion by the variety of members in one body, so reprehend two sorts of people in the Church of Corinth, both such as were caried away with enuy towards their superiours, themselves being indued with meaner gifts, and those also who being furnished with more excellent ornaments of Gods spirit, were puffed up with pride in themselves and with disdain towards others of fewer graces. And this being the second vse that ariseth from this naturall knowledge of our bodies, offreth it selfe in most plentifull manner to be obserued by vs, in every part and member of the same. What a notable lesson of good neighbour hood are we taught by the view and contemplation of mans face? For as many seuerall members of different vses are so artificially knit and linked together in one face, that not one of them is any impediment or hinderance, vnto another in the execution of his office: so wee are instructed thereby how to carry our selues towards our neighbours, every one to containe himselfe within the limits of his seuerall calling, and not to intrench one vpon another as the manner of a great many is, that are not contented with their owne estate. Againe, in the second story of this frame when wee consider the lungs, which are the bellowes of the voice, are placed so neere the heart that they compass it round about, are not all men thereby admonished, that their speech is but the interpreter of the heart, and the messenger thereof? that the mouth must like a good seruant attend vpon the heart, and vster nothing but that which it receiueth first from the same? that no man ought to imitate the example of Hyppolytus in Euripedes, who being admonished of his Nurse to remember his Oath, made her this mishappen answer, ἢ γὰρ ἐδωκεν, ἢ ἔειπεν ἀπαρτα? The tongue hath sworne, but the minde is unsworne? As many hollow harted subiects of late daies behaue themselves towards her Maiesty, hauing receiued a dispensation so to do from Pope Gregorie the thirteenth, whose goodly posie was set downe in certaine tokens sent to all such as were to bee reconciled vnto him, Fili mi da mihi cor & sufficet, My son, giue mee thy hart, and it sufficeth, which is all one as if he had said sweare and for sweare thy selfe if thou wilt say thou art a good subiect, go to the church, do whatsoeuer is commanded thee, so then let mee haue thy heart, it skilleth not who haue thy tongue, thy hands, and all the rest of thy body. Elibu being of another spirit, was better instructed in the knowledge of this neere connection, which naturally ought to be betwene the heart and the tongue: and therefore speaking to his friend Iob he telleth him, that his words would bee in the vprightnesse of his heart: Whereas they that follow not this course of nature, but violently draw their tongue to utter that which is farre disagreeing from the meaning of the heart, are branded for the same by the kingly Propbet Dauid with this marke of infamy, that they are men of two hearts, or of a double heart, which is monstrous in nature. The like instruction to this we are taught in that the tongue is placed so neere vnder the braine, which is the seat of the minde and vnderstanding part of man, as it were at the feet of her schoolemaster, to the intent it should not speake vnadvisedly

Prou. 6. 6.
3. Cor. 12.

Iob. 33. 3.
Psal. 12. 2.

Prou. 14. 27.
and 16. 23.

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vnadvisedly & hand ouer head, as we vse to say, but with great deliberation, both in regard of the matter it selfe to be deliuered by speech and also of the circumstances of time, place, and persons, which are not to be neglected. For looke how preposterous it is to set the cart before the horse, so is it for the tongue to run before the wit, and to utter it knoweth not well what, hauing receiued no direction from the same. And therefore Salomon putting the name of heart for the minde and vnderstanding part of man, saith, Prou. 15. 28. and 16. 23. that a righteous mans heart meditateth or pondereth what it shall answer: and that the hart of the wise guideth his mouth prudently. Neither is it slightly to be passed ouer, that euery one ha-
 uing two eyes that serue for seeing, two eares for hearing, two nostrils for smelling, two feete for going, hath yet but one soft and fleshy tongue for sundry vses, and that tyed fast with strings, and compassed a-
 bout with gums, teeth, and lips, as with a double wall to teach men thereby, that the tongue being a ve-
 ry unruly member, had neede to be bridled and hemmed in on euery side, least it breake forth into a
 world of wickednesse, and breede destruction to the whole body. Now if we looke into the middle story of
 this building, there we shall see that although the heart be the fountaine of life, and the root of all the vi-
 tall spirits that are dispersed into euery part and member of the body, yet it cannot want either the coole
 refreshing it hath from the lungs, or the veine-pipes proceeding from the liuer, or the moouing strings
 it hath from the sinewes, or the necessary defence of the ribbes and bones, which as strong bulwarks and
 rampires fence it in on euery side. Euen so fareth it with the great and mightie men of this world, who al-
 though in regarde of their power and authority ouer others, they seeme to haue their lines and liuelhoods
 at their becke and commandement, yet they are so farre from being able of themselves to maintaine
 their honours and high places without the necessary aide of the inferiour sort, as that without them they
 should want wherewith to uphold their owne lines. But this appeareth yet more euident in the lower
 story of this frame, where the guttes and intrayles of the body as it were the sinks of an house haue their a-
 bidding. For although in regard of their vse they may seeme to be the basest and most abiect parts of the
 body, yet if we consider the necessity of them, we shall see that a man may better spare a principall member
 of his body then the least gut that is in his belly. Euen so fareth it with the polstike body of a common-
 wealth, in which the base Artisan will sooner be missed oftentimes, then he that carrieth a greater port,
 and is aduanced to a higher roome and office in the same. A third vse that may bee made of this booke as
 it were of a christall glasse worthy the looking into, is that singular delight and pleasure which may bee
 reaped, by the view and consideration of the harmony betweene this terrestriall frame, and the celestia-
 l habitation of the heauens, when they are compared together. And as that famous sentence, *γὰρ οὐρανός*,
 Know thy selfe, is reported of many to haue descended from the heauens, so surely it will be small fur-
 therance to a man whereby he may attaine to a better knowledge of himselfe, if he seriously obserue what
 a great agreement there is betweene him and the heauens, wherunto the very situation of his counte-
 nance lift up towards heauen, doeth as it were lead him by the hand. First therefore if wee consider the
 originall of them both, wee finde in holy Writ, that as God is said to haue made the heauens in the
 beginning, so also it is there related, that not long after hee made man after his owne image and com-
 mitted vnto him the soueraignty ouer the earth and ouer all lining and moouing creatures vnder the
 cope of heauen. Neither can it be truly saide that howsoeuer the Lord himselfe formed the first man,
 and breathed in his face the breath of life, yet since that first creation he hath not intermedled at all with
 the continuall propagation of mankind, but hath surrendered all his working power into the hands of
 nature, by whose powerfull operation the matter of mens bodies is brought to this glorious perfection, Gen. 1. 1. 26.
 which wee see it hath when it first appeareth in the world. For this is to speake after the manner of meere
 naturall men, that haue not as yet learned the language of Canaan, as is plaine if wee call to minde what
 the kingly Prophet saith vnto the Lord, that it was he that possessed his raignes, and that couered
 him in his mothers wombe. Which also is more manifestly taught by that holy mā Iob, who confident Psal. 139. 13.
 ly affirmeth, that it was the Lord who had powred him out as milke, & turned him to cruddes Iob. 10. 10. 11
 like cheefe: that he had clothed him with skinne & flesh, & ioyned him together with bones
 and sinewes. Wherefore as it was the eternall God, who first turned the body of the heauens into that
 roundnes, gathered the light into the bodies of the celestiall lamps, fixed the stars in the firmament, endued
 each planet with his seuerall motion, & clothed the inferiour world with this glorious circumference: so the
 same God at the first planted Adam as the roote of mankind, and euer since hath caused his whole race
 and euery seuerall person as so many branches to issue and grow out of his loynes. He turned the eyes into
 that roundnesse, he planted the eares as watch towers in the vpper part of the head, he placed the tongue,
 fastened the teeth, stretched out the sinewes, he watred the veines with blood, gaue massines to the bones
 and clothed the flesh with a fine skine as with a garment, he seuered the fingers and toes, caused the feete
 to walke, and the hands to gripe. Hee, and none but he giueth sight to the eyes, hearing to the eares, taste,
 to the tongue, smelling to the nostrilles, and feeling to the fingers. Who but he hath endued the lungs with
 breathing, the heart with the spirits of life, the stomacke with concoction, the liuer with the making of
 blood, and womens breasts, with the making of milke: Who hath fashioned the instruments of hearing in
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the head like to a hamer and an anuile, the hart in the body like a piramide, and made the spleene in substance like a sponge? Who hath covered the heade with haire for comelines, & beared the skine thogh with infinite pores for euacuation? In a word, who hath giuen beauty to the whole body, and to each member his seuerall operation? What father, what mother, what workeman hath wrought these things, but the only wise and immortall God? But to proceede, as the sunne, moone, & celestiall stars and planets haue a double motion, the one common with the whole body of the heauens, the other proper and peculiar according to the nature of euery seuerall star: so haue the parts of mans body two motions, wherof the one dependeth of the motion of the whole body, and is therefore vniuersall, and the other is particular according to the infet nature and disposition of each seuerall member. And to descend to a more speciall comparison of one particular thing with another, how doth the diuerse operations of the animall spirit (whose seate is in the braine) concur with the different workings of the sunne in the firmament upon the inferiour bodies here below upon the face of the earth? We see that through the selfesame reflexion of the sunbeames, the the clay is hardened, and the waxe made soft: that the light of the sun is comfortable to some eyes, whereas other become worse through the brightnes of the same, that it worketh otherwise upon a thicke body then upon a thin, upon a hard then upon a soft, upon a plant then upon a stone, upon the earth then upon the water. So the Animall spirit being distributed into sundry parts and members of the body worketh diuersly in each of them according to the diuerse nature, composition and temperament of euery one. For being imparted to the eyes by the optike sinewes it giueth sight: to the eares by certaine passages, it worketh hearing: to the tongues by small Nerves, it breedeth tasting: in a word, being dispersed into the muscles and skine by meanes of certaine sinowie threedes concurring in manner of a net, it infuseth feeling throughout the whole body. And as it often falleth out that wee are deprived of the heate and light of the Sunne, when either some thicke cloude, or the body of the Moone, or some such thing is interposed & put between vs and the same: so wee quickly see and feele the want of the Animall spirit, when any thicke clammy humor, or winde, or melancholike fumes, or any such impediment stoppe the passages and hinder the working thereof, as is to be seene in them that are taken with the palsey, apoplexie, madnesse, nummesse, and such like. It is no lesse delectable then strange to consider in how many things the Sunne as it were the heart of the heauens, agreeth with the heart of man, which may not vnfitly be called the sunne of the body. For as the Sunne being the chiefe of the Planets occupieth the middle place among those wandring starres, hauing the rest as his garde both aboue and beneath him, so imploy as neede requireth both for their owne safetie and the good of the inferiour worlde: so the heart being the chiefe member of the body, is seated in the middle story of the same, hauing the other parts both aboue and beneath it & on euery side, employing them according to their seuerall offices for the upholding and preseruacion of the whole frame. And as the Sunn is the store-house of that celestiall heate, which together with a diuine and quickning spirit working in the bowelles of the earth maketh it a fruitfull Mother, & tender Nurse for the bringing forth and preseruacion of all things: so the heart is the hart from whence proceedeth all that infet and natie heate, which being conueyed with the vital spirits into euery member of the body maketh them lively and powerfull to performe those duties that are eniyned them. Concerning the motion of the heart, as it agreeth with the Sunne in this that they both haue a double motion, so in that the heart being the first that receiueth life and motion, is the Originall of all motion in the body it resemblith the whole heauens, of which dependeth all naturall motions of inferiour bodies whatsoeuer. Againe the two eyes in the heade represent the two chiefe lights in the firmament. And as there are both simple starres in the heauens, namely the Sunne, Moone, Saturne, Iupiter, Mercurie with the rest, and also compound as the Charles-waine, the Lion, both the beares and others: so in the bodie there are simple or similar parties, as the sinewes, bones, arteries, vienes, &c. and compound partes, as the heart, liuer, braine, stomacke, lungs & such like. Moreouer, it is certaine, that the Planets, howsoeuer in regarde of their moouing to and fro they are said to be wandring starres, haue yet their certaine limites in the heauens, especially in the Zodiake, in which as in their dwelling houses they exercise those naturall powers wherewith all they are endued, as the proper mansion of the sunne is in Leo, of the Moone in Cancer, of Saturne in Capricorne, of Iupiter in Sagittarius, and so of the rest. In like manner, although the body of man be so framed, as that there is no one part but it is seruiceable vnto all, yet there are certaine seuerall places appointed as peculiar shops for each facultie to worke in especially, as the braine for the Animall spirit, the heart for the Vitall, and the liuer for the Naturall: the gall is the receptacle for choller, the spleene for Melancholy, the sucking veines serue to purge the blood from the serous substance of it, & so of the other powers and parts of the body. To conclude this third use (for a day would not suffice to utter al that might bee spoken in this matter) as the Sunne by reason of his Annuall progresse through the twelue signes maketh a sensible diuision of the year into foure parts, which haue their different seasons & qualities: if they fall out according to the course of nature, and so likewise the Moone by her race quartereth the moneth accordingly: euen so fareth it with the body of man in regarde of his whole age, which being considered from the beginning vnto the ending, agreeth very fitly to those seuerall seasons both for number and predomi-

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nant qualities, if the threede of life be not cut off in the midway by the razor of death. For the body of man in his first age, which is his childhood, is moist & hot, and so is the former part of the yeare called the spring, as also the first part of the moneth from the new moon to the ending of the 1 quarter. In the second part of mens age, which is his flourishing & youthful time, the body of man is hot & dry, such as are the qualities of the second part of the yeare or summer season, & of the second part of the month, which is from the first quarter to the full Moone. Thirdly, the body of man in the third part of his age, commonly called mans age, is cold & moist, according to the disposition of the third part of the yeare called Autumne, & of that season of the moone, which is from the full to the last quarter. To conclude, in the 4. and last quarter of mans age, called old age, his body is cold and dry, like to the winter season, and to the fourth part of the moneth, which is from the last quarter to the next new moone. Now as these three former uses of the Anatomy of mans mans body, serue for the commoditie and delight of man, so the fourth is the same that ought to be made, not only of the body of man, but as Salomon teacheth vs of all the creatures both in heauen & earth, & that is the glory of God. For the Lord hauing set in his visible creatures euident marks of himselfe and of his eternitie, power, goodnesse, wisdom & providence, as the Apostle teacheth, what remaineth but that man for whose sake & seruice the Lord created all things, should thereby acknowledge his soueraigne Lord, and returne vnto him all glory, praise, and dutifull obedience for the same. That we ought to make this use of the Anatomieall consideratiō of our bodies, the kingly prophet Dauid teacheth vs most diuinely by his owne example; when after a view taken, of the admirable work of God in fashioning him in his mothers womb, he breaketh forth into this saying, I will praise thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made, maruellous are thy works: & my soule knoweth it wel.

And surely vnles we tread in the steps of this worthy king and propound this as the scope of all our travels in searching out the seuerall parts of our bodies, that God our creator and gracious preseruer may be prayssed, worshipped, & feared thereby, we shall neuer know our selues aright, & as we ought to do, but rather ioyn with the most part of men who not vsing their skil in this behalfe as a ladder to climbe vpbv vnto God, stick fast in the very matter and forme of their bodies, so that many of them become meere Naturalists and very Atheists. One special cause wherof, as I take it, is because they lay not the ground and foundation of their skil in the holy Scriptures, the fountain of all sound knowledge, which teach vs, that it is the Lord that made vs and that formed vs from the womb, but follow after some small streams of this knowledge, euen such as are polluted with the inuention of mans braine, placing the course of nature in the procreation of mankind (which is but an effect of Gods almightie working power, in the roome of God himselfe the supreme cause of al. In which respect they may not vnjustly be resembled to Moles that are alwaies plodding in the earth, or to swine that finding acorns vpon the ground, neuer look vp to the tree from which they fall. They forget that mans eies are therefore set in the head, which is the upper part of the body rather then in his breast, belly, or feet, because he should be admonished thereby to lift vp his mind vnto heauen & heauenly things: & therefore Plato saith that mens eyes were set in a body erected & looking upward, that they might be as guides to lead the to the knowledge of God, vpon the sight of the celestiall light, & notice taken of the heauenly motions. Otherwise, although a mans skill be neuer so great, although he knoweth the way of the stars, the wals of the world, the foundations of the earth the top of the heauens, yet if he be ignorant of the creator & moderatour of them al, it shall profit him nothing. But as no man is to look for graps of thornes, or figs of thistles, so we must not thinke that Epicures & Atheists wil ouce either labor to know God or open their lips to praise him, when as yet they haue not learned to beleene that he is, much lesse that he is a rewarder of them that seeke him. And surely of all Satrans delusions wrought by him in the hearts of unbeleeners, this monstrous error of Atheisme is most ougly, as that which is destitute of all shew of reason, wherby it might insinuate it selfe into the hart of man. For howsoeuer in regard of mans natural corruptiō, hunger & thirst is not more incident vnto him then is error in religion & aberration in manners, yet for any man not to see and acknowledge by the dim candle of nature, that God is, that his providence watcheth ouer all, that the soule of man is immortall, and that after this life there is a place of happiness for the good and of torments for the wicked, is as I may term it, a supernaturall error, or rather cleane against reason, religion, and nature & all. The truth wherof appeareth both by the common consent of all nations, who haue generally approued those points, as inuolable principles & maximes in nature, and also by the iudgement of the sounder sort of Philosophers and Lawmakers amongst the heathen, who knowing that all mens consciences did naturally acknowledge not onely a being of a diuine power, but a subiection also therunto pretended that their Lawes and superstitions came from some one or tiber of cheir supposed gods and goddes: as Minos King of the Cretensians made the people beleene that hee had receiued his lawes of Iupiter, Lycurgus the Lacedemonian lawmaker of Apollos oracle, Numa Pompilius a Romane king of Egeria the Nymph, and so the rest of others. And in truth, they that deny the diuine essence, what doe they but deny themselves, and the being of all things in the world besides? For as Aratus the heathen poet teacheth, which is also conformed vnto vs by the Apostle Paul, In God we liue, mooue and haue our being: so that without him it is impossible we should haue any being one moment of an houre. And it is strange to consider how these reasonable beasts (for men I dare not call them) standing so much vpon reason & sense as they would seeme to do, cannot in reason conceiue that this great variety and exquisite order, which they behold, and see

Rom. 1. 20.

Psal. 139. 24

Isay 44. 2.

Heb. 11. 6.

Act. 17.

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in nature & natural things, must of necessity haue some superior cause from which they received both their first being, & their continuall preservation in the same. When they look upon any excellent picture, they presently iudge, as the truth is, that it was wrought by some cunning painter, & every curious building leadeth all men to the consideration of some exquisite master builder that framed it. And shall not the view of the world, & the knowledge of so many admirable things therein as are subiect to all our senses, constrain vs to acknowledge a superior cause and creator of them all? Doth any ship saile his right course without a Pilot? or is there any city well governed without a Magistrate? And shall any surmize, that the celestiall lights could obserue their right motion without the direction of him that made them? or that the terrestriall globe of the earth could continue so well ordered by the course of nature, were it not that all things are upholden by him that framed them all? But such is the blockishnes of these Epicurian beasts that they will belceue nothing but that which they may see with their eies, and take knowledge of by the light of their bodies. As though, if their eies were plucked out of their head there could be no sun in the heauens, nor light in the world because themselves were in darkenesse and could see nothing. How many things are there in nature which cannot be seen, & yet no man maketh any question of their being, no not they themselves, who notwithstanding deny that there is any diuine nature, any immortall soule, Angel or spirit, because they are not visible & subiect to sight. Can any of them see the wind, look upon the voice of man, behold the sweet harmony of musick? Nay, can they take a view of the hearts in their bodies, or of the braines in their heads? Are they therefore without heart & brainlesse? Surely it seemeth they are cleane voyd of braine, wit, and common sense, that mayle all their beliese so fast to the sight of their bodily eies. And yet were it so that they would not most wilfully contradict the euidence of their owne hearts, they should there behold with the eies of their mind as it were in a cristall glasse that which may be knowne of God. Nay the holy Ghost proceedeth further, and telleth vs, that euen our bodily eies may and doe after a sort looke upon the eternall power and Godhead, which are seene by the creation of the world, being viewed in the workes thereof. And because it may so fall out by the iust iudgement of God, that these beetle eied Atheists may as well be deprived of their bodily eies, as they want the sight of their mindes, the creator and Lord of the whole world, hath set such marks of his Deitie in his workes that such as haue onely the direction of nature may euen with their eies closed up, touch & handle him if they will but grope after him, in whom we all liue, moue and haue our being. What should I presse them with the certaine testimony of their owne hearts and consciences, which will they, will they, draw them to a fearfull acknowledgement of the mighty power of God, whensoever either by his terrible voice of thunder he shaketh their hearts, or by some irreuerable disease, as a messenger of death, he summoneth them to appeare before his tribunall seate and throne of iustice. But there needeth no other prooffe to conuince them then the words of their own mouths. For doe not their horrible oathes wher by they blaspheme the maiesty of God, & as much as lyeth in them teare him in pieces, beare witnes against themselves that the Lord whom they despise in that monstrous manner hath a being, howsoever otherwise they deny the same? And if no reason wil sinke into their brains, yet me thinks the weight of Gods iudgements which haue from time to time ceased extraordinarily vpon these Atheists that haue sprung up in the world, should cause them more seriously to consider of their miserable estate.

It is reported of Protagoras, who was one of the first of that stamp, that being banished from Athens, and his books publickly burnt, he was drowned in the sea as he sailed into Sicilia. Diagoras was violently slain by certain men whom the Athenians had hired with money for that purpose, Epicurus also, who placed his felicity in corporall pleasures, died miserably in a vessell of hot water, after that he had bin foureene daies together extremely tormented with the stone in the bladder. Lucianus, surnamed by his own countrymen the blasphemer, as he behaued himselfe most curiously in barking both against the gods of the heathen, and against Christ Iesus the Saviour of the world, so his end was thereafter by being torn in peeces & deuoured of dogs. Plinie the elder denying the immortality of the soule of man and placing Nature a creature in steade of God the Creatour, whilst he was ouer curious in searching out the cause of the burning of Etna, was choaked with the smoke that issued from it. A iust punishment for him to end his life by smoke, who esteemed his soule to bee no better then a little vapour. Cassius being a professed Scholler of Epicurus & Brutus most brutishly railing vpon the providence of God because his enterprises against Cæsar succeeded not to his desire, were both overtaken with the renenging hand of God, the one of them causing his seruant to be his Butcher, & the other emburning his hands in his own blood. The like befell Lucretius a most notorious Atheist, who being deprived of the right vse of his senses, abused by him to the denying of God and of all religion, slew himselfe in the midst of his madnesse. Pope Iohn the 13. may worthily be enrolled in this band, as he that was not ashamed to put up a supplication to the diuell to send him good luck at dice: and one day in the midst of his iollity he tooke a cup of wine and dranke to the diuell. But by the iust iudgement of God he was stabbed in with a dagger by one who tooke him committing adultery with his wife, so that he died thereof within eight daies after. Leo the tenth Pope of that name, who thought there was neither heauen nor hell after this life, and blasphemously said that the Gospell of Christ was but a fable, was sodainely striken dead with an extreame laughter which hee fell into by reason of news brought him of the slaughter and overthrow of certaine French men in Italie by his

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means. The French histories make mention of one Frances Rabelais, who having sucked in this poison of Atheisme made a mocke at al religion, as Lucretius his forerunner had done before him: but the selfe same author & defender of true religion, that tooke from Lucretius al use of reason, did so deprive this beast of of all sense, that as he led a brutish life, so he died like a swine in the midst of his drunkennes, deriding those that spake unto him of God & of his mercy. Iodellus likewise a French poet, & a professed Atheist, as hee Iodellus. gaue himself in his life time to write tragedies, so he made a right tragicall end. For having through gluttony & riot wasted his patrimony and wealth, he fell into such extreme needes, that he was miserably famished for want of sustenance, It would aske a long time to set downe the iudgements of God that haue iustly overtaken sundry others of the abominable crew: only I wil rehearse one history worthy our knowledge concerning this matter, mentioned by Enguerran in the second volume of his histories. In the reigne of Lewes the 11. and upon the fift day of Iune 1464. there happened (saith hee) a wonderfull accident in the palace at Paris, whilest there was a controuersie in pleading between the Bishop of Angiers and a rich citizen of that towne whom the Bishop accused of notorious Atheisme, namely, that he had said in the hearing of many, that he beleued not there was any God or diuinitie, either any heauen or hell. Now as the Bishops advocat rehearsed these words the place wherein they were pleading troubled very sore, in so much that with the shaking a stone fel downe from the top to the bottom, but hurt nobody, albeit they were taken with a great feare. Whereupon they went all presently out out of the place untill the next day when the matter was to be heard againe. And then also the said roome began to shake againe, so that one of the sommers of the chamber sprang out of the mortesse, and bowed downward two feet, but fell not. Al that were present supposed they should haue died no other death, which caused them so violently to rush out, that for hast some left their hats, some their caps, some their slippers behind them, neither durst any plead more there before it was throughly mended. Now albeit Enguerran speaketh nothing of the determination of that suite, yet forasmuch as nothing cometh to passe by bapazard (as they vse to speak) but all things are guided by the good providence of God, it is out of question, that the Lord would teach vs hereby, how we should detest and abhor such execrable thoughts & speeches, seeing the very dumb creatures, as the stones, the timber, and the earth it selfe (which of it owne nature is immovable) were it so affected with the horror thereof, that they could not abide it so much as to heare it spoken of without shaking. But here some will say unto me, that this labor might well haue bin spared, considering that the sunbeams of the Gospel which breaketh forth so cleerely in all quarters of the land will quickly discry if any such ongly bird should once begin to peep out of the shell within the nest of this Iland. And if the Athenians being were heathen men banished Protagoras out of the territories, and burnt the Books in a publick place because in the beginning of one of them he called the deity into question, we may not think but that in this land ouerspread with the knowledge of God, this monstrous brood shal be ripped in the head so soone as euer it shal dare to shew it selfe. Indeed a man would thinke that Atheisme should not once bee dreamed of, or named amongst vs, considering that we liue in those times of which the Prophet foretold, That the earth should be full of the knowledge of the Lord, & the waters that couer the sea, that all the children of the Church should be taught of the Lord, so that one neighbor shal not teach another, saying, know the Lord, for they shal al know me from the least of them to the greatest, saith the Lord. So a man would thinke that France, hauing bin for these these 30. yeares & upward almost continually scourged with ciuil wars, & that for the cause of religion, should be so far from being steined with the least spot of Atheisme, as that it might now at the length truly say with the Prophet Dauid. It is good for mee that I was afflicted, for thereby I haue learned to keepe thy law. And yet both this our author and some other of that nation, knowing that this infection haue seized upon many of their country men, haue laboured by their writings to suppress the same. And surely it is greatly to be feared, that as their disguised attire couereth the bodies of many of our people & maketh them deformed, so this poison of Atheisme hath praised ibe narrow seas & islanded in the hartes of no small number, so their viter destruction both of body and soule. Neither is this the feare of some few without any ground, but of a great many wise & godly Christians, who seeing the generall prophaneesse of mens liues almost euery where, both publickly cry out against the present infection, & plainly bewaile the future euils that necessarily follow the same. And albeit peradventure there be none amongst vs, that are so far gone in Atheisme, as Lignerolles a French Courtier of late dayes was, who is said to haue made open profession thereof, yet if the tree may be iudged by the fruites, & the outward effects of mens liues do shew shew the inward affections of their hearts, he that hath but halfe an eye may see, that there are a great many amongst vs of those foolish men of whom Dauid speaketh. Who say in their hearts that there is no God. In the forefront of which company, the students of Machiuel's principles & practisers of his precepts may worthily bee raunged. This bad fellow whose works are no lesse accounted of among his followers, then were Apollos Oracles amongst the Heathen, nay then the sacred Scriptures are among sound Christians, blushed not to belch out these horrible blasphemies against pure religion, & so against God the Author thereof, namely, That the religion of the heathen made them stout and courageous, whereas Christian religion maketh the professors thereof base minded, timorous, and fit to become

F. Rabelais

Iodellus.

A citizen of Angiers.

Isaiah 11.9.

8.54.13.

Ier 31.34.

Psalm 119.71

Psalm 14.1.

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become a prey to every one: that since men fell from the religion of the Heathen, they became so corrupt that they would beleue neither God nor the Diuel, that Moses so possessed the land of Iudea, as the Gothes did by strong hande vsurp part of the Romane Empire. These & such like positions are spued out by this hel bound sometime against true religion, other whiles against the religion and Church of Rome, sometimes also taxing the religion of the heathen, of falsehood and consinage, so that in truth he would haue all religio to be of like accompt with his disciples, except it be so far forth as the pretence & shew of religion may serue to set forward & effect their wicked policies. And for this cause he setteth down this rule for every Prince and Magistrate to frame his religion by, namely, that he should pretend to bee very religious and deuout, although it be but in hypocrisie. And to this hee addeth a second precept no lesse impious, that a Prince should with tooth and naile maintaine false miracles and vntruths in religion, so long as his people may thereby be kept in greater obedience. Now what fruits we are to expect from the students of this profession, let all men iudge that haue any sparkes of pure religion glowing in their hearts. Vnto these may be added, such as tread in the steps of Lamech, who derided the iudgement of God upon Caine, such as walke in the waies of Ismael, who mocked Isaac in regard of the promise: & such as those irreligious persons were of whom Peter speaketh, who in iesting wise asked what was become of the promise of Christ his coming to iudgement. That there are such amongst vs, euen in these times wherein we liue, let the testimony which one of that crew gaue lately of himselfe when the heauie hand of God by sicknesse summoned him to giue him an accompt of his desolate life. He being one day aduised of his friends to leaue his bad course of life, which otherwise would bring him to utter destruction, scoffing returned them this answer: Tush (quoth he) what is he better that dyeth in his bed then he that endeth his life at Tyburn? And being further urged to doubt the losse of his soule in hell fire for euer although he feared not death in this world, he replied, Hell? What talke you of Hell to me? I knowe if I once come there, I shall haue the company of better then my selfe: I shall also meet with some knaues in that place, and so long as I shall not sit there alone, my care is the lesse. But you are mad folks (quoth he) for if I feared the Iudges of the Bench no more then I dread the iudgements of God, I would before I slept diue into one karles bags or other, & make merry with the shels I found in them so long as they would last. The voice of a meere Atheist, and so afterwards he pronounced of himselfe when he was checked in conscience by the mighty hand of GOD. And yet this fellow in his life time and in the midst of his greatest ruffe, had the Presse at commandment to publish his lasciuious Pamphlets, whereby he infected the hearts of many yong Gentlemen and others with his poisonous platforms of loue, & diueltish discourses of fancies fust so that their minds were no lesse possessed with the toys of his irreligious braine, then their chambers & studies were pestred with his lewd and wanton books. And if the rest of his crew may be permitted so casily as he did without controlment to instill their venomous inuentions into the minds of our English youth by means of printing, what other thing can we looke for, but that the whole land should speedily be ouerflown with the deadly waters of all impieties, when as the flood gates of Atheisme are thus set wide open? Are they not grown already to this boldnes, that they dare to gird at the greatest personages of all estates and calling vnder the fables of sauage beasts, not sparing the very dead that lie in their graues, that the holy Apostles, the blessed virgin Mary, the glorious kingdome of Heauen it selfe must be brought in as it were upon a stage to play their seuerall parts, according as the humour of euery irreligious head shall dispose, them? And whereas godly learned men, and some that haue spoken of their owne experience, haue in their books that are allowed by authoritie, rearmed Stage plaiers and Theaters, The school of abuse, the schoole of baudery, the nest of the diuel & sinke of all sin, the chaire of pestilence, the pope of the diuel, the soueraign place of Satan, yet this commendation of them hath lately passed the Presse that they are rare exercises of vertue. It were too long to set down the Catalogue of those lewd & lasciuious books, which haue mustred themselves of late yeers in Pauls Churchyard, as chosen souldiers ready to fight vnder the diuels banner: of which it may be truly said that they preuaile no lesse (if not more) to the vpholding of Atheisme in this light of the Gospell, then the Legend of Lies, Huon of Burdeaux, King Arthur, with the rest of that rabble, were of force to maintaine Popery in the daies of ignorance. Wherefore my humble sute is to all such as may by vertue of authority stay the violent course of Atheisme daily spread abroad by these pernicious Pamphlets, that they would lay to their helping hand for the speedy redresse therof. And as for those that reape the gaine of iniquity by the sale of such infectious stufes, oh what a sweet smelling sacrifice should they offer vnto the Lord, if they would gather all such hurtful Books together, & cause them to passe through the fire in the midst of that yard, where now they are so commonly sold. Hereby it would come to passe, that the land being purged of so great contagion as droppeth out of the pens of such godlesse braines, the Lord would withdraw his beaui hand, which now many waies presseth vs sore, the preaching of the Gospell would preuaile mightily as it did in Ephesus after the like sacrifice, and yong Gentlemen and others would employ good houres, vpon better studies: which the Lord grant for his mercies sake, A M E N.



THE FORESPEACH OF THE INTERSPEAKERS IN THIS ACADEMIE, WHEREIN IS HANDLED the cause of their future discourses touching the naturall historie of man.

The names of the discourfers.

A S E R, which signifieth Felicitie, *A M A N A*, Truth, *A R A M*, Excellencie,
A C H I T O B, Brother of goodnesse.



A S E R, My companions, I greatly bewaile the miserie of our age, where-
in so many Epicures and Atheists liue, as are daily discouered amongst
vs in all estates and callings. True it is, that the disagreement in matters
of Religion amongst them that beare the name of Christians is very
great, and causeth much trouble in the Church: neuerthelesse, I doubt
not but that agreement might soone be made, if the word of God only
might be the iudge of true and false religion. For all that feare God, and
are carefull to do nothing contrary to their duty, that account the holy
scriptures to be the true doctrine of the Spirit of God, and are assuredly perswaded, that there is
another life after this, and a iudge before whom they must appeare, they, I say, are not so hardly
induced to peace and concord, but that a man may hope well of them. But they that feare no-
thing, that call all things into question, that esteeme all religion to be opinions onely tormen-
ting mens braines: they likewise that stiffly resist even the truth it selfe, whereof their owne
consciences conuince them, labouring as much as lyeth in them to extinguish not onely the
light of God within them, but that also which they learne in his word, such monsters, I say, will
trouble all Christendome more then the contentions about religion, vnlesse the goodnesse of
God provide some conuenient remedy for the same. For they must bee taught to beleue one
God, one Iesus Christ, the immortality of the soule, the resurrection of the body, a second ever-
lasting life full of ioy and happinesse for good and iust men, but full of grieve and paine for the
wicked and vniust: generally, they must be taught to beleue whatsoeuer we learne in the holy
scriptures concerning the creation and end of euery nature. These things being spirituall and
heavenly cannot be seene nor comprehended without a celestially and supernaturall light, nor
without spirituall eyes, ioyned with the vertue and power of the spirit of God, who onely is a-
ble to clarifie our eyes and to giue them sight. For albeit God gaue spirituall eyes to man, when
he endued him with a reasonable and vnderstanding soule, yet they are euen blind through sin;
if they alwaies haue not God that great and everlasting Sunne to illuminate them with his
diuine light: as the eyes of the body remaine in darkenesse, when bodily light is taken from
them. Hereupon they are called blinde in the holy scripture, that haue not the true knowledge
of God by the light of his word. For although they that are most ignorant haue some little
knowledge and sence of the diuinity by that small remnant of naturall light, which man recei-
ued at his first creation, neuerthelesse because this sparkle is so small in regard of that darknesse,

Matth. 13. 14.
Iohn 9. 39.

which filleth the minde of man, it is not sufficient to leade them to God, and to the right way of saluation. Therefore they soone goe astray and wander hither and thither, and for the most part follow superstition in place of religion, and lies in stead of truth: because it is an easie matter for the diuell to disguise his inuentions vnder a false shew of piety, that they may not discern betweene truth and falsehood, betweene that which God liketh and which he disliketh. For seeing the sparke of naturall light in mans vnderstanding is so small, there needeth no great troubling of the spirit, neither any great impediments to bee cast in his way to confound and amaze him, and to take away, or vtterly to ouerthrow his iudgement, whereby to make him as vnable to iudge of the truth, as a blind man is to iudge of colours. But they are in farre worse case that voluntarily seporate themselves from all truth, both naturall and supernaturall. For they easily beleue that, which the Epicures long since taught against the immortalitie of soules, and against the providence of God towards men: insomuch that they hold this for most certaine, that the soule perisheth as the body doth, and that there is no God that intermedleth in the government of humane affaires, but that they are guided either by fortune or by prudence, or by the folly of men, according as matters fall out.

I quake to think that such monsters are to be found amongst them that beare the name of Christians, and haue in former times receiued the markes & seales of Christianitie in the Church of Iesus Christ. But my quaking is doubled, when I consider, that many of them that professe learning and humane philosophie, and that are thought to haue most skilfull sharpe and subtil wits, are not onely infected with this execrable Atheisme, but professe it, open a schoole thereof, and know how to poison many with it. For as there was neuer yet opinion, error or heresie so strange or monstrous in the world that hath not alwaies found men ynough to receiue it, so long as there were Authors and masters to set it abroad, so these professors of Atheisme are neuer without great store of disciples: because after this manner God punisheth the curiosity ingratitude, and perversenesse of men, the contempt of his word and hatred of the truth, which is commonly in them, as also the pleasure they take in vanitie and lies. Therefore God by his iust iudgement giueth them ouer into a reprobate sence, so that they cannot but alwaies reiect the truth, and imbrace error and lying, as hee often threatneth them by the mouth of his Prophets and Apostles. Examples hereof wee see daily in such as thinke themselves the wisest men, who haue this in their cogitation (if they dare not speake it openly) that it belongeth not to men of wit to beleue in God and his word, but to such as are simple and foolish: not to these great and noble spirits that flie aboue the clouds, who in truth know more then they should, to bring them to that place of weeping and gnashing of teeth.

We are to liue (my companions) amongst such kinde of men, and I suppose that ye, as well as my selfe, haue heard some of them speake: especially since of late times the seruice of Princes hath longer retained vs neere vnto them, then wee were wont in our young yeares when the study of good letters did wholly possesse vs. Therefore wee ought to bee very desirous to fortifie our selues daily with strong and powerfull reasons against whatsoever wee may heare vttered by these scornors of all piety: not for feare that we shall at any time bee deceiued by them (for I am most assured of the graces and gifts, which wee haue receiued from God) but that we may haue abundantly wherewith to resist the vaine and weake arguments of these deceiuers, when wee light among them, especially in the company of ignorant folkes, whom they may easily draw to their side if wee should bee silent. Besides, although wee should not bee able to confound them by reason of their obstinacy, yet wee shall at the last giue them occasion to thinke more seriously of their error. I know well what small account they make of the testimonies of holy Scriptures, and how they esteeme of them but as of fables and dreames made by some doters and idle persons: forso they call the Patriarks, Prophets, and Apostles. As for the writings of Philosophers, they will beleue *Epicurus*, *Pliny*, *Lucretius*, *Lucian*, and others of their sect, who deny all diuinity, and the immortality of soules. But they will giue no credite to any thing that we fetch from the sayings of *Pithagoras*, and *Socrates*, and from the writings of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, and an infinite number of other excellent Philosophers of all Nations, who haue all taught, that there is a diuine providence and iustice, & that the soule is immortal. What shall we say then? Where shall we seeke for arguments which they will vouchsafe to heare? I haue heard them say sometimes, that they would giue credite to naturall Philosophy in those things wherein the causes are prooued by their effects. Now if we take this course to prooue vnto them a godhead, his providence, his future iudgement, and the immortality of the soule, which way soeuer wee turne our selues, either vpward or downward, on the right hand or on the left, we shall find testimonies euery where, which they may not in any wise reiect.

For

Esay. 29. 14.

2. Tim. 3. 13.

2. Thess. 2. 10.

11, 12.

For we haue nature, the necessity of causes, proportion & similitude, the life, decency & dignity of man, the goodnesse of God, the vtilitie that commeth by mankind proceeding from the bounty of God, all which with one common consent, and as it were with one voice do teach and cry, that there is one God creator and gouernour of the whole world, and that the soule of man cannot be mortall. Hereof it is, that the holy Ghost doth often propound vnto vs in holy scriptures this whole visible world as a great booke of nature and of true natural diuinitie all the creatures as preachers and generall witnessers of God their creatour of his workes and of his glory. Neuerthelesse there are but few that haue such eyes as are requisite for the reading of this booke, or fit eares to heare the voice, & to vnderstand the sermons of these naturall preachers, no not amongst them that are most skilfull and best studied in the searching out of nature, & haue greatest knowledge of natural things, of liberall arts, & of all humane philosophy. For there are as many, yea moe, to whom in this respect the selfe same thing is befallen, which long since befell to the first and greatest Philosophers, vnto whom Saint Paul obiectioneth this by way of reproch, that when they knew God by the workes of the creation of the world (wherein he maketh his power, his eternall and inuisible Godhead, as it were visible vnto vs) they did not glorifie him as God, but withheld the truth in vnrighteousnes. And yet it will not be a hard matter for vs (God being our helper) to make it manifest, by the consideration, not only of the whole frame, but of the least creature therein, especially of the body and soule of man (who is a little world,) and of the creation, nature, dignitie and excellency of both his parts, how not onely the simplest and most ignorant may and ought to learne to know God and his providence ouer euery nature, and so to honor and to glorifie him, as hee hath bound them thereunto, but also how the wisest ought to direct all their skill and knowledge which they haue in naturall philosophie, to this selfe same end. As for those that make open profession of Atheisme and refuse the testimonies, which God in his word setteth downe vnto vs, of himselfe, of his providence, and of all things belonging to the saluation and soueraigne good of men, they shall haue yet, will they nil they, ynough probable reasons to proue all these things, so that we may easily conuince and proue vnto them by these testimonies, which euery one of them carieth about in himselfe, both the immortality of the soule, as also the religion of God and of his providence. For these three things are so linked together, that in no wise they cannot, neither ought to be separated: so that he which admitteth the one, must of necessity approue the others, and if he doubt of the one, he reiecteth all.

Rom. 1. 18.
19, &c.

As therefore (my companions) some yeeres past after our returne from warre, wee tooke occasion vpon the corruption that then was in all the estates of France, and the forlorne manners which raigned in euery one, to meete together and to discourse in our Academie of the institution in good manners, and of the meanes to liue well and hapily, to the end in renewing the memory of our former studies wee might beginne to direct our life to that principall end, which the Philosophers appoint thereof, namely vertuous actions: So I thinke that even now wee haue an other good occasion to reade in this great booke of nature, and to bring one to another whatsoever wee haue learned concerning the nature of man. For first wee haue leaue in regard of our Princes seruice, to recreate our selues for a while in our owne houses. Againe, the selfe same place where wee mette so fitly, and wherein wee began our former discourses of Philosophy, doth inuite vs to proceede in them. Moreover, wee doubt not of the combate, which is prepared for vs when wee shall visite our neighbours and friendes, amongst whome many professe themselves better Philosophers than good Christians. We know also into what streights we haue been brought in our matters courts: and let vs not hope that the perill will bee lesse when their seruice recall vs neere vnto them. Wherefore wee shall doe well to arme our selues now with all the reasons & testimonies which wee haue in nature against that Epicurian doctrine, whose onely drift, is by denying the immortalitie of the soule to turne men from all religion and feare of God. For thus doing, wee shall not onely greatly profite our selues, but them also, who beeing in danger to be seduced by such deceiuers shall heare vs now and then reason with them: who feeling themselves conuincd by naturall reasons wherein they supposed to haue greatest strength will not be so bold to vomit their passion before others, but shall bee constrained to digest it by themselves to their owne confusion and overthrow. I desire therefore (my companions) to know how you stand affected towards this my intent and purpose.

Mat. 24.

A M A N A. If euer there were age, wherein those signes of the end of the world which the spirit of God hath foretold vs, haue bin seene, it is this, wherein they are so apparant, that there

is no one body, if he be not deprived of all discourse of reason, who doth not acknowledge them very evidently. For we are fallen into those times wherein store of false prophets are arisen, and have seduced many, wherein all iniquity is increased, and charity altogether frozen. Which thing hath discovered not onely many false religions, but also Atheisme, which is far worse. For without doubt they that are altogether void of religion, are farther off from true religion then they that follow one that is false. And yet there are as many, yea more at this day that doe openly shewe themselves to be Atheists and Epicures, then there are of those that are taken for good Christians. If in outward shewe they professe religion, it is but to couer themselves vnder the vale thereof, to the end that men should not take them for such as they are indeed, as also that they might keepe company with the best. But in their hearts, and amongst their companions they mocke and laugh at all religion, at all feare of God, and whatsoever els is taught vs by his word touching any other life then this, wherein joy is prepared for the good, and torments for the wicked. Now if there were nothing els to doe, but conuince such men of error and lying, the matter were easie: for they cary all their witnessses and their condemnation with them: but they are not so easily confounded. For a man is conuincd when he is constrained to acknowledge in his conscience that hee hath no reason whereby he is able to withstand and gain say that truth, which is shewed vnto him and which condemneth him. But if he be obstinate, headstrong, wickedly giuen, and froward he will neuer leaue kicking against the pricke, but perseuere in his headinesse and obstinacy, and in his maliciousnes and perversenes. For when reason faileth him, hee armeth himselfe with impudencie, like to a bold murtherer, or to a shameles harlot that will blush at nothing. Therefore *Chrysostome* said not without reason, that heretikes may well bee conuincd, but not confounded. For they do but wipe their mouth, as *Salomon* speaketh of an harlot, which presently after boasteth that she is an honest woman. But howsoever wicked men strue to blindfold their vnderstanding, and to harden their hart against the iudgement of God, yet it is neuer propounded vnto them, but wil they nil they, they feeble themselves pricked and pressed with some sence thereof. True it is, that it is not so with them as the children of God are touched, as they of whom it is written, that after they had heard the preaching of Saint *Peter*, they were pricked in their hearts, whereby they were led to true repentance, because they had bin touched to the quicke by the word. But it is said of the reprobate and of them that are hardened, of which sort are all Atheists, that God hath giuen them a pricking spirit, by reason of their bitter heart, which causeth them alwaies to increase in bitterness, to frette and chafe against God, when they feeble themselves pressed by his word and by his iudgement.

Aa. 2. 37.

Therefore I am of opinion (my companions) that for this cause, and for those reasons which *ASER* recited vnto vs, we are now to call to memorie all the testimonies that wee can bring of God and of his providence, of his iudgement, and of the immortalitie of mens soules, by the consideration of the nature of man, and of his parts, the body and soule expecting when sometime hereafter God shall giue vs grace to contemplate the selfe same things in euery nature, and in al this great visible world. For no doubt but such kind of contemplation will furnish vs sufficiently with arguments to conuince all Epicures and Atheists, and to constrain them to acknowledge in their conscience a diuine iustice, and an eternall life. *The heauens* (saith the Prophet) *declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth the worke of his handes.* This hie ornament, this firmament so cleare, and face of heauen so sumptuous to behold, is a thing full of greatnesse. Therein we may behold the Master builder thereof, cloathed with the whole frame as with a garment, which is a sure testimonie of his power and vertue. He who cannot fall within the compasse of mans grosse senses, maketh himselfe as it were visible in his terrible workes. This world is vnto vs a learned schoole, wherein the praise of God doth preach it selfe. It is a goodly large and rich shop, wherein this soueraine and most excellent workman layeth open all his works, to this end, that he might be known by them. It is a temple, wherein there is no creature so little, but it is as it were a similitude and resemblance of the creator thereof, to shew and manifest him vnto vs. In a word, it is a Theatre, where the diuine essence, his iustice, his providence, his loue, his wisdom have their working by a wonderful vertue in euery creature, euen from the highest heauen vnto the center of the earth. *Aske the beasts* (saith *Iob*) *and they shall teach thee, and the fowles of the heauen and they shall tell thee, or speake to the earth and it shall shew thee, or the fishes of the sea, & they shall declare vnto thee. Who is ignorant of all these, but that the hand of the Lord hath made these?* But truly there shineth in man more then in all other creatures, a beame of the diuinity, and a proportionable image and similitude of his nature, in that God hath framed him of an immortal soule,

Psal. 19. 1.

What wee
learne by
the view of
the world

soule, capable of vnderstanding, and of reason, to make him partaker of his eternall glory and felicity. *O Lord* (saith the Psalmist) *How marvellous is thy name in all the world? What is man that thou art mindfull of him? and the sonne of man that thou vifitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower then God, and crowned him with glory and worship. Thou hast made him to haue dominion in the works of shine hands; thou hast put all things vnder his feete.* But withall, as God hath more expressly created man after his owne image, then any other visible nature, & therefore more excellent then the heauenes or the earth, or any thing containd in them, so hee hath singularly bound him to know and to honour him, in which thing he hath placed his soueraigne Good. But man being exalted by God to that honour, that hee might attaine to so great felicity, could not coceiue or acknowledge it: which is the cause that wee see so many, who following the corruption of mans nature, are not only become like to brute beasts, but much more vnthankfully, yea farre more forgetfull and miserable then they. The Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Asse his masters crib, but man will not know God his creatour, of whom he holdeth body, soule, and goods. What a horrible shame is it, that the Oxe and the Asse, which are such dull beasts, should giue greater honor and obedience to man, of whom they receiue their foode, then man doth to God, of whom he hath and daily doth receiue so many benefits? Let vs make hast therefore (my companions) to goe to the schoole of nature. For if wee profit well therein, I doubt not but we shall easily come to the knowledge of the creator thereof, and of the chiefe end of our being.

ARAM. All things created haue their proper motion, which they follow according to that loue that every one of them beareth to his naturall disposition. For the heauens continue alwaies constant in their naturall motions. And as the fire and ayre naturally loue to bee aboue, and therefore draw thitherward without ceasing: so the water and earth loue to keepe below, so that they alwaies bend that waies. So that none of the elements can finde any stay or resting place vntill they be come to those places which God hath appointed for them. Plants cast their rootes downward, and their branches vpward, every one following therein his nature. For a plant being to receiue his nourishment from the earth by meanes of his rootes, which are vnto it in stead of mouthes and veines to suck & draw necessary sustenance for the preseruacion of it selfe, sendeth them alwaies into the ground, and disperseth them all about according as they can finde nourishment: but the stalke, stocke branches and boughs, which are to be nourished in the ayre, alwaies disperse themselues, draw and ascend vpward. Beasts hauing sense, doe much more shew that liking which they haue to follow their naturall inclination. For we see that by their proper apprehension & appetite, they are driuen hither and thither to seeke & follow after that which they desire and loue, being agreeable to their nature: and to flie from that which they hate, as being contrary thereunto. Likewise men, who onely of all other mortall creatures were by creation made partakers of reason, haue their proper motion conuenient to their nature. For being created to attaine to that soueraigne and eternall Good, which is set before them in the diuine essence, they haue receiued from the infinite goodnes power and vertue to wish for that Good, with a desire to apply and ioyne themselues thereunto. Wherefore all men are naturally pricked and driuen forward with a loue & desire tending to that Good: as well because of that naturall agreement which they haue with the same Idea of Good, which is God (their soules being of a celestially and immortal essence) as also because this Good is of that nature that it ought to be loued of every nature, yea so much the more loued as there is greater measure of reason in the creature to know it. But this desire naturally ingrafted in every mans heart, which prouoketh and keepeth men in a loue and liking of every thing which they thinke meet to content and satisfie them, & which they seeke after in diuers things as their affections lead them, differeth much from that desire, which by heavenly grace is planted a new in those, whom God according to his good pleasure and alwaies iust will, hath chosen and elected to euerlasting happines, and pricked forward, guideth & leadeth them to that principall end for which they were created. For although the other sort of men, being heires of that corruption that hath ouerspread the whole nature of man by the meanes of the sin of the first father of all, be driuen forward in soule & spirit, yea many times not thinking thereof to their naturall desire of obtaining that Good: yet they seeke it as blind men that go by groping, but cannot finde it, because the darkness of error & ignorance, wherewith their vnderstanding is ouerwhelmed, hinders them from looking directly towards that Good, and causeth them to wander out of that onely way that could lead them vnto it. So that in stead of looking vnto God, and to celestially and heavenly things, they stay themselues about earthly & corruptible things, vnto which the neerer they labour

Psal. 1. 4. 5. 6

Psal. 32. 9.

Isai. 1. 3.

Euery creature hath his proper motion and disposition.

The difference betweene the naturall & supernaturall desire of man to good.

1. Cor. 2. 14.

Isay. 64. 4.

Psal. 16. 11.

How we may
see God.How Plato
came to the
knowledge of
God.

labour to approach, the farther off they are from the end of their wishes & desires. For this cause the blessed Apostle saith, *that the naturall man perceiveth not the things of the spirit of God: for they are foolishnesse vnto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.* But they that are illuminated, and guided by heavenly and supernaturall light, and whose vnderstanding is framed by the spirit of God, to receiue it, know then how they are carried by their proper motion to the contemplation of the true Good, in the enioying whereof they shall once for euer be made partakers of a felicitie, which eye neuer saw, nor care heard, neither came into mans heart: I meane, when by dissoluing the mortall tabernacle of this bodie, they shall bee clothed with glorious immortality, and shall see him face to face who is all in all: in whom they shall bee satisfied, according to the doctrine of the Prophet, *In thy presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at thy right hand there are pleasures for euermore.* This is that (my companions) which ought to whet vs on to direct our light streight to that place whereat wee ought to lenill, namely to heauen, and not looke to any other thing then to God, who is the scope, which we desire and shall one day attaine vnto. Now if wee can not see this white so farre off, and much lesse come vnto it without direction, GOD is come neare vnto vs in the person of his Sonne Iesus Christ, who being the brightnesse of his glory, hath left vs his word for a sure guide, besides so many testimonies of his providence and goodnesse ouer all creatures, that wee daily behold him as it were visible in them. For the ruled motions of the heauens, the wonderfull workmanship of so many starry tents, the connexion, agreement, force, vertue and beauty of the Elements: the situation, firmenesse, and spreading of the earth amidst the waters, and so many sundrie natures and creatures in this whole frame of the world: all these things I say, are so many interpreters to teach vs that God is the efficient cause of them, and that he is manifested in them and by them, as their finall cause. But the glasse wherein we may yet better behold him is man: in whom shineth and is imprinted an image of the diuine essence, which is not found againe in any visible creature; and that is reason and vnderstanding, whereof by creation he was made partaker as well as the Angels. This is the chiefe and principall worke of the creation, whereby God meant to giue such a Being to his creatures and spirituall natures, to the end he might communicate his wisedome and goodnes with them, and thereby lead them to eternall felicitie. Wherefore if it be good for men to consider the works of God in his creatures, and in their nature created by him, and that for the reasons and ends declared by vs, it is better and more necessary that they should do the same thing in their owne person and nature, wherein there are almost as many maruailous workes of the almighty power of God, as there are in that whole frame besides, and in all other creatures. Therefore that sentence which saith, *Know thy selfe*, was not without good reason so much praised and renowned amongst all the ancient Greeke & Latine Philosophers, as that which is worthy to be taken for a heauenly oracle, and a sentence pronounced by the mouth of God. For whosoever shal know himselfe wel, cannot faile to know God his creator, and to honour him as hee ought, if he follow the chiefe end for which man was created, as well as the residue of the creatures. Plato in his Phædrus, and in the tenth booke of Lawes, searching and inquiring by the meanes of motion, what was the substance, nature and immortality of the soule, attained to the vnderstanding of the diuine essence. Aristotle also taking the same way in his 8. booke of naturall Philosophy, sheweth that hee knew God vnder the name of the *first moouer*, who was perpetuall and vnmoueable. But wee may attaine to the knowledge of God and of our selues, a great deale better then all the Philosophers could, who were ignorant of the true beginning and end of things, if we be guided by the word, which is the light of the truth, and whereof all the humane philosophy of the wisest that were, is but a little shadow. Now then, if vnder this heauenly guide we feede our spirits with a doctrine that teacheth man to know himselfe well, we begin at that science which of all other is most necessary, profitable, and pleasant: I say necessary, as that which guideth and leadeth vs as it were by the hand to finde out God; profitable, because it bringeth a maruailous commoditie to this present life, both in regard of bodily health, as also of ruling all our actions according to vertue; and pleasant, because a man may see therein as it were in a sacred temple all the images of the wonderfull workes of the world.

ACHITO. I cannot but greatly commend those Philosophers that reprehended and condemned them, who spent all their time onely in the contemplation of heauen and earth, and of the nature of other creatures, and in the meane while descended not into themselves, to know themselves and their nature, but especially their soule. For what wil it profit a man to take

take so great paines as to measure the whole world, and to compasse on euery side all the elementarie region, to know the things that are contained in them, and their nature, and yet in the meane time hee can not measure or know himselfe being but a little handfull of earth? For although the knowledge of the rest of the creatures that are in this great visible world, will greatly helpe to leade him to the knowledge of God the Creatour, neuertheless he shall neuer be able to know him well: if withall he know not himselfe well. Yea these two knowledges are so ioyned together, that it is a very hard matter to seuer them. For as a man cannot know himselfe if he know not God, so he cannot know God well, if in like sort he know not himselfe. So that I take this for most certaine, that neither Astronomy, Geomotry, Geography, or Cosmographie, nor any other Mathematicall science is so necessary for man, as that wherby he may learne to know himselfe wel, & to measure himselfe wel by the measure of his owne nature; that he may thereby know how to containe himselfe within the limits thereof. As for Mathematicians, naturall Philosophers and Phisitions, who bestow their trauaile in the knowledge of nature and naturall things, & in the meane time forget God and themselves, whereas they ought to learne both the one and the other, by that knowledge that God hath giuen them of his workes, I say they are not worthy to be taken for naturall Philosophers, Phisitions or Mathematicians, but rather for blockheaded beasts. In my opinion they behaue themselves, as if a man should bee alwaies occupied in looking vpon his house, and handling of his moueables and houshold stufte, and in the meane time did not put them to those principall and special vses, for which they ought to serue, but were altogether forgetfull of himselfe, of his wife, and of his children. Moreouer concerning Phisitions, if their care to know their owne soule, with the nature and parts thereof, be not more to minister that food and phisicke which is necessary for it to liue well and happily, and that for euer, then to know the nature of mens bodies that they may cure others, it may worthily be said vnto them *Phisition beale thy selfe*. For if he bee worthily derided that taketh in hand the cure of other men & cannot heale himselfe, or at least hath no care to doe it, surely that man is well worthy to be had in greater derision that is more carefull not onely of his owne, but also of other mens bodies, then hee is of his owne soule, whereby hee differeth from brute beasts, and is made partaker of an immortall nature. Wherefore it is very requisite, that all students in natural philosophy should profit so wel in the study thereof, as to be able to turne it into true naturall diuinity, whereby they may learne to know God their creator, in that nature which he hath created to this end to make himselfe seene & known therein to all men.

We haue therefore good cause (my companions) to bestow all possible paines and trauaile, that we may proceede on in so necessary and profitable a knowledge. Wherefore we must lay before our eyes two bookes which God hath giue vnto vs to instruct vs by, & to lead vs to the knowledge of himselfe, namely the booke of nature, and the booke of his word, which wee must ioine both together, as also that doctrine, which is set forth vnto vs in them concerning the knowledge of our selues, especially of the soule, which is the true man. For the first booke would stand vs in small stead without the second, as we see it daily by experience, yea euery one of vs hath triall thereof in himselfe. Therefore God of his great mercy hath added the second booke vnto the first, to supply the want that is in our nature through sin. For if mā had not sinned, this booke of nature would haue sufficed to haue kept him alwayes in the knowledge, contemplation, and obedience of God his creator. For then he should himselfe haue carried the booke whole & perfect imprinted in his heart & minde: neither should his soule haue needed any teacher to know it selfe, but in it selfe it should haue cleerely behelde and contemplated it selfe, so long as she preserved her first light and aboad in that harmony wherein God had created her. But now that she is in the body, as it were some excellēt picture of *Apelles* fallen into a sinke of mire, couered & compassed about with thick mists, & obscure darkenes, it is very needefull that wee should haue another new light, brought vnto vs from heaven, which is not naturall as the first but supernaturall. For this cause God hath farther giuen vs this second booke, of which I spake euen now, by meanes wherof and by the vertue of his holy spirit, he communicateth vnto vs as much celestial and heavenly light as is needfull for the knowledge of our selues and of his Maiestie. Being therefore guided by the spirit of God, whereby our spirit doth see and contemplate, let vs read in these two bookes, & diligently note in them the parts, and powers, force and vertue as well of the body as of the soule of man, especially the immortality thereof: wherby we shall make the way easy, for vs to walke & sport our minds hereafter in the large and goodly fields of the whole world, by discoursing of all natures contained therein, if it shall please God to giue vs grace, as he hath giue vs

The knowledge of God and of our selues ioyned together

Two bookes that teach vs to know God

The necessity of the word.

wills

wills to performe it. True it is, that we haue now taken in hand a very long piece of worke, and not greatly necessary in respect of the principall cause of our meeting together, if wee meant here to make an entire and perfect Anatomy of mans body. This dutie belongeth to Physitions, which we will not take vpon vs: but it shall suffice vs to open a gap to the consideration, first of the matter whereof the body is made, and of the diuersity thereof: then of the forme which God hath given vnto it: and lastly of the profite and vse of them both. For through a little vnderstanding and knowledge, which we may haue of these things, if we consider them as we ought, we shall haue great occasion to maruaile at the worke of God in the frame of the body: yea we shall see therein store of testimonies of his almighty power, knowledge, wisdom, goodnesse and prouidence. But as for the soule, we will labour to make her to behold herselfe in the glasse of her wonderfull actions, so farre forth as she is able to contemplate herselfe, and to measure her greatnesse by her owne compasse. Wherefore wee will heere make as it were an Anatomy of the soule, and of all her partes powers, vertues, and faculties, instructing our selues at large in the consideration of her nature, creation and immortallitie: and eschewing in all our discourses as much as we may, obscure words and phrases, subtil, curious and vnprofitable disputations, which the ancient Philosophers haue vsed in the searching out of such matters, wee will apply our selues to the greatest number of such as haue not haunted the schooles of Philosophie, that we may profit many, and instruct our selues in the truth by familiar speeches, so farre forth as our weake iudgement is able to comprehend, being directed by the gift and grace of God, and made conformable to his word, which is the true touchstone whereby all doctrine is to be examined. Moreover we will observe in our discourses the same order which we kept in our Academicall treatises: but onely that I thinke it meetest for our present purpose, that every one of vs after he hath discoursed of some point, should offer matter subiect to his companion to prosecute and speake of, as if hee gaue him instructions concerning that thing which he propoundeth vnto him. And we will deale all foure of vs, every one in his course, making one discourse round in the morning, and another in the afternoone: continuing vntill wee haue finished as it were a naturall historie of man, and of his parts, the bodie and soule. First therefore thou shalt instruct vs *A S E R*, in the creation of the first man, and in the matter whereof mans body is made.

Par la prieres Dieu m'ayde.





THE FIRST DAIES WORKE

of the second part of the French Academy.

*Of the creation of the first man, and of the matter whereof
the body of man is made.*

CHAP. I.



SER. God onely hath his beeing of himselfe, therefore hee is eternall, without beginning and without end. But because he would not bee alone, he created the creatures, and by their creation gaue beeing to that which was nothing before. Therefore all natures tooke their beeing and essence, and doe hold it of that first euerlasting essence. Thus also he answered to *Moses*, who asked of him what his name was: *I will be that I will be*: or, *I am that I am*. Moreouer he said, *Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: I am hath sent mee vnto you*. We see here what name hee giueth himselfe, whereby hee sheweth that hee onely is, and hath an immutable essence and existence, which onely, to speake properly, a man may call a *Beeing*. Wherefore seeing God is the first essence, and that onely that hath beeing of it selfe, and from which all others proceede, as riuers from their spring and fountaine, wee shall easily come vnto the Eternitie of God, if wee know how to ascend thither by the degrees of the essences of all those creatures, which descended from his eternall and vnchangeable essence, by reason whereof hee is called *Iehonab* by the Hebrewes.

The name
of God.
Exod. 3. 14.

If then wee consider our selues, euery one of vs shall know that hee had a beginning, that hee made not himselfe, neither came hee into the world but by the helpe of another. This consideration will leade euery one to his father and mother that begat him: and being come so farre, hee will passe on and ascend step by step to his ancestors, making the like iudgement of all his predecessors as of himselfe. For he will by and by thinke, that they came into the world after the same manner that hee did, and not otherwise, and that they were not the first men. Thus if a man ascend vp still from father to father, he must needs in the end come to some one father, that was the first father of all, of whom all others tooke their beginning, as hee that was the stocke of all mankind. This first father must either haue his being of one, or be eternall, or come of some eternall matter like to God, or be God himselfe. Which because hee could not be, he must needs haue some beginning, and bee borne after another fashion then they were that descended of him. Now what father can we say he had but the Creator of the whole world? Being come to his first beginning we can mount no higher, but must stay there, and conclude, that this first builder of nature was without beginning, that he is infinite and eternall, otherwise we shall neuer find place to stay at. Thus we see how the creature leadeth vs from essence to essence, proceeding from one to another, vntill it come to the first essence which is infinite and eternall, the spring and fountaine of all others, which we call *God*. But let vs speake of this creation of the first man.

Steps to a-
scend vp by
to the
knowledge
of God.

After the almighty power of the Eternall had with nothing and of nothing made the onely matter of the world, and had seuered out of this *Chaos*, the ayre, the fire, the earth and the water,

Gg

and

Of the creation of man.

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Gen. 1. 26.

Three things
to be confide-
red in the cre-
ation of man.

Isa. 40. 13. 14.
Rom. 11. 34.
Pro. 8. 22, &c

The trinitie
of persons in
the Vnitie of
the godhead.

Gen. 1. 27.

Gen. 2. 7.

and enriched the whole with celestiaall lights, herbes, planets, earthly, ayery, and watery li-
uing creatures, *Let vs* (saide he) *make man in our owne image according to our likenes, and let them*
rule ouer the fish of the sea, and ouer the foule of the beauen, and ouer the beasts, and ouer all the earth,
and ouer enery thing that creepeth, and moueth on the earth. Now we will note here in the 1. place
three things wel worthy of consideration. First, that God did not barely command that man
should be made and created, as he commanded for the other creatures, but he that speaketh
as though some great king or prince should deliberate with his Counsell about the making
of some great worke, declaring afterward himselfe why hee tooke this way in the creation of
man onely, and not in the creation of the other creatures, likewise, when he saith, *According*
to our owne image and likenesse, which is the second thing we haue to note. For by these wordes
he plainly declareth, that he mindeth to make a worke, the like whereof was not before, &
to draw out an image more agreeable to his nature and more worthy his maiesty, then hee
had done before amongst all the workes of his hands. For although he had already adorned
and replenished the whole beaueus with goodly lights, yea all the elements and residue of
the world with all sorts of creatures, yet there was not one creature vnder heauen which hee
had made capable of vnderstanding and reason, to know and glorifie God the creatour of
the whole world. And albeit the Angels being heauenly spirits had this vnderstanding and
knowledge, yet he would haue man besides vpon earth, for whose sake chiefly he had created
the world, to the end he might know and glorifie him together with his Angels. Therefore
Moses addeth the third thing which wee haue to consider in this deliberation of mans
creation, therby the better to let vs know the excellency of this creature aboue the rest, whe
he declareth, that God would create him, that he might rule ouer the rest of the liuing crea-
tures, and ouer the whole earth, as if men should be his Lieutenant, and as it were a little
terrene god, vnder the great and soueraigne God that created him. But some man may aske
with whom God maketh this deliberation? For he speaketh, as though he would haue some
helpers and companions in the making of this so excellent a work. The prophet *Isaiah* an-
swereth to this saying, *Who was his counsellor? or hath giuen to him first, and he shall be recompensed?*
For he had no other counsaile or help but of himselfe, & of his heauenly & eternall wisdom,
as it is testified by *Salomon*. Therefore we must not thinke that he had the Angels for coun-
sellors & helpers, either in the creation of man, or of any other creature whatsoever, as some
haue presumed to imagine and to affirme. For that were to derogate too much from the na-
ture & maiesty of God, and to take from him the title of Almighty, which agreeth to him
onely. For the creature cannot be a creator. And as there is but one only God, so there is but
one creator of all things. For the worke of the creation can agree to none but to God onely.
But *Moses* by this manner of speaking in the plurall number, meant to giue out some obscure
knowledge of the trinitie of persons that is in the vnitie of God, and that vnion which they
haue together in the work of the creation, which is common to the Father, with the Son and
the holy Ghost, as are all the other workes of God. For although there be distinction of per-
sons in one and the same diuine essence, yet there is no diuision betweene them nor separati-
on. And as they are vnited together in one and the same essence, so likewise they are in all
their workes. For the Father doth nothing but by the Sonne, and that in the vertue of the holy
spirit. Therefore the prophet addeth immediatly, *God created the man in his image: in the image*
of God created he him: he created them male and female. Wee see here that *Moses* doth not pro-
pound vnto vs three Gods or three creators, but one onely. And in that he doth twice repeat
this, that *God created man in his image,* it is to let vs vnderstand, that this point ought wel to be
well considered of, and weighed, as that wherein consisteth all the excellency of man, and the
true difference that is betweene him, and the other liuing creatures, which are but brute
beasts. We shal now where we ought to seeke this image of God in man, after wee haue heard
the rest of the historie of his creation. For after *Moses* bath briefly and summarily spoken as
we haue saide: he taketh the same matter againe into his hand, and intreateth thereof more
specially. He saith then, *That the Lord made man of the dust of the ground, & breathed in his face*
breath of life, & that the man was a liuing soule, Wherby he sheweth euidently, that God did not
creat the body and soule of man both at one time, as he had created the beasts, but the body
first & then the soule, which he ioyned therewith, not only to giue life vnto it, as it is giuen to
brute beasts by the soule which they haue, but also to make it capable of vnderstanding as
we shal vnderstand more at large hereafter. For we speak not now by what means or at what
time the soule is ioined with the body in the comon & ordinary generatiō of men, but only of
the mean & order which god obserued in the creatiō of the 1. mā, according to the rehearſal
which

Of the creation of man.

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Moses maketh. Now touching the matter whereof he made him, because the chiefest & most apparant was taken from the earth, it is saide expressely, that he was made thereof, and that he should returne thither, as we see it true, in the death of every one. But this is most certain & graunted of all the great philosophers, yea euident to be seen, that mans body is compounded of the 4. elements, & of al their qualities, as also all the other bodies of creatures vnder heauen. And because the greatest part which remaineth of that which we see of man, is of the earth, therefore it is saide, that he returneth to earth, although whatsoeuer is taken of the other elements in the composition of his body, doth likewise turn again into them. For the flesh of man agreeth aptly with the earth, his vital spirits with the aire & the fire, his humors with the water. The sence of seeing agreeth with the fire: that of hearing with the aire: that of tasting with the element of water, the sence of touching with the earth, & that of smelling with the aire & fire, as we shal vnderstand more at large hereafter when we handle them. Yea there is no peece so small in the whole frame of man, wherein every one of the elements doth not intermeddle his power and qualities, although one of them doth alwaies commaund aboue the rest. This is to bee seene in the blood, which is the first & chiefest of those 4 humors in the body, and is properly of the nature of the aire. For the muddy dregs, which commonly thicken and settle in the bottom of it, are of the nature of the earth, & are called *Melancholy*, the pure blood that swimmeth in the midst doth represent vnto vs the aire: that humor that swimmeth in a round circle is watry steame, and the skum that appeareth aboue, is the choler, which is of the nature of the fire. If we consider the ordinary generation of men, the matter is humor: naturall heat is as it were the master builder, drynesse hardneth the body: and cold refreshings doe not only moderate the heat that the moyst matter should bee consumed, but haue also their proper action to congeale and gather it together.

Gen. 3. 19.
Mans body
compounded
of the foure
elements.
Of what ele-
ment every
sence holdeth
most.

Now we must vnderstand that of this first matter which contained all the elements, and which God made the mother of al things, and capable of al formes, every body is compounded, and every one returneth to the same againe, and of that taketh a new forme, so that the true matter of corporall things doth not turne into nothing, neither increaseth or decreaseth in any sort. So that euer since the eternal that can do al things made this whole great frame of nothing, no one thing is made of nothing, neither doth any thing vanish into nothing, but the change of every thing that is bred or that dieth, is only in form. Now by this knowledge of the matter of the first mans body, we may easily vnderstand of what matter al mens bodies are made. For certaine it is, that of one only man al others haue had their beginning, being al his seed and offspring and multiplying daily according to his first vertue. The reason hereof is this, because this power is naturally ingrafted in every thing to bring forth his like, and to continue it self in the same kind, being inabled therunto through a quickning vertue infused into it by that diuine reason, which is the efficient and preserving cause of al creatures. Now I doubt not but that Epicures and Atheists, and such like deriders of God and his word, with whom this age is pestred more then any age past, will account all this to be a very fable, that hath bin hitherto spoken of the creation of the first man. For they give no more credit to the writings of *Moses*, and of all the Prophets and Apostles, then to an old wiestale, or to the fables of doting dreamers. Neither wil they beleue any more of God, of his providence and of his workes, then they are able to vnderstand, know, and comprehend by their naturall reason. They will say then, that they haue not seene the like workes in nature, (which they put in stead of God:) and by the same reason they will account for lies whatsoeuer the word of God teacheth vs concerning the creation of this great visible world, and of all things contained therein, as also that which we shal heare anon touching the creation of woman. And thus because they saw not when God created the world, and because he did set another order in nature after the creation thereof, then there was before he had created nature, therefore according to their goodly philosophie, there shall be neither God nor creator, nor difference betwixt the workes of the creation, in which nature it selfe was created, and those that followed after God had disposed the order of nature created by him. What then shall wee say of man, & of al the world. Shall he be without a creator, and eternal, or made of some matter that was eternal with God, or shal he be God himselfe? For either hee was created, or hee was not created. If he were not created, then is he eternal, as euen *Aristotle* faith, following the discourse of human reason, which notwithstanding blinded him in this matter of creation, wherein he is not only contrary to the word, but also to his master *Plato* & to the best and most excellent amongst the Philosophers. But if the world was created, it must needs be that it had some beginning, and that the first man (as likewise every other creature) was begotten

The 1. matter
the mother
of all
things.

An argument
of al Atheists
against mans
creation.

Now we shal
see how well
the world was
created, and
how it was
preserved.

Aristotles error
was that
the world had
no beginning

Nature com-
meth of the
Latine word
Nalcor which
signifieth to
bee borne.

How we must
ascend vnto
the knowledg
of God by
his creatures.

after another manner then the vse is at this present. But what would these sharpe wits, or rather dull beasts say, if they had not seene by experience the worke of God (which they call the worke of nature onely) in the generation of men? For of what are they daily begotten and conceiued of a superfluitie, and as it were of an excrement of mans body, as hereafter wee shall vnderstand more at large? Is this farre more easie to digest in humane reason then the first creation of man? If these skorners had neuer seen such a thing and if they were not conuicted hereof by daily experience, they would giue as little credit to those that should tell the of it, as they do to the spirit of God speaking of his works by the mouth of his prophets. As for those that set nature in the place of God, what greater brutishnes can proceede from them? For doth not the very name of nature declare sufficiently, that nature is a thing made and created, and so consequently, hath her creation & her birth of God, as al other creatures haue? But God punisheth these poore ignorant fellowes with the like iudgement that hee doth many other skilfull and great Philosophers, whom he oftentimes giueth over into a reprobate sence, because through their pride and ingratitude they abuse the knowledge of naturall things which God giueth them: & so that science which should lead them to a greater knowledge of God, maketh them more beastlike then any other, through their owne fault. For it cannot be otherwise but that euery one, considering the nature & composition euen of one onely member of mans body, must of necessity acknowledge and confesse, that some Woorke master made it, and that this Woorke master is of no bodily or humane nature, but of a spirituall and diuine being, that he hath not onely vnderstanding and knowledge of all things, but also that he is vnderstanding it selfe: that he knoweth, loueth, and is the author of all order, and that his wisdom and vertue is so infinite, that it surmounteth all mens vnderstandings. Hereupon it followeth, that he is worthy to be esteemed for God, and to bee worshipped of all men. There are others that aske, why man was not created an infinite space of time before he beganne to bee by the testimony of the holy Scripture, which teacheth vs, that it is not yet fully 6000. yeares since his creation, as though hee had beene created very late. But if the shortnesse of time offendeth them, because they thinke that there are so fewe yeares, since wee reade in holy Scripture, that man was created, let them consider that nothing lasteth long if it haue any ende, and that the whole space of ages past, if it bee compared with eternitie that is endlesse, is not onely to bee thought little, but none at all. Therefore that question which now they aske after 5000. yeares they might with the same curiositie demaund after sixe hundred thousand yeres, if the world had endured so long. They also that were before vs when man was but newly created, might haue mooued this question: yea the first man might haue enquired also as soone as hee was made, why hee was not made before. And so this controuersie about the beginning of mans being, had neuer at any time heretofore any other reasons then it hath now, neither shall haue hereafter. Let vs know then that God being eternall and without beginning began time, and in time made man whom he had neuer made before, being ledde thereunto not by any newe and sodaine motion, but by an immutable and eternall counsaile. For no newe thing can befall him, neither is there any thing in him that is mutable: but according to the height and depth of his riches he hath multiplied the children of men. And let them thinke, imagine and dispute what they list, yet all thinges haue had their beginning according to the good providence of God, which no man in the worlde can sufficiently comprehend. O great mystery, that God hath alwayes beene, and that it pleased him sometime past to make man first, who was neuer made before, and yet not to change his purpose and will. Thus you see howe wee must steppe by steppe ascende by the workes of God vnto himselfe, as wee haue already touched in the beginning of our speech, and as wee can doe it well ynough in mens works. For when I beholde a worke, it by and by putteth me in mind of the instruments wherewith it was made, and the instruments, of him that made them, and of him that set them a worke. Then the Woorke master putteth mee in minde of him that made him such a one, namely, both of his master that taught him, and also of his parents that begat him. Thus climingg vp still from one to one, and from degree to degree, I must needs in the end conclude, that there is one chiefe Work master, of whom al others are descended by their order & degree. And there I must stay: as in like manner proceeding from one essence to another, I may come to the contemplation of that infinit & eternal essence, which is the spring & first cause of euery nature, namely, vnto God, who hath giuen to that matter wherof he made al things a forme meet & conuenient for that worke which hee would make of it. This is that which I think we ought to conceiue touching the creatio of the

matter

matter of mans body. Now before we consider the disposition thereof I thinke we ought to intreat of the creation of woman, who is one selfe same flesh, differing onely in sexe, and appointed of God to bee a necessary helpe for the originall and preservation of mankind: which I desire to heare you discourse of, A M A N A.

Of the creation of Woman. Chap. 2.

A M A N A. No marueile, if the eye of mans soule be often dimmed, yea loofeth al light in the diligent consideration of the wonder full works of Gods providence. For as the eye of the body although cleare of it selfe, cannot behold colours, figures, and other visible things, except it be illuminated with light from heauen, or from some other light some body: so albeit our vnderstanding of it owne nature be very cleare sighted, as beeing a beame of the diuine brightnes, yet by reason of the bond that conioyneth it to the body, wherein it is overwhelmed with the darknes of the matter, it can in no wise attain to the glittering conceptions of eternall wisdom, vnles it alwaies haue God that great and euerslasing Sun, and his heauenly light to illuminate it, & to guid it to the faithfull contemplation of the workes of his almighty hand. This hath bin the cause why so many great wittes discoursing philosophically of the originall and beginning of things, and looking on euery side, yea doubting and fearing many things, which they found contrary to humane reason, haue bin caried hither & thither with diuers opinions, like to a vessel tossed in a deep sea, but could neuer come neere to the knowledge of the truth. But if we follow the bright star of truth fixed in the heauenly book of life, as we haue learned therein the creation of man, so we may as easily bee instructed in the creation of the woman, to the confusion of the wisemen of the world, and of al Epicures and Atheists. The holy Scriptures teach as that after God hath created man & placed him in the garden of Eden, to dresse it, and keep it, and had forbidden him to eate of the tree of the knowledge of good and euill, which was a signe and token of the homage, obedience, and subiection he didow to God his creator & Lord, and of that blessed life appointed for him as a recompence and crowne of this obedience. *It is not good (then said he) that man should be himself alone, I will make him an help meet for him.* And to shew the better how this helpe was, not only meete, but also necessary for man, *Moses* saith, that God hath already brought all the beasts before *Adam*, that he might name them according to their natures and kindes, which he performed. Whereby we may iudge what great knowledge of naturall things was in *Adam* before hee sinned. For otherwise hee could not haue giuen to all liuing creatures names agreeable to their nature, and if he had uot named them as hee should, hee had brought in great confusion in nature. Afterward *Moses* addeth *that among st all those liuing creatures he found no helpe meete for Adam*, yea the Lord hath spoken of him before, as if hee had beene alone in the world. For although all the beasts, and all the residue of the creatures were giuen to man to assit him, so that beeing in the estate of innocency wherein hee was then, hee might receiue all seruice and ready obedience from all the creatures, neuerthelesse hee had not as yet any helpe of his kinde. For hee could not haue that familiaritie and conuersation with the beasts, nor receiue such helpe from them, as he could from creatures of his owne kinde. Therefore when the Lord saide, that it was not good for man to bee alone, hee declared plainly, that hee did not create him to liue alone and solitary in the world, but with company, and that his will was, that there should be men vpon earth, who should liue in society & fellowship together. Now seeing that man was created for this end he could not liue in company with others of his kinde without generation and multiplication thereof, which could not be except he were ioyned to a wife, seeing it pleased GOD to appoint it so. Wherefore as hee created the other liuing and sensible creatures of two sexes in one kinde, namely, some males and others females, that they might increafe and multiply by generation, so likewise dealt he with mankind. But as hee tooke an other course in the creation of man, then he did in that of beasts, so also dealt hee in the creation of the woman, whom he purposed to giue vnto man for a companion. For hee created not man and woman borh together, but man first, and then woman afterward, as we wil declare by and by. Now, because there is no coniuction or communion in any humane society, wherein that holy bond, which ought to knit all men together, and ioyn them one to another is better declared, then in that wherby man and wife are ioyned and vnited as it were in one selfe same body, and in one soule, therefore it pleased God not without cause to begin

Gen. 2. 15. 18

What great knowledge of naturall things was in Adam.

Man was created for society

The creation
of Woman,
and vse there-
of.
In Hebrew
Ish signifieth
man & Ishah
woman.

Ephes 5.29.

How Atheists
scoffe at the
womans crea-
tion.

Gen.2. 21.

this holy society by that coniunction, which is the bond and foundation of all the rest, and as it were the spring-head and fountaine of all mankind. Therefore it is written, that God minding to create woman and to give her to man for an helper, caused an heauie sleepe to fall vpon *Adam*, (which name is as much to say as, *Of earth*) and when he slept hee tooke one of his ribbes, and closed vp the flesh in stead thereof. And the Lord God made a woman of the ribbe, which he had taken from man: then the man said, *This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh, shee shall be called Mans, or Mannish, because shee was taken out of man.* First wee see in this history, that God would not that the male and female should haue two beginnings, but onely one, and that they should bee as it were one stocke of mankind, to the end that the coniunction thereof should be more straight, firme and inuolable. For if it had beene otherwise, the diuersity of beginnings might haue giuen occasion either of contemning one another, or of enuie, dissention, and brawlings. Therefore God created in the person of *Adam* the fountaine of mankind, and after framed *Euah*, (which is as much to say, as alieue, or liuing) to the end we might know, that the Woman was not created as a new creature of another race or kinde, but was onely a portion and part of the nature of man. By this meanes *Adam* had in the woman as it were a glasse to behold and contemplate himselfe, as *Euah* also had the like in him, and as yet to this day every husband hath the like in his wife, and every wife in her husband. For the Woman was flesh of the flesh of man, blood of his blood, and bone of his bones, euen as it were his owne body, and a second-selfe. How then can the husband despise and hate his wife, and not hate himselfe? Foras Saint *Paul* witnesseth, *No man euer yet hated his owne flesh.* And what cause hath a Woman to bee loath to bee obedient to her husband, if shee consider that shee is taken out of him, and that in setting her selfe against him, shee strueth against her selfe, and doth her selfe great wrong and iniurie? Therefore as the Lord hath declared what place he would haue the husband and wife to keepe, every one in their degree, by that order which he hath obserued in creating the man first, and then the woman: so he hath done the like in that he created the woman neither of the mans head nor of his feete, but of his rib. Whereby as on the one side, he admonisheth the wife not to lift vp her selfe aboue her husband by taking authority ouer him, & so making her selfe his head: so on the other side he admonisheth the husband not to abuse his authority, by putting his wife vnder his feete, as if shee were a slave, but to account of her as of his sister and companion. We are therefore to consider the great wisdom and providence of God in this creation of the Woman. But Atheists, and other contemners of the word of God, besides that goodly ground and foundation of their impiety, whereof we heard before, take farther occasion to deride this historie of the creation of woman, because it is said, that shee was builded of a ribbe which God tooke from *Adam*. Truly the workes of God in the creation of things are not vsuall, because they are the first: but they which will not beleue them, may as well giue no credit neither to the miracles that haue beene in times past, nor to those that are daily seene. For they were not to bee called by this name of miracles, if they were wrought by an ordinarie course of nature. They conclude then out of *Moses* speech, either that *Adam* had then one rib more then he should haue had, or else that he had one lesse then he should after the womans creation: so that what side soeuer you take they will finde a great absurdity. They that seeke for occasions in this sort to scoffe at the workes of God, that study and take delight to cauill at them, will alwaies finde absurdities enough in them according to their corrupt will & iudgement. For they will daily coine as many as they list to hinder themselves from the knowledge of God and of his workes, least they should bee constrained by them to glorifie him. But indeede what can they doe else but barke against God and his providence, and laugh at all that is taught vs by the holy spirit concerning the creation of all things contained in the world, seeing they are not capable of the knowledge and vnderstanding of heavenly mysteries? But I demand of them, what strange matter they finde in this, if it were so that *Adam* was created with one rib more then men commonly haue, which God prepared in his creation for the womans creation: or otherwise, if he had one lesse after her creation, which is more likely? For it is said expressely, that *God filled vp with flesh that place out of which he tooke the ribbe whereof hee framed Euah.* So that *Adam* lost nothing, neither was he lesse perfect in respect of that. For God did very well recompence it two waies. First, because that which he put in steade thereof, did serue *Adams* turne as well if his ribbe had remained still. Secondly, it turned to his great good, in that he had a whole woman for one of his ribs, yea such an helpe was giuen vnto him, that shee was as it were another halfe of his body to make him a perfect man. Besides al this, we haue further to note the significations of those

those things which God meant to represent vnto vs, and to teach vs by that manner of proceeding, which hee obserued in creating the woman, of which I haue already spoken. But we haue also to marke herein a notable prophecy of Iesus Christ, and of his Church, and a lively image of her vnion, coniunction, and communication with him being her husband. For as the rib was taken from the mans side whilest he was a sleepe, that the woman might be made: so in the death of Iesus Christ, signified by this sleepe, and whilest hee hung vpon the crosse, his side was pierced, out of which issued blood and water which relemble the Sacraments that tend to the edification of the Church. And as *Eua* was taken from *Adam* according to the flesh, who was the first stocke of mankinde, and then ioyned vnto him in marriage, that of twaine they might be one in one flesh: so the Church was taken from Iesus Christ according to the spirit, who is the true stock of mankind regenerated and reformed after the image of God, that she might be one mysticall body with Iesus Christ, who was giuen vnto her by God for her husband and head. For this cause we may say the same things of him & of his Church, which we spake before of the authority and soueraignty of the husband ouer his wife, and of the subiection of the wife towards her husband. For the Church was not first, but Iesus Christ who is eternal, very God and very man, neither was Iesus Christ taken from her, but she from him. Therefore that which *Adam* said of *Eua*, when God brought her vnto him, and when he had seene her after he awoke from sleepe, namely. *This now is bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh*, Saint *Paul* applieth to Iesus Christ and to his Church, because shee is made bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, and partaker of the very nature of Iesus Christ by faith in him, and by that vnion, coniunction, and fellowship which shee hath with him, whereby she is conioyned vnto him as his spouse. Wherefore the faithfull haue good cause to reioyce, knowing that there is the like spirituall vnion, coniunction and communication betweene Iesus Christ and them, as there is betweene the husband & the wife according to the flesh.

Now as we haue answered to the friuolous speeches which Atheists commonly make about the Creation of the Woman, so we will not passe ouer with silence the opinion of naturall Philosophers, who say, that the male is as it were a perfect man in comparison of the woman, and that shee is an imperfect man. For they doe teach, that nature tendeth alwaies to the greatest perfection that shee can attaine vnto: and because the male is more perfect than the female, therefore that shee alwayes endeauoureth to bring forth males. But when she wanteth power and strength to doe that shee would, shee ingendreth females in steade of males. Whereupon it should follow, that the generation of the woman, as also that of the other females of all liuing creatures, is an infirmity, a defect, and an imperfection of nature. But I would gladly demaund of them, whether *G O D* made an imperfect worke or no, when hee created the first woman: and whether he did not create her as perfect in her kinde, & in that degree for which hee created her, as he did the man in his. Moreover, seeing God is the creator of nature, it is certaine that he created it perfect in all things belonging vnto it, and that he hath made it subiect to certaine Lawes, vnder which it is alwaies guided by his prouidence as well in the generation of females as of males, of the woman as of the man. And if some creatures excell others, yet that hindereth not why euery one should not be perfect in his order and nature, hauing regard to their Creator, and to the end for the which he created them. We must not therefore alleadge any imperfection in the creation of the woman, more then in that of the man: seeing that if shee had bene created otherwise then she was, she should not haue bene so perfect in her nature, as she is, because she would not so fitly serue that turne for the which she was created, namely to helpe man, both in the generation & continuance of his kind, and also in beeing a succor vnto him in such things as belong to his nourishment and in the guiding and government of them.

Besides, is it not faide as well of the woman as of the man, that shee was created in the image of *G O D*, as we haue already heard? For *Moses*, after hee had saide that God created man in his image, addeth immediatly, *In the image (I say) of God created he him, he created them male and female*. And, as *man is the image and glorie of God, so the woman is the glory of the man: neither can the one be without the other. For as the woman is of the man, so the man is by the woman, but all things are of God*. Therefore the word of *Building*, which the Prophet vseth in setting downe the creation of the woman, is duly to be considered in this matter. For when he saith that God built the woman of *Adams* rib, this word importeth more then if hee had simply sayde, that he made and formed the woman. For thereby he would haue vs know the perfection of man, and of mankinde in the creation of the woman, because without her his building

Of the myste-
ry of Christ
& his Church
in the creati-
on of the wo-
man.

Ephes. 5. 30.

The opinion
of natural phi-
losophers
touching the
nature of wo-
men.

Genes. 1. 27.
1. Cor. 11. 7.
What the
word Built
importeth in
the creation
of the womā.
Genes. 2. 22.

ding could not be finished.

So that man as it were the first foundation, vpon whom the woman was builded, as likewise by generation of children proceeding from them both, this building is not onely preserved and continued still, but also furthered and augmented. Vpon the like reason the word that signifieth a childe in the Hebrew tongue, is taken from a word that signifieth to *build* in the same language: as indeed childre also are the true building of a house. But before we enter into any larger discourse of this matter to know the generation and multiplication of mankind, I am of opinion that we shal doe wel to intreate first of the disposition of that matter, whereof we heard before his body was made, as also of the parts thereof. For generation respecteth chiefly the third kind of the naturall powers and faculties of man: whose vertue and properties we are not to consider of, before we have bene instructed in all things that concerne the particular composition of mans body and of every part thereof: to this ende, that wee might haue the true knowledge of that lodging which God hath giuen to man to dwell in vpon earth, and that step by step we might come to consider of the hoast or tenant of this tabernacle, namely, of the spirit and soule, which is truly man. Let vs then begin to take a view of the diuision of the chiefe parts of the body, and so handle first the simple or similiary parts, of which al the rest are compounded. This matter subiect I offer to thee A. R. A. M. for thy discourse.

Of the simple or similiary parts of the body, namely the bones, ligaments, gristles, sinewes, pannicles, cordes or filaments, veines, arteries, and flesh. Chap. 3.

A. R. A. M. If we take pleasure in beholding materiall frames builded with mens hands, especially if they be made by rare workemen, and such as excell in their Arte, and in viewing attentiuely the goodly works that are in them, we ought to bee a great deale more delighted without al comparifon, in looking vpon the stately edifices builded with the very hand of God, and vpon the exquisite and wonderful works wherewith he hath adorned & set them forth. Curiosity causeth many men to wander al their life time in landes and seas vnknowne, to feed their mindes with a vaine knowledge of the manners and customes of strangers: but very few will be found who haue a care to know themselves. In somuch that being able to discourse of the situation of diuers regions, and of the beauty of those places & fortresses that are therein, yet they know not their owne house wherein they alwaies dwell, and much lesse themselves, namely their soules, which are the inhabitants. But if wee thinke it a shame for a man to be ignorant of those things that belong, or bring commoditie or pleasure to the life of man, the ignorance of our selues, which hurteth this life and the other wee looke for, is a great deale more shamefull and dishonest. Now a man may easily perceiue how commendable, excellent and profitable the knowledge of the nature of our bodies, and of every part therof was iudged to be by men in ancient time, in that they had publike schools amongst the, in which every one might daily behold Anatomies: yea Anatomies were shewed to every one that would see them in the priuate houses of Philosophers and Philitions. And for this cause Galen saith, that the Auncients would not write of this science. But after when this diligence of the first louers thereof began to be despised and reiected of the most part of men, it was necessary that some should write thereof for their good, as also for the benefit of posteritie. Otherwise they would haue fallen within short space into a dangerous ignorance of their nature, and of the causes and remedies of such diseases as daily trouble them. But we must referre that knowledge, which in our discourses we seeke for out of this science, to another end. Neither do we vndertake to speake of that Art and Science that belongeth to Philitions, as though we made profession thereof, but onely to shew the true vse of it, and how it may be referred to the honour of God, and to the knowledge of his wisdom and providence, as also to the end, that in beholding the wonderfull composition and disposition of the members of our body, we should remeber the creator therof, who seeth whatsoever lyeth most secret & hidden therein, & who is able to make as it pleaseth him an Anatomy both of body & soule, and to send them both to euerlasting hell fire, when they will not acknowledge him to be the efficient and finall causes of their beeing. Having regard therefore to this end, we wil consider of the parts of mans body according to the subiect propounded vnto vs.

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The parts then of the body are diuided into two sorts or kinds: the first is, the simple or *similary* parts, the other the compound parts. The simple parts are of that nature, that euery portion of them, how great or little soeuer it be, retaineth alwaies the name that is giuen to the whole, whereof it is a part: and of these simple parts the other kinde is named, whereof we will intreat hereafter, because they are compounded parts, and obtaine the place of members, whose parts are not called by the name of the whole member, but euery part hath his speciall name. For all the parts of the head are not called by the name of the head, and so it is in the other members of the body. But if a bone be broken into many peeces, euery peece is still called a bone: and the like may bee said of the other simple parts, which are nine in number, namely, *the bone, the ligament, the gristle, the sinew, the pannicle, the cord or filament, the veine, the artery and the flesh.* Our speech therefore must be of these. No man is ignorant, that the foundation of euery building is as much a part thereof or rather more (although it appeare not) then any other part how sumptuous soeuer it be. For the rest are laid and planted vpon the foundation, neither can they long continue in their beauty, vnlesse that bee good and firme. Wee may say the like of the bones of a mans body: (which are made of the seede in generation, when the thickest part of it is hardened by heate, as stones are baked in the earth by great heate.) For they are not onely like to foundations and pillars, which sustaine the bodie and all the members thereof, but they are as it were pales and fences vnto it to containe all things that are within the building of the bodie, and to inuiron all the parts of it, as it were with walles and rampires. For this cause they are more earthly, drier, and colder then any other part of the body. And therefore the prouidence of God appeareth most wonderfull in this composition of the bones, seeing that of one selfe same peece of earth or clay hee maketh the bones so strong and hard in comparison of the ligaments, gristles, and other simple parts: so that in respect of these the other are for strength and hardnesse like to stones and mettals in comparison of the other part of the earth. Neither is the wisdom of God worthy of great admiration in this respect onely, but also because hee made not the bones all of one peece, nor yet of one fashion and forme. For minding to giue motion, not onely to man but also to all other liuing and sensible creatures, the bones were to bee diuided and distinguished into diuers peeces, to the end they should not hinder this motion, which is so necessarie for those creatures: the manner whereof wee may see in men armed at all points. For the harness must be made of diuers pieces, according to the ioynts of the members, that their moouing may haue no impediment. But because the bones being diuided and separated one from another, cannot be so coniointed or vnited together, that euery one should sustaine that charge which it hath to beare, therefore that they might serue more firly for motion to the creatures, God hath framed them in such wise, that they haue their ioynts in so good proportion and so aptly interserted one within another, as that the whole combination and vnitng of them altogether is maruailous exquisite and goodly to behold like to a worke made of many pieces, which all meete together in one body. For some of them are hollow like to a round box, that they may be coniointed with the other that are round in the ends, to the end they might be knit together more conueniently. To be short, they haue all their fashions proportionable one with another according to that manner of vnitng, which is most meete and conuenient for them. Now because this coniunction of ioynts cannot keepe it selfe at that stay if it haue no other band, therefore hath God placed their certaine *ligaments*, or strings of the bones which are white parts, without blood, void of sence, not hollow, proceeding from the bones, and differing from them in nature, although not so much as the *gristles* do. For the *gristles* (which serue also for a stay that is softer then the bones, to the end they should not rubbe together ouer hardly one within another) are more earthly, drier, and harder then the *ligaments*, and yet not so much as the bones: so that they are as it were of a middle substance and nature betweene the bones and the ligaments, which are also very earthly, drie, and hard, but lesse then the gristles and the bones, and more then the sinewes, which also in some sort draw neare to the nature of the ligaments. But they differ both in that they haue diuers originals, as also because the ligaments are altogether insensible, as the bones and gristles are, neither can they giue any motion or sence as the sinewes can, but serue onely for bands to tie the bones one to another, and to knit the other members vnto them. But the sinewes, which proceede either from the braine, or from the marrow of the backe bone whose originall is from the braine, are of a tender, soft, and white substance, and of that nature that they haue all sence, which they impare to all the sinewy parts of the body. And of them also some giue both sence and motion together. Therefore their substance is

What the simple or similary parts of mans body are.

Of the bones of mans body.

Gods prouidence great in the creation of the bones.

A fit similitude.

Of the Ligaments.

Of the Gristles.

Of the sinews.

not

Of pannicles
and filaments

not so dry, nor so hard as that of the ligaments: neither yet is it so soft and tender as is the substance of the flesh, or of the *kernels*, or of the *skinner*s, and of such other like parts, whereof we will speake hereafter. As for the *pannicles*, and cords or *filaments*, which are little long threeds, slender and white, solid and stronge, we may comprehend them vnder the name of sinewes and ligaments, because they take part of both natures. For some of them haue sence with the *sinewes*, others haue none with the *ligaments*. The office of the *pannicles* (which are little skins made of sinewes and ligaments) is to defend and to knit together the members, and to impart to many of them sence, as to the liuer, the heart, the lungs, the spleene, and the kidneis. And as for the *filaments*, they serue the body, some to draw nourishment, others to retaine and keepe that which is meete to nourish the body, and some to driue forward and to cast forth those excrements and superfluities, which helpe not to nourish it, but are

Of the veines

only a burthen and grieue vnto it. The *veines* are thinne and slender pipes carying the thicker blood wherewith the body is nourished, and they haue their beginning from the liuer. For in that the hollow veine is greater and larger then the rest, and out of that all the other veines extend themselues into all the bodie, as it were branches proceeding from the body of a tree. Herein (as we will do in all our discourses) we follow the common opinion approved of the late learned Philosophers, Physitions and Antomists. For *Aristotle* wrote that the heart was the original of the veines. But *Hippocrates* taught otherwise, whom *Galen* followed confuting *Aristotles* opinion. As for the *Arteries* or pulsties they are pipes that proceede from the heart. For in that is the great artery planted, which is the stocke of all the rest, which

Of the arteries.

serue to carry the vitall spirits throughout the body: they are covered with little skins, that are strong and thicke to keepe the spirits from breathing out, and for the same cause they haue their passages more streight. So that they haue two skinner or coverings, whereof that which is vnderneath is sometimes thicker then the skin of a veine. To conclude, the Arteries and veines are ioyned together, to the end that the vital spirits might draw and receiue from the veines conuenient matter for their nourishment, as also that by their heat they might warme the blood that is within them. For there are certaine monthes in them both for this mutual communication, both that the spirit might draw his nourishment from the veines, as flame fetcheth the preservation of his light from the lampe, and also that the veines might receiue spirit and heat from the Arteries. As for the *flesh* it is a substance of blood, which is then made when the thickest part of it is as it were congeled: and with that all the members of the body are clothed outwardly. We must speake more largely of the vses and properties of all these simple parts, which wee haue heere laide open in few words. In the meane time in this little that hath bin discoursed, we see a maruailous prouidence of God, who hath disposed and tempered the matter of the body in such wise, that hee made it so apt to effect that worke which he purposed, and that by proportions and mixtures so well contrined from one degree to another, as hee hath done in the elements, to the end that all the parts of the body might the better be preserved one by another. And although mens bodies are compounded of earth and of the other elements, as we haue already touched, yet God sheweth himselfe very wonderfull in this whole worke and matter of man. For as he turneth the earth into diuers natures, so that of one peece hee maketh gold, of another siluer, of this bras, iron, and other mettalles, of that mineralles, of another pretious stones of sundry sorts which are as it were the bones of the earth, besides a great many other things of diuers kinds which were infinite to rehearse: so of one selfe same matter appointed for the composition of the body, he maketh variety of workes that it may be framed & furnished in all respects. For we see what difference there is betweene the bones, which parts are most earthy, & so consequently driest, hardest and coldest, because of al other parts they draw neere to the nature of earth.

Of the flesh.

The bones
most earthy
of all the
parts.

Then the gristles obtaine the second degree next after the bones for agreement of nature, as that which is in the middest betweene the bones & the ligaments, as the ligaments are of a middle nature betweene the gristles and the filaments, and the filaments betweene the ligaments and the sinewes, and so of the rest. Therefore as God the great workemaster of nature hath framed all the parts of mans body of matter taken from all the elements, so also he hath tempered his matter according to the worke he meant to make, & to that office, which it pleased him to appoint vnto euery part and member of the body. So that matter of some parts holdeth more of the earth, of other partes it hath more water, aire, or fire, or else is more or lesse mingled of all together. Whereby it appeareth how aptly this worke master can apply himselfe vnto this worke. Wee haue also another notable testimony of his prouidence in that he hath made the ligaments so stronge and firme according to the necessity of their office,

office, having ordained them to knit the bones in their ioynts, and to bee as it were bands and cords to tie and conioyne them together, euen as the thongs of harnesse keepe the parts thereof bound and tied one to another. We may say as much of the filaments, but chiefly of the sinewes, which in their places serue for bands to the body. And heere wee haue also to note, that because God hath created them to giue both motion and sence to the body, therefore hee hath planted thier roote partly in the braine, partly in the marrow of the backe-bone, which is also deriued from the braine: as the originall of the ligaments is either in the bones, or in the gristles, or in the skinne, and the beginning of the filaments both in the ligaments and in the sinewes, according to that vse for which they were made. And that the motion of liuing creatures might not bee hindred, hee hath not made the ligaments, nor the filaments nor the sinewes of any such boistrous or stiffe matter, but that the creatures may easily bend euery way whether soeuer they list to mooue and turne their members. Neither hath he made them of so tender and soft matter, but that they are strong and powerful enough to holde fast all the members within their ioynts, to the end they might not easily become bare and thrust out of their places, as also to furnish the creatures with strength and power, which consisteth principally in the force and might of these parts. It is requisite also that they should be such, because they are as it were in continuall labour, and sustaine great streesses. Wherefore they must needes bee of such matter as will not easily yeelde or weare away, or breake in pieces. And because all the members and all the ioynts are not to sustaine labours and brunts alike, therefore the Lord hath very well provided for that, as hee hath done the like also in the composition and distribution of the bones. For those members that must sustaine the heauiest burthens and greatest brunts, that are to dispatch most labour-some businesse, and therefore require the greater strength, haue biggest, strongest, and mightiest bones, ligaments, and sinewes, so that their bulke, bignesse, breadth, and thickenesse are answerable to their necessary vses. The lesser members and such as are to vndergoe lesse paine, which are ordained to effect more fine and witty workes wherein arte is more required then force, haue also their bones, ligaments and sinewes lesser and smaller, so that in certaine places there are some bones passing small, and sinewes, which are onely as it were little thredes. Thus much I thought meete for vs to vnderstand concerning the simple parts of the body, now we must consider the compound parts: and first intreate of the outermost partes, and so followe that which wee speake of the foundation of mans building, to the ende that by little and little we may set him vp right, and consider him thoroughly in all his partes. Therefore thy speech *ACHITO B.* shall be of the feete and legges, and of the armes and hands.

Of the compound partes of the body, and first of the feete and legges and of the armes and hands. Chap. 4.

ACHITO B. Among the manifolde and great commodities, which we may reape by the diligent consideration of the Anatomy of the body, there are two of greatest weight. The first is, to put vs in minde of our mortalitie in regarde of our bodies, to the ende that we should not please our selues too much in the beautie of them, and so waxe proude and abuse our selues, as also that we should remember all those testimonies, which we haue in the holy Scriptures of the frailtie of man, and of his whole nature. For when we see that those parts of the body that are hardest, strongest, most firme, and such as after the death of a man continue longest before they returne into powder, and into that first matter out of which they were taken, as namely those parts that were propounded vnto vs in the former discourse, especially the bones: I say, when wee see that these notwithstanding their hardnesse, must in the end returne to dust as well as the rest, what shall wee thinke of the other parts that are softer and more tender, and lesse able to resist corruption? Therefore the spirit of God doth so often by his worde call and send vs backe to that iustification, which hee giueth vs by the matter whereof hee made and framed our bodies, and by the consideration of our owne originall and birth: to the ende wee shoulde learne to containe our selues euermore within the compasse of all humilitie and modestie, as well towards him, as one towards another. Hereof it was that *Isaiah* had commaundement given him from the Lord to crie, that all flesh is grasse, and all the grace thereof as the flower of the field. Man that is borne of a woman (saith *Iob*) is of short continuance, and full of trouble. He shooteth forth as a flower, and is cut downe

A double vse
of Anatomy,

Isay 40. 6.
Iob 14. 1. 2.

Of the feete and legges

downe: hee vanissheth also as a shadow, and continueth not. Againe for the second point, wee are taught to consider and to know by that providence of God, which sheweth it selfe in the composition of the vilest and most earthly parts, and in that frame which hee maketh for the building of the whole body, how great and wonderfull it ought to be in the residue, namely in the noblest parts thereof, especially in the soule, if we could see it with our eyes, as we behold the body. Wherefore, that we may the better know the excellent worke of God in this building, we must raise it vp right before our eyes, to the end wee may behold it on the out-side (as it were a frame ready made) from the foote to the top, and from the foundation to the covering and highest part thereof.

Four principal parts of the body.

Of the midriff.

Eccles. 12. 3.

Psal. 6. 2. and 22. 14.
Ifay 38. 13.

Iob. 21. 24.
Ifay 66. 14.

Three parts of the legge

Of the armes and hands.

The whole body of man is commonly divided into foure principall outward parts, which are called compound, in respect of the simple parts spoken of before, which serue for matter to make them of: whereupon afterward they take the name of member, according to that forme that is giuen to each of them. These foure principall parts are, *the head, the breast, the belly, the outward parts*, namely, the armes, and hands, the legges, and feete. The head endeth where the necke beginneth. The brest comprehendeth that part which wee commonly call the breast, also the backe, the ribs, and whatsoeuer else is contained in them from the necke vnto the midriffe, which is a skinne that separateth the heart and the lungs on the one side, and the inferiour intrails on the other. The belly reacheth from thence where the breast endeth vnto the bone about the priuy members and neare to the groine. The extreame or outward parts are already named by vs; and of them our present discourse shall be, beginning, as it were at the foundation, vpon which all the body is laid. First therefore we see how God hath so aptly fashioned the feete, that they doe not onely beare vp all the rest of the body, but also carry and recarry it wheresoeuer a man will. Next, the legges are set vpon them as it were the pillars of this whole building, being closed in such sort vnto them as neede requireth, to helpe the feete to sustaine and beare vp all the rest of the frame laid vpon them. For this cause *Salomon* calleth them *the strong men that stoop in old age*, when their vertue and strength faileth them. For they bow through weaknesse, and tremble as the hands doe, which the same Prophet calleth *the keepers of the house*. Now because the chiefe strength of the body lieth in the bones, when the scriptures meane to set forth any violent grieve, as when a man is extremely pressed, and as it were altogether oppressed, they say that *his bones are vexed, or broken, or out of ioynt*, that is to say, all his strength and power, so that hee is as a body whose bones are wholly broken and shivered. And when the Scripture would signifie the contrary, it saith that, *their bones runne full of marrow, and that they flourish like an earbe*. Now if we take the whole legge, namely from the huckle bone vnto the endes of the toes, it hath three great parts answerable to the three parts of the whole arme, which part of the body reacheth from the shoulders vnto the endes of the fingers. In the first place is the foote, which is the nethermost part of the whole leg, and it consisteth of three parts which also are answerable to the three parts of the hand. The 1. is the heele, which by a ioynt and conuenient knitting together, vniteth the foote to that part of the leg which reacheth from thence vp to the knee or gartering place. The 2. is the sole, & as it were the backe of the foote, being long, large and hollow in the midst, to the end it might be more fit to stand fast & to walke vpon. The toes are the 3. part of the foote, being set and placed in such wise as is most conuenient for that duty of the foot. For they differ much from the fingers, not onely in length, but also in situation, because the office of the hand and the foote is not all one. Therefore as the fingers are longer than the toes, so the thumbs are otherwise placed then the great toes. For if the great toe were placed as the thumb is, it would hinder the foote in steade of helping it: and the like may be said of the other toes. The two other parts of the legges are, first, that which is from the knee to the foote, which is commonly called the legge for want of an other proper name in our tongue, next the thigh, which is from the huckle bone vnto the knee. And as this hath his ioynt and band to fasten him to the knee, so the other by the like meanes is ioynted to the foote. Therefore both the foote and the whole legge haue their necessary motions through the helpe of the Sinewes and Muscles, as well to stretch it selfe out, as to bowe and bend forward and backward, vponward and downeward, as also to turne it selfe on the right hand and on the left, and round about: both to set forward and to retire, to ascend and to descend, and for all the motions that are meete and conuenient both for this member and for all the parts of it. Thus much for the lowest foundation of the frame of mans body, and for the pillars that hold it vp. Now we must consider of the other outward parts, the armes and the hands. As God hath giuen to man two legges and two feete to hold him vp, and to carry him whithersoeuer

whithersoever he would go, so he hath given him two armes and two hands, to dispatch all businesse which he thinketh good. Therefore the hand is rightly called by *Aristotle*, the instrument of instruments. For there is no member in all the body nor instrument whatsoever, that maketh more or more sundry workes. This instrument maketh all other instruments, and setteth them a worke, as we see by experience. And because man onely of all other living creatures is capable of Artes, and knoweth how to use them, therefore hath God given to him onely this instrument to exercise them. We see also that there is no worke which hee cannot do with his hands. And what worke of God is there which he doth not counterfeit, as if he were some little god upon earth, that had undertaken to make an other visible world within this world created by God? For if we consider the Sciences and Artes of men, & those excellent workes which they make by the meanes of their hands, who will not bee ravished with admiration? That sentence of *Anaxagoras* may well be approoved wherein he saith, *that the hand is the cause of knowledge and wisdom*: (although *Plutarch* doth learnedly understand experience, by the hand.) For if it did not frame letters and figures, nor made instruments requisite and necessary for all Sciences and Artes, they could not in any wise be either taught or learned. Therefore considering well that which we say, man may be called a second Creator, who taking patterne by the worke of God in the creation of the world hath endeavored to make workes answerable vnto those which God hath given him in the world for a patterne to imitate. But there is great difference betwixt the workes of man and the workes of God, especially in three points: namely, in the matter, in the forme, and in the life of them, together with all those things which it bringeth with it. For first man can not worke without matter, which he cannot finde in himselfe, as God who made all things of nothing, and made that to be which was not. But man dealeth contrarily. For he can make nothing of nothing, but must of necessity have matter meete for the worke he taketh in hand, vnto which he is able to adde the forme onely. And yet hee cannot giue it any fashion except he first had the patterne thereof in the workes of God. For although he can make very strange figures, and such as the very like hath not bene seene in all nature, nor amongst all the creatures, yet he cannot pourtraite any so new, or so strange, whereof hee had not before some resemblance in the workes of God in sundrie creatures. For hee taketh diuers pieces of many sundrie figures, with which afterward heaped together, hee counterfeiteth one altogether new and strange. As for example: neuer man sawe a mountaine all of gold, yet a man may imagine one in his minde, and frame an image thereof in his imagination. For albeit hee neuer saw such a mountaine, yet because hee hath seene both mountaines and also golde, by ioyning these two together which hee knoweth, hee can frame the image of such a mountaine in his minde, and then hauing in this sort formed and conceived it, hee can counterfeit it with his hand. But as God taketh not the matter of his workes without himselfe, and without the treasures of his infinite power, so hee needeth not to seeke else where for formes and patternes then in the treasures of his eternall wisdom and infinite knowledge. Againe, there is this besides, which is chiefest of all, that hee is able to giue, not onely being, but also life, sence, and motion to his workes, yea such nature and properties as pleaseth him: which man can not doe. For hee can not change the nature of that matter vpon which hee worketh, but it must still not continue the same in nature and disposition. And although hee can draw sundry effects from those matters about which he is occupied according as he may mingle and compound them together, neuertheless hee altereth not their nature, but they retaine it still according to their portion, every one in his place. Neither can hee giue to the best of his workes so much life as is in a reddish, or in any other lesser hearbe or plant: nor so much motion, sence, and industry as a Flie or an Ant hath, or the least worme in the earth. Now to proceede in beholding the use of the hand, wee must understand that God gaue vnto men armes and hands chiefly to helpe one another, more then with any other member of their body, in so much that they ought to referre all their workes, artes and exercises to common benefits and profite. But it is otherwise. For there is no member whatsoever with which they hurt one another more: so that their hands are more dangerous without all comparison, then the pawes of all sauage beasts. For those beasts that are most cruell spare the blood of their kinde, but men delight to imbrow their hands in mans blood, yea in the blood of their nearest kindred. There are some also who shamefully abuse their handes in causing them to serue for diuinations: from whence the *Arte of Palmestrie* proceeded, which is full of superstition, and of fooleries well worthy to be laughed at: and such are all the other kinds of diuinations inuented by the vanity of mans braine. They

Hh

that

The agreement & difference betwene the workes of God and the workes of man.
Psal. 33.9.
Rom. 4. 17.

All handy workes ought to tend to common profite.

Of the Art of palmestrie.

that would seeme to alleadge some shewe and likelihoode of foundation for it, say, that nature hath imprinted in the lines of the hands wonderful significations of the temperature & disposition of the whole body.

Therefore they call the long line in the midst of the hand, the line of life, and saie, that they who haue it whole throughout, are long liued. But suppose this were so, yet what probability is there for any to seeke in the lines of the hande for the knowledge and signification of all thinges that shall befall men, and to foretell them, as they say, their good and ill Fortune? For although it were so that by looking vpon the handes, a man might in some sort, iudge of the temperature and disposition of the body, yet what reason is there to extende this consideration to the foretelling of all thinges. as if God or nature, as they speake, had set markes in the handes, so that a man might knowe I say not by the Science, but by the vanitie of *Chiromancy*, whatsoeuer good or euill shall come vnto men? For they that deale with this kinde of diuination doe not onely foretell whereto the body may bee disposed according to the temperature thereof, as a Physitian may iudge of the sickenesse or soundnesse of the body by those tokens which hee seeth therein following his Arte, but they goe a great deale further. For they take vpon them to foretell all good and ill aduentures, namely, whether a man shall bee rich or poore, married or no, and whether he shall haue many wiues, and what they will bee, whether maydens or widowes, whether rich or poore, with such other toys and oldewiues tales, whereof their Bookes of Palmistry are full. They therefore are very fooles that giue credite to such predictions. But Christians haue a true and sure kinde of *Chiromancy* which they may vse. For if men consider onely their handes, with what workemanshippe they are made, for how many vses they may serue, and how profitable and necessarie they are for them, they shall finde in them an infinite number of markes to make them good diuiners, yea it wil teach them to diuine that of necessitie there was a God and Creatour, who was the workemaster that made that worke and so excellent instruments, whose vse and commoditie can not sufficiently bee conceiued. For although wee had neuer hearde of God or of his providence, this onely consideration ought to bee sufficient to teach vs to seeke him, and to holde vppeto wardes him those handes which hee hath giuen vs. If therefore by the contemplation of our handes, and by those markes of the power, wisdom, goodnesse and providence of God, which are imprinted in them, wee can learne such a Science and Arte and Diuination, as will the better induce vs to glorifie God in the Workemanshippe of our bodies, then doe wee profite greatly therein. And this wee ought to doe, not onely by the contemplation of our handes, but also of all the residue of the members and partes of our body euen vnto our very haire and nailes. For wee haue not so many Preachers onely of his glory and magnificence in our bodies, as wee haue members, but also as there are haire in the heade. For there is nothing, no not so much as a little haire (as wee shall see hereafter) whereby God doeth not testifie his diuine providence. VVherefore if we should by peece-meale lay open onely those principall things which are to bee considered in all the partes of the arme and hande, and those testimonies of the great providence of God that may bee found and noted in them, a whole day would not suffice: although we did onely behold the great workemanshippe that is, I say not in the whole hand, but in one finger thereof. For it is an instrument which God hath giuen onely to man, to touch and to take with, to gripe and to vse in his owne behalfe in steade of all kinde of defensiu weapons. In this respect he made it of such a fashion that he can lay holde of, and apprehende all things either greate or small, of what forme or figure soeuer they bee, whether round, square, or otherwise. And therefore it was requisite that the fingers of the hand should be vnequall, that they should be placed, and disposed as they are, thereby the better to gripe and to lay holde of all things. For albeit some of them belonger then others, yet when wee close our hand, and gripe any thing, they are all equall. And as God hath giuen to man a mind capable of vnderstanding & knowledge, so also hee hath adorned him with this excellent instrument, which is so necessary for al Arts, that without this, those other would remaine idle. In a word it is an instrument, which man could not wāt neither in peace nor war. Neither is there any thing to be found therein, which doth not serue very fitly for al duties of the hand, as also nothing is wanting that is necessary. The very nayles haue two excellent properties, the one is, that they serue for a couering and an ornament to the end of the fingers, the other, that they helpe to take hold of & to gather litle & hard things. For this cause also they are so coueniēt both for matter & form, & so fitly fastned & set in their places, as better could not be deuised. But let vs consider

Of the palmistry of Christians.

The vse of the hand.

The properties of the nayles.

of the whole arme or hand, to see the composition and diuision thereof. As we said before of the legges, so there is in the whole arme three great and principall parts, taking all that member which is from the shoulders vnto the endes of the fingers. The first is the hand, which likewise hath three chiefe parts, namely, that which is ioyned with the lower part of the arme from the elbow vnto it selfe, and it is called the Wrist: the second is the hollow palme which is apt to gripe with, together with the backe of it on the other side: then the fingers make the third part, being so made and placed as they are fittest to take easily; to gripe, to close, and to crush. In somuch that whatsoever hath bene spoken by me worthy consideration in the legges and feete touching their office, and all those motions that are apt, and necessary for them, the same also may bee plainly seene in the whole hand and arme. The second principall part of the whole arme is that which is taken from the elbow vnto the hand: the third is from the shoulder vnto the elbow, and both the one and the other are so coupled together with their ioynts and bands, as is most requisite for all their motions. Thus ye see what in my opinion ought chiefly to be knowne in this our present matter. Now seeing wee haue begun to take a view of the foundation of the frame of man by the consideration of the fourth compounded part of the bodie, I thinke that before wee handle the other three, we shall doe well to behold the wonderfull composition of many bones, which serue also to sustaine the whole stocke of the body, and vpon which the backbone is chiefly grounded. Therefore thou *A S E R* intreating thereof, and of the ribbes and other bones of mans body shalt prepare the way for vs to proceede in the description of our building, euen vnto the top and highest place of the whole frame.

Of the three parts of the whole arme.

Three parts of the hand.

Of the Backbone and of the marrow thereof: of the ribbes and of other bones of mans body. Chap. 5.

A S E R. Those Philosophers that were indued with greatest knowledge of those excellent things that are hid in mans nature, stood much vpon the contemplation of this, that his face was lift vp towards heauen: whereupon they concluded, that hee ought to abandon all carking care of base & earthly things to contemplate those things that are aboue and heavenly, and in the knowledge of them to satisfie the desires of his soule. And truly this is worthy to be considered, that amongst terrestriall creatures which walke vpon the earth, God hath created none with two legges onely, or that is made straight and bolt vpright, but man. Therefore hee onely and no other hath the ridgebone made according to the straightnesse of the legges: which is neither in foure-footed beastes, nor in birds, albeit they goe vpon two feete, and haue their head lifted vpward. For as well their legges, as those of foure-footed beastes are so placed in regard of the backbone when they walke, as mens legges are when they sit downe, namely cornerwise, not downeright. But when men goe, their legs are stretched straight with the backbone, (which is like the keele of a shippe) vnto which all the bones belonging to the stocke of the body are conioyned, euery one being answerable each to other according to their proportion: as the other peeces of wood whereof a ship is made, are ioyned with the keele by that knitting together which they haue therewith. For this cause the whole bodie of man is straight, and can stand vpright, and sit downe. But no beast can doe either of them, because there is no such vprightnesse voide of corners betweene their backbone and their legges, as there is in man. Therefore they can neither holde nor doe any thing either standing or sitting. For although they can stay themselves vpon their haunches, yet they cannot sit altogether like to man. And contrariwise, man can do nothing well lying along or with his belly downward as beastes vse: but standing or sitting he can do all his affaires very easily. To this end hath GOD given him legges and feete, armes and hands, of which we spake before. Now as hitherto wee haue seene the lowest foundation of mans building, namely his feete and legges, so heere we must know that there is yet another wonderful frame of bones, as it were a new foundation for the whole stocke of the bodie, and residue thereof. Amongst others some are very strong, being placed crosswise to vphold the rest: they serue also for the defence of many inward parts that are against them. Vpon this second foundation the backbone is laid, which reaches vp to the head, & is very artificially made. For first, because a man cannot alwaies stand vpright, but must sometime bend himselfe, or lye downe, or turne from one side to another, it is not made all one bone, but it consisteth

Of the Backbone.

Ecclef. 12. 6

Of the holy
bone.Of the marrow
of the chine.

Ecclef. 12.

of many bones, namely of foure and twenty, which are called the knuckles or turning ioynts of the backebone. For this cause *Salomon* very fitly calleth it *the filuer chaine or coarde*, which lengtheneth, or shrinketh being consumed with extreame olde age. For it is framed after the fashion of a chaine, and holdeth the lower parts of the bodie, as it were tyed and chayned vnto the highest part, which is the head. Againe it is not without good cause called *a chaine of filuer*. For it is a very precious part of the body, and ought to be greatly accounted of, both because the body standeth in neede of it, and also for many great benefits which it receiveth ther by. True it is that some vnderstand by this *chaine of filuer*, the vnitng and agreement of matters whereof the bodie of man is made, being taken from all the Elements, and ioyned together by a goodly harmonie and proportion. But the former exposition seemeth to mee most fit, because of that similitude which the backebone and ioyntes of it with their vse, haue with a chaine and the vse thereof. For if the chaine-bone were all of one peece, a man should bee alwayes stiffelike to a pale, or like to a logge or bodie of a tree: and so the stocke of the bodie coulde not enioy these motions that are necessarie for it, as we see al the members haue agreeable to their nature. For they are not planted into the stocke of the body, as boughes and branches are into the stock of a tree, which are without motion aswell as their stocke. Likewise man (whome the Philosophers called a Tree turned vpwrd, because hee hath his rootes in his heade) is a farre other kinde of plant then those are, which being in the earth, stirre not out of one place. For it is a tree to bee carried about, whose branches haue their naturall motion. And as touching those bones whereof the chine-bone is made, they are so ordered, that the first which sullayned all the rest, as the principall foundation (being called *Os sacrum*, that is, *The holie bone*) is the largest, biggest, and strongest: and being ioyned to the hippe is verie artificially framed of three bones, and sometimes of fve or sixe. Wherefore some thinke that it is so called by reason of the artificiall composition thereof: others, because of the greatnesse: and some, because it helpeth women in their trauaile, as that whose knitting together openeth with the hippe bones in them that bring forth children. Others say, that there is no opening, but only that it stretcheth forth & enlargeth it selfe. There are some also that thinke it is so called, because it is so necessary vnto life, that after it is once hurt, death followeth. After this bone, the rest that follow are lesse & lesse vntill you come to the highest: in so much that the lowest are biggest, and the highest least, to the end that as they are the foundation one of another, so they might bee able to beare that charge which they are to sustaine, and be the lesse burdened. And as for the coniunction and vnitng of them together it is so well contriued, that it hath so much strength as is necessary for it, and is neither too soft, nor too hard, too drie nor too wet and slippery, but that which is meete for their motions.

This order of bones and turning ioynts thus raunged, is properly called the *Backbone* or *Chine*, and in Latine *Spina dorsi*, because of the sharp ends or points which each of them hath on every side for his defence, as it were thornes. This whole chine hath a marrow proceeding from the hinder part of the braine, and reaching downe to the nether ende of the backbone: which being round in shape, is as a riuer whose springe is in the braine, from whence it proceedeth as the great Artery doth out of the hearte, and the hollow veine out of the liuer, as we haue already declared, and many intreate thereof more at large in speaking of the inner parts of the body. Therefore as the great arterie is as it were the stocke of all the rest, being planted in the heart from whence it springeth, and the hollow veine whose fountaine is in the liuer, is as it were the stocke of the other veines: so the marrow of the chine is as it were the stocke and spring from whence all the sinewes issue, which afterward like to little riuers impart their fence and motion. And because the fountaine of this riuer is in the braine, therefore also the originall of sinewes is attributed thereunto; notwithstanding that all those sinewes which giue motion and fence to the parts that are vnder the heade except it be to the entrals and guttes proceede from the marrow of the chine. Hereby we may note once againe, that that place alleadged by mee out of *Salomon* where he calleth the back bone *a filuer chaine*, agreeth also very fitly with that which is here spoken. For seeing the sinewes distribute fence and motion to all the members of the body, as it hath beene already told vs, and haue their beginning from the braine and marrow of the chine, we may well say, that it is a chaine and coard of a great length, which extendeth it selfe very farre by reason of other chaines and strings proceeding from it. For as the backebone may be resembled to a chaine, so the marrow within it is like to a coard, wherof all the sinewes, which are as it were the

the little strings of al the members of the body, haue their beginning and increase. And therefore some in steade of a siluer chaine translate a coard or threede of siluer, as wee reade in the common Latine translation: but the sence is all one. And that which *Salomon* addeth after of the golden ewer which is broken in olde-age, with the exposition of the best learned giuen thereof, agreeth also very well to this effect. For by this golden *Ewer* they vnderstand the skinne that couereth the braine, which is of a yellowish colour, resembling the colour of golde it is very fitly called an *Ewer*, because it is a vessel containing the matter & nourishment of the sinewes, and as it were the fountaine of all the motions and sences of the body: it is as it were the lodging of all the animal parts, & the originall of all the sences both in ternall and externall. Wherefore the matter of the braine contained within it is of a more celestial nature then any other part of the body, and cometh nearest to the spiritual & diuine nature. So that this vessel is not without good & iust cause called by *Salomō* the *Ewer of gold*. For there is in it a fountaine out of which man receiueth great treasures. Now because the sinewes, arteries and veynes were to haue their passage and issue from their fountaine without let or hinderance, it was requisite that the backebone should haue such holes as it hath, & that the bonethereof should be of that fashion as they are, to the end that neyther themselves, nor the marrow within might be easily broken, & that the next parts & members might not be hurt. For it is very dangerous to haue any rupture or hurt in the chine aswell by reason of the marrow as of the sinewes. And because it pleased God to lodge therethose internal members of the body, that are most necessary for life & for the preseruacion thereof, hee fastened the ribbes to both sides of the backe bone, namely twelue on euery side: and haue left a sufficient space betwixt them, that the place might be able to receiue those members, for whose cause they were so built and disposed. So that there are before & behinde, especially about the noblest members, very long and large bones, to defend them on al sides (as it were good harnesses and strong bulwarkes) but chiefly behinde, because the armes and handes, cannot so well defend them, as they may the other before. Therefore God hath better armed them with bones, making those of the shoulders so large behinde as they are, and knitting them also vnto the backe bone by their bande, but yet so that they touch it not. Likewise they are fastened to the highest bone in the brest which reacheth vp to the throate, above the first ribbe, by two little bones which passe ouer the ribbes that are betwixt them. For this cause these bones are called the keyes of the throat. For they close and shutte vp these partes as it were keyes, so that without them the shoulder blades would fall backward, being no more able to keepe close together, then the poldron of an harness not being fastened to the gorget. The armes likewise are fastened to the sholders, as also the thighes & legges to the hippes then the hands are ioyned to the armes with their ioyntes and bands, as hath beene touched before. Now wee are to note further, according to that I spake euen now, that the backebone is in a mans bodie, as the keele in a shippe: so that as the rest of the matter and forme of the shippe must bee well proportioned and framed according to the keele, so is it in the composition of mans body, and in that correspondency, which all the members ought to haue with the ridgebone of which they all depende, otherwise there would bee no good agreement but great deformitie. And as for the ribbes and brest bones, they haue such workmanship as is requisite for the members contained within the ribbes. For seeing the members of mans breathing are clothed within, needfull it is that they should not onely bee defended and armed with bones for their garde & preseruacion, but also that these bones should be so placed, that they might inlarge and restrain themselves, open and close againe, in such wise that the breathing and members thereof be not hindred in the motions. Therefore they are all by nature lesse hard then the other: besides they are many, to the end there might be spaces betwixt them, not onely for the inlarging and restraining of the brest, but also that the Muscles might bee placed betweene the ribbes. And this is one cause, why it was needefull that the backebone should bee framed as it is, namely that it might bee more commodious for respiration. And because the stomacke also standeth in neede of inlargement and restraint according to the quantitie of the meate which it receiueth, and according, as it is lift vp and pressed downe thereby, therefore it was requisite that it should haue the like helpe. But forasmuch as it might soone bee hurt by reason of the hardnesse of the ribbes, if they were driuen and forced against it, God hath so disposed those ribbes wherewith he hath defended the stomacke, that they are neither so long nor so hard as the rest. For they are of a softer kind of bone, drawing neerer to the nature of gristles then the other, & the more they descend downward, the shorter they are. Therefore the lower part of the ribs are commonly

Of the skin
of the braine
called the Sol
den Ewer.

Of the ribbes

The keyes of
the throate.

Of the work-
manship of
the ribbes &
of other bones

356 Of the backbone and marrow thereof, &c.

How many
false ribs there
are.

2. Sam. 2. 23.
& 3. 27.

called *the false ribbes, or bastard ribbes*, which on each side are five in number: the other seven ending at the breastbone, to the end they may defend and guard the heart and lungs, which are vitall parts. Hereupon when any hath beene wounded to death, it is often said in the holy scripture, that he was *stricken vnder the fift ribbe*, because no blow pierceth those parts, but it hurteth some one of the vital members which cannot be wounded, but that death followeth thereupon. Wee see then how the providence of God did well foresee whatsoever was requisite in this worke of mans body, and hath provided thereafter as need required: as wee may easily iudge by that which we haue heard of the bones only, which parts are most earthy and massy, and are void of all sence. Wherefore we may well conceiue how excellently this wisdom hath wrought in the other parts and members that are more noble. But wee may iudge a great deale better of all this, if we consider that our treatise of the bones onely, is but very little in comparison of that which might be spoken, if a man would vtter it as Philosophitions doe, and distinguish properly of all the kindes of bones, and of their vses. Now to end the outward composition of the body touching the bones, wee must consider of the share bone, and of the bones of the head, and of the marrow that is within the bones, and of the vse of the necke. Last of all, we will cloathe with flesh this dry Anatomy, that afterward wee may come to those parts of our building that are most noble and excellent. Therefore it belongeth to thee *A M A N A* to intreat of this subiect.

Of the share bone and marrow of the bones in the head, and of the flesh: of the musculus and of their office. Cap. 6.

Psal. 139. 14.

A *M A N A*. Nothing maketh the worke of God in the composition of mans bodie more wonderfull, then the beautie of his shape, and the exquisite art vsed in the worke wherein a man cannot change so much as a naile or an eyelide, which is but haire, but that some imperfection must beacknowledged therein, and some discommoditie following therevpon will cause it to be perceived. For this cause the kingly Prophet considering his creation speaketh as one rauished with admiration. *I will (saith hee) prayse thee, for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marueilous are thy workes, and my soule knoweth it well.* Hee could not in all that Psalme maruaile sufficiently at so excellent a worke of God. Therefore he vseth a word which signifieth as much in the Hebrew tongue, as if in stead of our speech thou *hast framed or fashioned mee*, he should haue saide, *I haue beene woven or wrought in tisse and interlaced and fashioned artificially as it were in broadery worke.* And truly no image or picture, how well soeuer it be painted & purtrayed, is to be compared with the forme and figure of mans body: neyther is there any worke of tapistrie, so wel wrought and imbrodered, or that hath such varietie of exquisite arte, and such diuersitie of figures, as that hath. And from what paterns doe Painters and Ingrauers take the fashion and forme of these Images and pictures which they would draw forth, but from this? What is a peice of tapistrie or imbrodered worke in comparison of mans body, which is as it were an image of the whole world, and wherein a man may finde almost the variety and draughts of all things contained in the whole frame of the world? This will euidently appeare vnto vs in the sequele of our speeches, touching the compounded parts of the body.

Why the belly
is not enuironed
with bones.

Of the Share
bone, or taile
bone.
Of the buttocke
bones.
Of the marrow.
Iob. 21. 24.

Therefore to finish the externall composition of this humane building concerning the bones, wee will first note, that God in creating the bellie hath not compassed it about with bones, as he hath done the other parts of the body, and that chiefly for two causes. First, it is most meete it should be so, by reason of the meat it receiueth. Secondly, for the benefit of women that beare children. But to the end it might be vpholden together with that burthen it beareth, God hath giuen vnto it the *share bone* for a foundation, which also standeth in stead of a bulwarke for the bowels. And because a man cannot alwayes stand vpright, but must oftentimes sitte downe, not onely to rest himselfe, but also to dispatch many workes which he hath to doe, therefore he hath the buttocke bones and the flesh wherewith they are covered, which are vnto him in stead of a stoole & a cushion to sit at his ease. And forasmuch as the bones are to bee nourished, they haue for their familiar foode, the marrow, which by nature is moist, soft, fatte and sweet. Therefore it hath neither sinew nor sence, but is within the bones, as the sap of trees is in the midst of their stockes & branches. For this cause *Iob* speaking of the prosperity of the wicked, saith, *His breasts are full of milke, and his bones runne full of marrow.* But this is strange, that seeing it is made of the thickest of the blood, as it were a superfluity

superfluitie of the meate, how it can bee ingendred within the bones, and drawe nourishment from the veines, as other parts of the bodie doe. But God knewe well how to provide for that, and to make way for nourishment through the hardnesse of the bones, which are not all alike full of marrow. For as some of them are more drie or moyster, more hard or softer then others, so they haue more or lesse marrow: and some haue none at al, because they neede it not. Now this marrow whereof wee speake now, differeth from that in the chine bone, which the Arabians call *Nucha*, and is of the nature of the substance of the braine, from whence it proceedeth as a riuer from his fountaine, for the generation of sinewes, to which ende the other marrow is not appointed of God, but onely for the nourishment and preservation of the bones. Seeing then wee are come to the braine, wee must consider with what bones God hath inclosed it on euery side for the defence thereof how many in al there are in the head both before and behind, on the right side and on the left, aboue and beneath: of what forme, breadth, lengeh, and hardnesse, and how they are ioyned one with another by seames and bandes, and that not without great reason and consideration of the Worke master, which made such an excellent peece of worke. For first there are commonly sixe bones, which compasse the braine on each side, besides that which is called the *Wedge like bone*, which is vnder the pallat of the mouth, and vnto which all the rest are fastened. And because there are many vesselles and members in the braine and head, God hath made the head of a round figure, reaching somewhat in length, & bulking out somewhat more both before and behinde. Now forasmuch as vapours, fumes, and smokie excrements mount vpward, therefore hee hath created the heade, and those bones of the heade that are highest not so solide and thicke as the rest, to the ende the vapours and fumes should not continue inclosed within the braine, but might evaporate, and so disburthen the braine, otherwise it would bee very ill at ease, and subiect to many diseases. Therefore all of them together are so made one bone, that yet they are not al of one & the same peece, but ioyned together, not by ligaments, as many sundry and seuerall bones are, but by such a proper and apt coniunction, that there appeareth betweene them as it it were a seame made after the manner of a *Sawe* or *Combe*, as if they were very finely sewed together. And because the bones behinde could not haue that helpe of the handes, for their defence which the bones before may haue, God hath created them more hard and stronger. Besides, they all are to the braine and to euery part thereof, in steade of an helmet and murion to defende it on euery side. Thus you see the composition of the head touching the bones thereof, which is so ioyned to the body by the bockaone, that nothing but the neck, which is the vpper end of the chine, is between them. For it was necessarily to haue motion both aboue and beneath, before and behind, and on both sides: which could not haue beene if it had beene fastened to the shoulders without any space betweene, which is necessary also both for breathing for voice, and for many other purposes that may bee noted hereafter. And albeit the necke serued for nothing els but for voice, yet it is so necessary, that without it a man could haue no voyce, nor any other creature to which it is giuen, as appeareth in those that haue no necke. For all beastes that want the necke, want also the voyce, as wee may see both in fishes, and in those beasts which the Latins call *Insecta animalia*: the reason is because they haue no necke whereby to ioyne their head with the rest of their body, but onely as it were a little threede, which holdeth both the one and the other close together. Nowe that wee are to come to the toppe of the building of mans body, and haue set him vp right, as it were a dried Anatomie, wee must come next to the couering of the bones, sinewes and other parts mentioned by vs, to the end that after wee haue finished the description of the outwarde partes, wee may speake also of those that are within. The flesh then is the first garment wherewith the bones are couered: and it is properly called by that name which is giuen to that part whereof the Muscles are compounded. For some vnder the name of *Flesh* comprehend the Kernelles and the fatte because of the agreement which these partes haue one with another, and by reason of their vse. For as for the flesh, it hath this in common with the Kernelles and fatte, that it is soft and tender: but heerein it differeth from that matter whereof Kernelles are made, in that the matter of Kernelles is more *Sponge like*. Wee learned before that *Flesh* is a substance of blood, and howe it is made thereof. Concerning the *Muscles*, wee vse to call by that name the proper instrument that mooueth voluntarily all the members of the body. Therefore it is compounded and made of threedes proceeding from the Sinewes, and of Ligaments, compassed about with a great deale of flesh, insomuch that when the Muscles are taken away from the bodie, there remaineth almost nothing but bare bones.

Nucha.

Of the bones
of the head.Of the necke
& vse thereof.

Of the flesh.

Of the Mus-
cles.

proper place is in all places of the bodie where there are ioynts and where motion is required.

What voluntary motion is,

A comparison betwixt the body and a chariot.

The differences of flesh.

Diuerser uses of the flesh.

For without them the body cannot haue that voluntary motion whereof I spake euen now, and which is so called, because thereby a man may mooue and remooue his members from one place to another as he thinketh good, and as he shall iudge it needfull for himselfe. Wherfore we must know that the brayn which is the seat of the animal parts, & the original of all the sinews, and of all motions and sences giuen to the body by them, is in respect of the whole body like to a Waggoner that guideth his Waggon, and the Muscles are like to the bittes and bridles of horses, to cause them to retyre or let forward as the Waggoner pleaseth either to draw them backward, or to driue them forward, to pulin or to let loose the bridle. The sinewes are as it were the reynes and leathers fastened to the bridles, to holde them in, or to let them loose, and to turne them both on the right hand and on the left, then those members of the body which mooue it from one place to another, are as it were the horses that are ledde and guided by this meanes, and the rest of the body is like to the Charet and the burden which it caryeth. And for this cause the Muscles are compounded of ligaments, Sinewes and flesh. For as the Ligaments serue to knit them together, and the sinewes minister sence and motion, so the flesh serueth to the benefit of those little strings that proceede from the Ligaments and Sinewes: first to nourish them, then to hold them vp softly, as if they leaned vpon little cushions and pillowes, and lastly, to keepe them aswell against the vehemency of internall heat as against the heat, cold, and hardnes that comes from without. Likewise the flesh performeth all these things vnto the rest of the threedes that are through out the whole body, both in the heart and in the stomacke, and in other parts that haue flesh. But wee haue further to note the great differences of flesh that are in all the parts of the body, that we may still increase in the knowledge of the marvellous works of GOD, and of his diuine providence. For there is great difference between that flesh wherewith the bones ligaments and sinewes are couered and clothed, and that of the internall parts of the bodie which also differeth in qualitie, albeit all is compounded of one and the same matter. For what difference is there betwixt that flesh which is betweene the skinne and the bones, and that of the braine: as also that of the lungs, heart, liuer, spleene and kidneys? Not one of all these members hath his flesh like to any of the rest, but they all differ very much according to the nature and office of the compounded members. For the flesh of the braine is by nature apt for the generation of the animal spirits, as that of the heart for the vitall spirits, and that of the lungs for ayre and breathing, that of the liuer to turne the matter which it receiue from the stomacke into blood and into nourishment for all the members: that of the spleene to drawe the grosse blood which is as it were the Lees of the blood, and to nourish it selfe thereby: that of the kidneys also to draw so much blood as is requisite for their nourishment, and likewise to draw the vrine, which after they send into the bladder. Thus you see how euery of these internall parts of the body is compounded of flesh meete for his nature and office. Wherby we see many and sundry shops within mans body, wherof euery one hath his proper worke about which it is busied, and such a nature as is agreeable to that work which GOD hath assigned vnto it, who is the Creator and the workmaster, and effecteth all these works by his heauenly providence.

Moreouer, we haue to note that the flesh generally serueth the whole bodie for matter of filling, to keepe close all the members thereof, and namely all the bowels, and to fill all the spaces betweene them, as also to strengthen all those parts that are inuironed therewith, to the end they might not easily be shaken in pieces. It defendeth also all the members both against heate and cold. Likewise if any man fall, or lie downe, it serueth him for a boulder or soft pillow, and for a shelter against bruses, and a defence against wounds, for a shadow against heate, and a gowne against colde. And thus much I thinke sufficient to bee knowne concerning this present subiect. Now before we take any other matter in hand, wee are to consider of the Kernels that are in the body, because of their excellent vse and propertie, especially we are to consider of the Dugges, wherein appeareth a singular worke of God, namely, in Women, as we may presentlie heare of ARAM.

*Of the kernels in the bodie, and of their sundrie vses especially of the breasts
of women, of their beautie and profit in nourishing of chil-
dren, and of the generation of milke. Chap. 7.*

ARAM. Hee that should onely stay in considering the lumpe and confused matter whereof man is daily made, hee should see therein but a little slime, yea such vile corruption and rottenesse, that a man would be even ashamed to name it. But as a painter with his colours and draughts of his pensil, giueth a forme to that matter whereof hee maketh his peece of worke, and painteth limme after limme, and peece after peece: so the Lord giueth by little and little and by peece-meale to that confused masse and lumpe, such forme and fashion as it pleaseth him to bestow vpon it in that time which he hath appointed for that purpose: and, as he vseth to doe, beginning alwaies at the least and weakest part, and at that which is as it were nothing, hee still continueth and encreaseh his worke vntill it be perfect and absolute.

Likewise after we haue considered of the least and most earthy partes that are in the corruptible matter of the body, we will looke into them that are more excellent, and then come to the contemplation of that immortall essence, which dwelleth in him. Therefore I will now goe one with our matter *Subiect*.

Those parts of the body that are called Kernels (by reason of the similitude they haue with nuttes) are of two sorts, and haue their vse and commodity very great, especially in two respects. For some are by nature more thick and drie, and serue to fasten the vpper partition of the members and vessels of the body, to the end they should neither breake or cleaue. Therefore we haue such Kernels in the necke, in the arme pits, in the groynes, and in those parts where the elbow and the hamme bende, and in certaine other parts. There are others not so thick by nature, and more spongie and moist, and full either of milke, or of seede, or else of a flagmatike and gluish humor. Now albeit all kinds of Kernels are giuen to the bodie to drinke vp the humors, and to moisten the other parts, neuertheless those that are of this latter kinde, serue chiefly for the first vse. Wee haue such also to moisten all the parts of the mouth, and of the throate by the meanes of spittle, that so they may be kept from drought, and that thirst may bee repelled and moderated. Likewise they are very seruiceable to the life of man, in that they soake and drinke vp, as it were sponges, the fleame that descendeth from the braine, that it should not fall vpon the lungs, or into the stomacke, or vpon other parts of the bodie, to the great damage and danger therof, as it happeneth to such as are short breathed and in consumptions, and to them that are troubled with rhumes. And as these serue in the mouth and throate for spittle, so there are many, and those very great ones in womens pappes, especially when they haue milke to the making whereof they serue; as also those that are in more secret parts which serue for seedes, namely to keepe it, to dresse it, and to prepare it for generation. Therefore it is that those kernels which are in the breasts of men and of yong maidens are lesse and harder. We ought not heere to passe ouer without great admiration, the good temperature and disposition, which GOD hath made of the whole matter and forme, and of all the parts and members of mans bodie, insomuch that there is nothing how little or vile soeuer, which is superfluous, which is not very commodious and profitable, and which is not wonderfully well applyed and appropriated to such places as are most fit for it, and to those vses whereunto it ought to serue. For who would haue thought that these kernels thus dispersed throughout the body, were so many waies seruiceable vnto it as we see they are? Yea we might here rehearse many moe vses if wee would speake more particularly of this matter, whereof we meane to speake but generally, as also of all the rest that concerne the anatomic of the body, according to that end which we propounded to our selues in the entrie of our speeches, namely, to open a gappe onely to the consideration, first of the matter whereof mans body is compounded, and of the diuersitie thereof: then of that forme which God hath giuen vnto it: and lastly of the profit and vse of both: to the end we might daily learne the better to know the great power, skill, wisdom, goodness and providence of him that hath created and disposed all things in so good order. But as touching that which we spake of the pappes, and of their substance, we haue yet to consider of two points well worthy the noting, concerning the place where God hath seated them

Two kinds of
Kernels in
the bodie.

The least
part in man
full of admi-
ration, & ve-
ry profitable.

Of the
pappes, and of
their situati-
on, and vse.

them. First, they are there placed where they serue to shroude and to defend the noblest and most necessarie parts for life that are in the breast, namely the heart and the lungs. For they are set before them to countergard and keepe them, both from ouer great heate, and from excessive colde, and from many other inconueniences. And as they serue for heate of the heart, so their owne heate is increased by reason they are so neere the heart, whereby the milke that is ingendred in them is the better baked. So that wee see, that although GOD hath not giuen men pappes for the generation of milke and nourishing of children, as women haue, neuertheless they are not without profit, and vse of them, as we haue hearde. Whereunto also wee may adde the beautifying of that part of the bodie where they are placed, especially in women Againe, could they possibly bee set in any place, that were more fitte and more easie, both for Mothers and Nurces, and for the children to whome they giue sucke and nourishment? For if the mother be disposed to giue her childe sucke, she hath this commoditie to sitte downe if shee will, to holde it in her bosome, and vpon her knees, and likewise to imbrace it in her armes, whether she sitte, lye downe, or stande: also she may carrie it vp and downe whether shee please, euen whilest shee giueth it sucke, and feedeth it. This commoditie is not graunted to the females of beastes when they giue sucke and nourish their little ones with their teates. Wherein wee haue to marke one notable difference which GOD hath put betweene men and beastes. For beastes haue no other care of their

The difference
betweene the
care of men &
beasts ouer
their little
ones

yong ones, but onely to nourish their bodies with foode vntill they be able to feede and gouerne themselves: afterward, both syre and damme and little ones forget one another, taking no more knowledge each of other, nor louing one another more then other beastes of their kinde. But amongst men, both the father and the mother are carried with an affection towards their little children, which is the cause why they forget them not as beastes doe. And as they loue their children, so are they loued of them, insomuch that there is a mutuall loue proceeding from that naturall affection which they beare one towards another. On the other side, this loue causeth parents to let their children haue instruction, that they may bee wise and vertuous. And therefore it is not without good cause that womens pappes are placed in the breast, namely, to to the end they should be vnto them as signes and testimonies of the affection of the heart, and of that loue which they ought to beare towards their children, whereof they ought to make them partakers as well as of the milke of their breasts, and as if they gaue vnto them their heart, as they gaue them their blood turned into milke. Likewise, children are by the selfe-same meanes to be admonished of that mutuall affection and loue, which they ought to carrie towards their mothers, as if they had sucked it out of their breasts, and from their heart together with their milke, that they may returne the like vnto them againe. Wherefore, mothers and children haue a wise mistres in nature, and in the

A good lesson
for children

providence of God that appeareth therein, if they knew how to follow it well. Againe, for this cause mothers ought to take greater delight in nourishing their owne children, then in committing them into the hands of strangers and hired Nurces. For out of doubt, the mutuall affection and loue of each to other would greatly increase thereby. Now having spoken of the place which God hath assigned to the pappes, let vs consider his providence in their forme, which is such, that fayrer and more fitte for that office of theirs could not bee deuised. For wee see how they hang there in the breast of the mother and Nurse, as it were two bottles, hauing nipples and holes made fit for the infants mouth, that he might take holde of them, and draw and sucke the milke that is within the dugges, which are filled presently after the childe is borne, so that hee is no sooner come into the worlde, but hee hath such foode and nourishment readie drest as is meete for him.

Of the forme
of the pappes

For albeit the infant bringeth his teeth with him from his mothers wombe, yet because they are hidde within the gummes, and are not yet come forth, hee must haue such meate as needeth no chewing, but may be sucked, which GOD hath provided for him. Wherein we haue a wonderfull testimony of the care hee hath ouer vs, and what kinde of Father and cherisher he is. For this cause David had good reason to say, *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies.* For if one consider the providence of

Psalme. 8. 2.

GOD, which daily sheweth it selfe ouer children onely, there is no Atheist, Epicure, or other enemy of GOD so great, which shall not be confounded, conuincd, and constrained, will be nill hee, to giue glory to God. For before children can speake, euen from their mothers breasts, they shew forth and preach the providence of GOD in providing milke for them. But wee shall finde it a matter of greater admiration, if wee consider not onely what manner they are nourished in their mothers wombe. For there they are not

How children
are fed in their
mothers belly

sustayned

Of the kernels and pappes.

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Sustained by the mouth, not with milke, as they are after byrth, but with their mothers own blood received by the Nauill, which is in the middest of the body. But G O D hath made such an agreement betwene the wombe in which the little Childe is nourished in his mothers belly, & betwixt her breastes, that that blood wherewith the Infant was fedde before it was borne, presently after the birth ascendeth into her pappes, in which, by reason of the aboade it maketh there, it becommeth white, and is so well heated and prepared that it hath as conuenient and pleasant a tast, as can bee put into the infants mouth. And as for the substance of the milke, there cannot bee any that is more fit to nourish it or more naturall, seeing it is the accustomed and vsuall sustenance: neither is there any difference, but onely in that it is otherwise coloured, being somewhat changed in taste and saour, as also in this, that the infant receiueth it by another passage then it did before. Wherefore it is needefull that it should haue a conuenient and pleasant tast for the mouth that receiueth it: as also it is very requisite that it should be of that colour which it receiueth in the pappes. For it would be strange to see the infant draw blood from his mothers breast, to haue his throate ful of it, and his mouth bloody. All these things shew well that the Prophets had good cause to saye, that the mothers of little infants preach the prayes of Gods prouidence, and confound his enemies. For when that foode which God giueth to nourish them in their mothers wombe can feede them no more there, it hath pipes whereby to retire to that place in which it may performe the same duty, and that so fitly, that if that blood which is turned into milke did descend, as it ascendeth by veines which passe from the wombe to the breastes, the prouidence of G O D would not so manifestly appeare as it doth.

How & wher-
of milke is
made.

sheweth A

How the milk

is wrought &

whitened.

How the milk
is wrought &
whitened.

Whereof wo-
mans milke is
made.

How and

where an in-

fant receiueth

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foode in the

wombe.

How and

where an in-

fant receiueth

breath and

foode in the

wombe.

Of

And therefore we see by experience, that so long as the childe is nourished in his mothers wombe, there is no milke in the breastes, but after it is borne, the blood that ranne euen vnto the wombe, ascendeth vpward by the veynes, making a good long iourney before it come to the breastes. For these veynes reach vp hard to the throat on euery side, in so much that the blood which they carry to the paps ascendeth aboue the breastes, and then descendeth into them: to this end, that through the length of time wherein it abideth in the veynes, it might haue more leasure to be the better wrought, and to be turned into milke, & into that white colour which it receiueth. And the milke is to be made the whiter, not onely through the aboade which it maketh in the breastes, but also by the meanes of that kernelly flesh whereof they are compounded. For it is of a whitish colour, that it might giue the same colour to the milke, whereof the pappes are the vessels. So that here wee may the better know (as wee touched before) why G O D by his prouidence made the breastes of that matter and colour whereof they consist. Nowe wee haue further to note another point wherein God hath very well provided for the comfort of women, as it were a recompence for the paines and trauaile which they haue both in the bearing and bringing vp of their children, namely, that whilest a woman is with childe, and giueth sucke to her infant, shee hath not her monethly and vsuall purgations, because her superfluous blood, and that which at other times is an excrement and must be voyded, is not then any longer a superfluous excrement, (if she be not otherwise euill affected in body by sicknesse) but is turned into the foode of the childe, whether shee beareth it in her belly, or giueth it sucke with her breastes. Wherin we see a maruillous worke of God. For it is all one as if he turned poyson or venim into good meate and nourishment yea into most dainty foode, for the vse of such a delicate mouth and tender nature as an infant hath that is newly borne. Further also wee will note heare, that so long as the infant is in his mothers belly, it is nourished more like to a plant, then to those liuing creatures which receiue their foode by their throate. And yet after he is borne, hee knoweth well wherefore his mouth serueth before euer he vsed it, without any other Master or Mistresse to teach him this skill then the prouidence of God, which sheweth it selfe also in other creatures in the like case, but not in such euident and excellent manner. We may say the like of the breath which the infant receiueth not in his mothers wombe by his mouth, no more then the meate wherewith he is fedde, nor yet by the nosethriles, which are more specially giuen to the body for that purpose, but by the nauill which is appointed to be the pipe to conuey both vnto him before he be borne. But the discourse of this matter wil fall out more fitly heerafter to be handled at large, when wee shall speake of the naturall and internall powers of the soule. Wherefore it is time to finish the couering of our building & so make an end of the speeches of this dayes worke. Therefore it belongeth to thee A C I T O B, to couer it with skinne and haire, vlesse you thinke good first to tell vs something of the fatte that is founde within the skinne.

*Of the fatte and skinner of mans body and of their vse,
of the haire thereof. Chap. 8.*

A CITO B. Hitherto our intent hath beene, after speech had of mans creation, first to erect vp his tabernacle, as it were a drie Anatomy, which is a body consisting onely of bones. After we cloathed it with sinewes, muscles, ligaments flesh, & kernelles, which
 A similitude. serue it for agarment, or standeth in steade of mortar or plaister for the walles of a building. For in this deifice of mans body, the bones occupy the place of stone, which must afterward be committed to the Mason to cause them to keepe close together, every one in his place. But yet we haue to white it ouer, which is the last couering, to make it fairer, better polished, and more perfect. For if we consider it onely as hitherto it hath bin set out vnto vs, we shall see it but as it were a frame not polished, nor made perfect without: or as it were a body without a skinne, which is not very pleasant to sight. Therefore we will now put on the last garment, which couereth all the rest, namely the skinne: but first a word of the fat which being within, is of great force to preserue and keepe it.

The vses of
fat in the bo-
dy.

Three skins
of the body.
The first skin
hath no fee-
ling nor
blood.

Of membranes
and tunicles.

I will not stay heere to declare how and by what meanes the fatte, as also the kernels and paps are made of the blood, because our principall scope is to shew the providence of God in the vse of all the parts of the body, leauing to the Philitions that which appertaineth to their office, touching the intire and perfect knowledge of the Anatomy of the body. Seeing then we are to speake of the fatte that is found in the body, it serueth for the defence and preseruatiō of those parts that are couered therewith, not onely against heate & colde, and other things that come from without, which might indammage those parts, but also to keepe in naturall heate the longer, by whose vertue concoction of meate (commonly called digestion) is made in the body. Likewise it is very profitable for those parts that are in greatest and most vsuall motion, to supple and annoint them, as well to make them more nimble and readie to mooue, as to preserue them from drying, and so consequentlie from bruizing and wasting. There is also in many places a certaine humour which serueth to annoint the ioynts and their ligaments, and the smal ends of the gristles. For moisure helpeth motion very much, and preserueth those parts that are mooued, as we see by experience in chariot wheels. For when the axaltrees are greazed, about which they moue, they do not only turne about more easily, but also last and continue longer: whereas although they were all of yron, yet they would weare away and be set on fire of themselves, if they were not annointed and moistened with some humour. Now let vs come to consider of the couering of mans body. As therefore a man vseth not one onely garment, but diuers, so is it with the body. For first hee is cloathed with three skinner, that are great, long and large, with which hee is covered cleane ouer from the sole of the foote to the toppe of the head. The first is a little skinne very thinne, which of it selfe hath no feeling, beeing made of the second skinne which it couereth: and this second skinne is made of sinewes, flesh and little veines, and in some places of little arteries, being as it were of a middle nature betweene the sinewes and the flesh. Therefore this skin hath feeling throughout, and is not without blood as the first is. There is also a third skinne vnder the second, which is more fleshy, and therefore it is thicker and more strong, vnto which the Muscles cleaue, and through which very thinne arteries and productions of sinewes passe, which tie it with the otherskinne. The fat of the body is betweene these two skinner, which serueth the whole body not onely for a couering, but also for an ornament, especially those that are most without, which in mens bodies stand in stead of that skinne wherewith the bodies of beastes are covered. Besides these three skinner that couer all the body, there are within, many other particular skins of diuers sorts, to cover the members that are there, which the Philitions call *Membranes* and *Tunicles*, with such other names agreeable to their Arte, to distinguish them one from another according to each of their offices. For there are many in the head to cover, fold vp, and to containe the inward parts thereof and of the braine: as also in the breast, and consequently in other parts & members within. Among the rest some are like to nettes and coiffes, others resemble little sackes or bands, according as those members are which they are to cover, seruing also for the defence vnto them, and to distinguish and separate the parts one from another. We will leaue to the Philition to number and to distinguish them, and to name euery one by their proper name: and nowe come to consider the last couering which is vpon the body in certaine places,

places, especially vpon the head, and that is the haire, which principally aboundeth in the head both in men and women, because it proceedeth out of a moyst and soft place. And to the ende it might take the better roote there, the skinne that is vnderneath it, is very thicke and fleshy. The profite of the haire is great, and serueth for many thinges. First, it is the ornament and beauty of the heade. For as the face would bee euill fauoured and vnfighly, if it were hairy, so contrariwise, the heade would bee very deformed if it were skinnelasse, where it is couered with haire, as we may iudge by them that haue bald heades. Therefore because it is the toppe of the building of mans body, God would haue it adorned with such a covering: which also standeth him in some steade to defende his braine, and to consume the grossest and most fummy excrements, of which the haire of the heade are ingendred, so that they are a kinde of purgation for it. Besides, it serueth for a covering to the head, which it may vse at pleasure, as neede requireth, against both heate and colde. For it doth not alwaies neede to be alike couered at one time and in one age, as at another. Therefore a man may let them growe, or cutte them, or shaueth them cleane off, as is most commodious to every one. And when they waxe gray and white through age, they put men in mind of two things. First, that they drawe towards the graue and death, to the end they might in good time frame themselves thitherward, and if they haue gone astray in youth and forgotten God, that then at length they should bethinke themselves, and consider that they are no more yoong, and that they must shortly dye: for although it bee late, yet better late then neuer. But it is best to follow *Salomons* counsell, who admonisheth young men to remember God before the *Almond tree* flourish, comparing an olde man that is gray and white with age, to a blossomed tree, by reason of the whitenesse of the flowers. For when a man flourisheth in this sort, his floures put him in minde that the tree of the body drieth vp, and that it looseth his naturall strength: whereas the floures of trees are testimonies of the vigor that is yet in them to beare fruite. Therefore wee are very miserable, if wee doe not glorifie God in our youth, neither thinke vpon any other life then this. For wee come farre short of the life of trees, and are not of so long continuance, neither are we yeerely reuened as they are, which see ming to be dead in winter flourish and waxe greene in spring time, as if they became young againe. Which thing we are not to looke for in this world, wherein we flourish contrary to trees, namely in winter, which is our old age. Secondly, gray and white haire warneth men to haue such manners as becommeth that age and colour, that they may make olde age reuerent, according to that saying of the wise man. *The glory of the aged is the gray head.* For such are these ancient men, whom God in his law commandeth to be honoured, when hee saith, *Thou shalt rise up before the hothead, and honour the person of the olde man, and dread thy God. I am the Lord.* The same consideration also ought to be in the beard, which is a great ornament to the face, and serueth to distinguish the sexes, & otherwise the ages of men vnto vs vnto whom they bring authority and maiesty. For this cause the auncients did shaueth or powle their beards and haire in the time of mourning and affliction: so that when the Prophets denounced some great aduersitie and desolation, they foretolde that *euery head should bee bald and cut and shauen*, and the beards in like manner as it appeareth in the Prophecie of *Esay* against *Moab* and such like, we reade also that *Hannan* king of the Ammonites shaued off the halfe of the beards of *Dauids* messengers to bring them in derision, whereupon they would not shew themselves openly to the people vntil their beards were growen. Concerning womens haire, *Saint Paul* testifieth expressly, that God hath giuen it vnto them to admonish them of the subiection they owe to their husbands, and of that power which they haue ouer the, in token whereof they ought to haue the head couered, especially in the assemblies of the Church. Therefore he saith, *Euery woman that praieth or prophecieth bare headed, dishonoureth her head: for it is euen on euery thing, as though she were shauen.* Therefore if the woman be not couered, let her also bee shorne: and if it bee shame for a woman to bee powled or shauen, let her bee couered. And a little after: *Iudge in your selues, is it comely that a woman pray vnto God vncovered? doth not nature it selfe teach you, that if a man haue long haire, it is a shame vnto him? But if a woman haue long haire, it is a praise vnto her: for her haire is giuen her for a couering.* Wherein the Apostle laboureth chiefly to admonish women, that nature hath giuen to them longer haire then to men, and that it becommeth them best to haue it so, to the end they should keep their heads couered with some vaile and honest couering, for the reasons declared by him, sending the to the schoole of nature to learne of her what modesty & honesty they ought to follow and to shewe in their haire. For indeede this schoole of nature is the schoole of God the creator of nature, in which he teacheth vs by our owne body, and by the nature thereof, what is conuenient

Of the haire

Good lessons
for the gray
headed.

Eccles. 12. 5.

Prou. 20. 29;
Leuit. 19. 32.
Of the beardEsay. 15. 2.
2 Sam. 10. 4.Of wo-
mens haire.

1. Cor. 11. 5 6

Ver. 13. 14 15

The schoole of
nature is the
schoole of
God.

conuenient and honest for vs. Therefore God hath not covered some parts of the body with haire for an ornament onely, as the beard in men, and haire of the head, both in men & women, and for other causes whereof I haue spoken, but also to admonish them to couer that, which they cannot discouer without shame and villany, whether it be by deed or word. Hereupon it is, that not onely those parts of the body that are more honorable and noble, as the head and face, are adorned with haire to giue them greater maiesty, but also places more secret are covered therewith, to teach vs, that the honor wee owe to them is to keepe them couered and hid, and that they dishonor them greatly, and themselves also, who discouer them not onely by vile and shamelesse handling, but also by infamous and dishonest words, as many doe, that alwaies haue filthy speeches of whoredome in their mouthes. For that which is dishonest to be seene and to be discouered to the eies, is also dishonest to be heard, and to be disclosed to the eares which we must keepe chaste, as likewise the eies, the tongue, the mouth, and the heart. Therefore they that behaue themselves otherwise, do as if they ment to despise God and nature, whom they wil not follow as Mistresse. Wherefore when Saint Paul sendeth women to the school of Nature to learne that lesson which is there taught them, he openeth vnto vs a great gappe, whereby we may know what Mistresse God hath giuen vs in nature, and what instructions we may receiue from her, if wee can vnderstand her, and haue the wit to know, and to comprehend all that she sheweth vs, even in our owne bodies and goe no further into her schoole, considering that there is not so little as one haire therein, fro which we cannot take instruction. How great then would the profit be, if we would consider as we ought, other things that are more excellent, and of greater importance? Now that wee haue raised vp the frame of mans body from the foundation vnto the very top, we must to morrow by the help of God, in continuing our speech of the compound parts of the body, enter into the consideration of those goodly outward members wherewith the head is adorned, and of the senses of the body, vnto which those serue as instruments. Therefore it belongeth to thee *A S E R* to begin the handling of such an excellent matter.

The end of the first daies worke

The second daies worke.

Of the bodily and externall senses, especially of touching, of their members, instruments and offices. Chap. 9.



Wherein true felicity consisteth.

A S E R. They that haue the greatest knowledge in humane Artes, although it bee in naturall Philosophy, are not therefore more happy then others, vnlesse they haue learned to ioyne therewith the knowledge of diuinitie. For albeit they haue greater vnderstanding of the nature of things created by God, then other men that haue not bin couersant in such studies, yet al their skil, being blind in respect of true & eternall wisdom, will profit them nothing, but only to make them more guilty before God & worthy of greater condemnation, then if he had giuen them no more vnderstanding then beasts haue. And who knoweth not that the felicity & soueraign Good of man, consisteth not in the knowledge of the creatures & of their nature, but in the knowledge of the Creator that made the? Therefore we should labor in vain to know our selues, if it did not lead vs to the knowledge of God: yea it would help vs nothing at al, but to manifest more evidently our ingratitude towards his Maiesty, & to aggravate, so much the more his iust & fearful iudgment vpon our heads. Likewise we should reape little benefit by our careful inquiry into the matter & form of the frame of man, wherof wee discoursed yesterday, if it serued not vnto vs for an entrance into a deeper contemplation of the goodly works that appeare outwardly therein, and of those corporal senses that haue their seats and instruments in them. And all this knowledge would doe vs little or no good at all, if wee were not ledde thereby to the vnderstanding of the internall senses of the soule, vnto which the former serue as messengers and ministers, as these latter doe vnto the mind and vnderstanding. Therefore in following this order let vs ascend step by step to those things that are

are most excellent: and although the eye of our minde should dafell when wee draw neere vnto them, yet we shall gaine greatly, because those things are very great which draw neere to perfection.

Having before compared the composition of mans body to a building, and having raised vp all the outward parts of it vnto the very top, it remaineth now that wee set on the gates and windowes. When a man would signifie that a house is very lightfome and hath ayre enough, wee commonly say that it is well boarded or pierced. Which may truly be spoken of mans bodie in respect of those outward members, which God hath fashioned in the head, especially in the face, which he hath appointed for seruants to the chiefe bodily senses, whose seruice also is afterward required for the spirituall and internall senses. It is in this part of our building and tabernacle, wherein God causeth the greatest beautie thereof to shine, I meane in the face, which as it were an Image of goodly, orient, and lively colours, enriched with many excellent works, not onely in regard of the skin and painting, but also of the forme, and of so many goodly and pleasant members as are ornaments vnto it: yea, which are so necessary, that without them all the rest as it were vnprofitable, neither could they preserve and keepe themselves.

I speake not yet of those parts that are hidden, and contained within the head, but onely of those members which appeare outwardly, which are in such wise disposed every one in his place, that albeit they be not farre distant one from another, yet the neere ioyning of them together doth not cause them one to hinder the office of another, notwithstanding their diuersitie, as wee see evidently, and shall know more at large by the sequel of our speeches. Hereby doth God admonish vs how wee ought to behaue our selues one toward another, and dwell every man within his bounds and limits, not setting one vpon another, and not incroching vpon any thing that is our neighbours. For as there is space and roome enough in the head for all the senses and members that are there, and the like in the rest of the body for all the members whereof it is compounded, by reason of the good order, concord and consent that is amongst them: so the earth and the world is bigge enough, and hath goods enough for all, if wee had skill and could beare one with another, and be content every one with his estate and office, and with those gifts which we haue receiued from God, as members of one and the same bodie. If this good accord and consent were amongst vs, a little place would please vs: but if we doe otherwise, all the world will not be great enough to suffice vs. No riuers, seas, or mountaines will be sufficient to keepe vs within our bounds and borders. Therefore let vs learne of the senses and members of our body, what rule wee ought to keepe one with another. The bodily senses, which God hath giuen to man to be ministers and messengers to the spirituall senses of the minde, are five in number: namely, the sight, hearing, smelling, taste, and touching. To all the members and instruments of these senses, which shall be hereafter declared vnto vs, the facultie of sense is generally giuen by the sinewes, which haue their originall from the braine, as we haue already touched. So that hereby we see what is the dignitie and excellencie of the head, seeing God hath placed therein the fountaine and spring not onely of all the senses, but also of all the motions of the body, which are wrought by meanes of the sinewes. For we must know, that foure things are required in the office and vse of the bodily senses. The first is the power and vertue of the soule, which giueth sense by the animal spirit guided by the sinewes. The second is the instrument being well applied and made fit for his vse and office, by which the soule effecteth her worke. The third is that thing that is to be perceived by sense, about which the soule exerciseth her office. The fourth is the meane or way, which receiveth the obiekt of the sensible qualitie, and carrieth it to the instrument. As for example: If the question were of sight, first there must be this power and vertue of seeing in the soule. Next, the eyes is necessarily required thereunto: for it is the proper instrument appointed to receiue light. Then there must be light, without which all things are couered with darknesse and made inuisible. For although the eyes by nature are partakers of light, yet that which they haue naturally, & which they carry within them selues, will affoorde them as small light as if they had none at all, except they receive a greater light that commeth from the heauens, or from some lightfome body, as from fire, or from a candle lighted, as we see by experience in the night time. Lastly, the meane or middle way is of necessitie required, by which the light is to be brought and communicated with the eye, and that is the aire, through which it passeth, as through a glasse or cristall or such like bodies, which are not so thicke that they keepe backe the light from piercing through them. For if there bee nothing betweene them, I meane betweene

Of the beautie that is in the face.

A good instruction for every one.

Five corporal senses.

Foure things required in bodily senses.

Of the sense
of touching

No body can
liue without
some sense of
touching.

Some mem-
bers of the bo-
dy absolute-
ly necessary
to life.

A prouerbe.

An other
point of Gods
prouidence.

the eye and the light, and those colours which it must behold, it can not apprehend and perceive them. The like is to be said of the senses of hearing, smelling, and tasting, as we shall understand better, when we speake of them hereafter particularly. But as for the sense of touching, it is most earthy of all the rest. Therefore it agreeth with the earth, and is common to all the parts & members of the body that haue sense, although it be more or lesse in some places then in others. This sense is giuen to the body to discern the first qualities by, namely, hotte, cold, moist, and drie, from others that accompany them, as heavy, and light, harde, and soft, sower, and sweete, thicke and thinne: which are compounded qualities, taken from the foure first, as also corporall things are made of the foure elements. Concerning greatnes, figures, members, motion, and rest, they are common to many of the senses. Thus much for the sense of touching, from which the rest doe differ, in that every one hath his proper sense, which is not communicated with any other. For onely the eyes see, the eares heare, the nose breatheth, the tongue and palate taste. And heere we haue to consider the great prouidence of God in many points. First, forasmuch as the body cannot liue without the sense of touching, which hath for the object the elementarie qualities, it is giuen to all liuing creatures in every part of the body, to the end, that thereby they might knowe according to the proportion of the qualities, what is profitable or hurtfull to their bodies in the participation of these qualities, and so eschew more easily that which might hurt them. But men haue this sense chiefly in the ends of their fingers, that touching slightly with them, they might make the first triall of all qualities. For if they feele that the thing which they touch is too hot, or cold, or that there is some other excelsse in the quality which might hurt them, they are admonished therby to the end that by a very little hurt, they might auoid a greater. For a man may better cheap feele a little grieve and that very lightly in the end of one finger, or of many, then in a whole member, or in all the rest of his body. Besides, God hath further provided for this sense, in that it is not so sharp to feele suddainely and to the quicke, as the sight or hearing, to the end the body should receiue lesse damage by that which it toucheth if it bee hurtfull for it. Now the eyes, because they doe not touch that which they see, nor the eares that which they heare, therefore they cannot be so damnified, as the residue of the members may, which feele not except they touch.

Moreover, wee haue yet to note the prouidence of God herein, that amongst the members giuen by him to the body, hee hath created some of that nature, that a man can in no wise liue without them: and others so, that albeit they bee not necessary for life, yet hee can not liue at his ease, and not receiue great worke if he want them. The members of the first sort are, the braine, the heart, the lungs, the liuer, the spleene, the stomacke, and such like, that are the seates of the animal, vital and naturall vertues, without which there could be no stay of life. For after these members are hurt or perished, farewell life. The other sort are the eies, the eares, the nose, the tongue, the feete, the hands and such like. For although a man loose some or many of these members, yet he doth not therefore loose his life, but hee shall surely feele the detriment, which such a losse bringeth vpon him. And as we commonly say, that *the Oxe knoweth not the valew of his horne vntill hee haue lost it*, so wee may with great reason say, that no man knoweth of what valewe the partes of his body are vntill hee want them, or vntill they bee so hindered that they cannot fulfill their office. Wherefore wee ought to pray to God to preferue them for vs whilst we haue them, and giue him thanks because he hath not created vs lame or maimed of any member. And when we see any that were borne without them, or that haue lost them since, wee ought to be so much the more stirred vp to glorifie him, acknowledging it to come from his grace in that hee hath dealt better with vs then with them, although we haue deserued no more then they. Now because we doe not so neither haue this consideration as we ought, to giue him thanks, and to vse them to his honour and glory, therefore he deprieth vs of them many times, to punish this ingratitude, and to cause vs to know better the valew of these gifts, after they are taken from vs, and that wee haue lost them, seeing we could not know it whilst we had them, nor yet him that gaue them vnto vs. And by the same meanes also he would admonish and put vs in minde of the damage, we receiue by the defects of our soule, by those which wee feele by experience in our bodies. Whereupon we haue an other goodly point of the prouidence of God to note, in that he hath giuen vs almost all double members, without which wee could not liue but with great pain & trouble: to the end that if we lost one we might yet vse the other, & in some sort supply the losse of that which is wating. For this cause he did not create only one eye, or one nofethril, one eare, one arme, one hand, one leg, or one foot, but twaine. This ought to bee well

well considered, that wee might haue the better knowledge of the care that God hath ouer vs, seeing he hath so well provided for all things, that he will not onely haue vs to liue, but also furnish vs with all necessary things, whereby we might liue more commodiously, more easily, and with lesse paine and trouble. And when it falleth out, that some one of these members or both are wanting, God supplieth this defect by maruailous meanes. For sometimes we see that maymed folkes haue done many things with their feete, or with their neck and head, that others could hardly doe with their hands: at leastwise they haue done things without hands, that would seeme altogether incredible to such as haue not seene them. And many times we see dumbe men, whose hands stand them in stead both of tongue and eares. For by the signes and gestures of their hands they signifie their meaning to others, as if they themselves did speake: and vnderstand the minde of others that make the like signes. Yea, there are some that conceiue what others say vnto them, onely by seeing them open and mooue their lippes, so that we must needs acknowledge it as a miracle of God. Now hauing spoken generally of the senses of the body, and specially of touching, as also of their members and instruments, we must come to their particulars. Therefore *AMANA*, thou shalt discourse vnto vs first of the eyes, which are as it were the principall windowes of this building which we haue vnder taken to pourtraite and set forth.

The hands
sometimes
stand in stead
of the tongue
and eares.

*Of the eyes, and of their excellencie, profite, and vse: of the matter
and humors whereof they are made. Chap. 10.*

AMANA. It hath alwaies bin the opinion of the Stoicks and Academicks, that the bodily senses did rather hinder then helpe to obtaine wisedome: that no man could know or vnderstand any thing: that the senses were feeble and slow: that sensible things were small, that they could not be perceived: or else so subiect to motion, that no certaintie could be found in them: that our life is short, and full of opinions and customes: that all was compassed about with darkenesse, and hid: and therefore that nothing could bee perceived or vnderstood, so that men were to professe that they would affirme or approoue, of nothing. *Plato* writeth in many places, that wee must beleue nothing but the vnderstanding, which beholdeth that that is simple and vniforme, and as it is indeede: and that there is no science, but only in those reasons & discourses, which the soule maketh when it is not troubled with bodily lets, as with sight, and hearing, or with grieve and pleasure. *Eusebius* disputing against this, sheweth that the senses helpe much towards the obtaining of wisedome: and that when they are rightly affected, and in their naturall habite, they neuer deceiue the minde that is attentue. But we shall know more at large what their profite is by continuing our discourses of the instruments of the senses.

The opinion
of Stoicks and
Academicks.

In Phæd. &
in Tim.

14. de Præpar.
Euang. c. 7.

Let vs know therefore, that the eyes were giuen of God to men to cause them to see, and to be as it were their watch-towers and sentinels, the guides and leaders of the whole body: as also they are as it were the chiefe windowes of the body, or rather of the soule, which is lodged within it. For it is a most excellent worke of God, whether we consider the matter whereof they are made, and how diuerse or agreeable it is to the office that is assigned them: or the beauty that is in their forme, and in the diuersity of their colours: or the commoditie and vse of their motions, and how they are set in their places, as it were goodly precious stones laid in some curious piece of worke: and how they are inuironed and armed both aboue and beneath, on the right hand and on the left, with the eye-lids, and the eye-browes, not onely for their protection and defence, but also to adorne, & to make them shew more beautifully. And surely it is not without cause that God hath put such great excellency in the, & hath created & framed them so artificially. For first, they are the chiefe members of all the bodily senses, whose nature approacheth neerer to the nature of the soule and spirit, then any other, by reason of the similitude and agreement that is betweene them. Therefore by good right they beare rule among all the senses, and all the other members of the body, as being their guides. For they are giuen to man chiefly to guide and leade him to the knowledge of God, by the contemplation of his goodly works, which appeare principally in the heavens and in all the order thereof, and whereof we can haue no true knowledge & instruction by any other sense but by the eyes. For without them who could euer haue noted the diuers course and motions of the celestiall bodies? yea we see by experience, that the Mathematicall sciences, among which Astronomie is one of the chiefe, cannot be well and rightly shewed and taught, as

Of the eyes
and of their
vse.

The eyes draw
neerest to the
nature of the
soule.

Sight is our
first mistresse.

Of spirituall
eyes and spi-
rituall light.

What the
light is.

1. Tim. 6. 16.

many others may, without the helpe of the eies: because a man must make their demonstra-
tions by figures, which are their letters and images. I passe over many other Sciences, as that
of the Anatomy of mans body and such like, which are very hard, yea impossible to be lear-
ned and knowne certainly vnlesse they may be seene with the eye. Wherefore seeing the bo-
dily senses are the chiefest masters of man, in whose house the spirit and vnderstanding is
lodged and inclosed, the greatest and first honour is by good right to be given to the eies
and sight. Likewise it is the first Mistresse that prouoked men forward to the studie and fear-
ching out of science and wisdom. For of sight is ingendred admiration and wondering at
things that are seene: and this admiration causeth men afterward to consider more seriously
of things, and to marke them better: and from thence it is that men fall to enquire of mat-
ters more carefully, and to sound them deeper. In the end they come to the studie of science
and wisdom, which is the knowledge of supernaturall light, namely of the light of the
minde, vnto which, science and doctrine is as light is to the eye, so that it contemplateth and
museth by that, as the eye seeth by light. Therefore wee haue to note, that it hath pleased
God the creator of all things to scatter his light throughout the whole world, and ouer all
creatures as well spirituall and inuisible, as corporall and visible. His spirituall light he hath
infused into spirituall creatures, and bodily light into bodily creatures, to the end that by this
benefit the spirits might haue vnderstanding, and the eyes sight. So that Angels and the
spirits of men, which are spirituall and inuisible creatures, are illuminated by the meanes of
vnderstanding, with that spirituall and heavenly light whereof God hath made them parta-
kers: as the bodies of liuing creatures, and chiefly of man are illuminated with the corporall
light of the Sunne by meanes of the eyes. For as bodies haue their bodily eyes, so spirits
haue their spirituall eyes. For that vnderstanding wherewith God hath indued them, is vnto
them as the eyes are to the bodie. Wherefore by that they see God, who is their heavenly
Sunne, and the fountaine of all diuine and spirituall light, as bodily eyes behold the materi-
all sunne, wherein as in a fountaine God hath placed corporall light, which hee would haue
vs see and know by meanes of the eyes: which we ought to acknowledge as a great bene-
fite. For the light is a worke of God worthy of great admiration, which discovereth and
sheweth to vs a great part of nature, and is vnto vs in stead of an image of the best and most
excellent natures, which without doubt are lights and shining natures. Neither could any
man possibly expresse in words or teach in any sort what the light is which sheweth all other
things, and what is the beauty and excellency thereof, vnlesse the eyes did behold & know
it, and distinguish it from darknesse. For by meanes of the eyes wee may iudge what our life
would bee, if it were buried in perpetuall darkenesse, or if man had no instrument to appre-
hend and to receiue the light when it shineth. Therefore as God hath created the light to
discover and shew all things by it, so he hath giuen eyes to man, whereby he may apprehend
and receiue it. To this end he hath made them of a matter that is partaker of light, & meete
to receiue it, that by the agreement of nature that is betweene them & the light, they might
enioy it, and by the selfe same meanes they might be messengers to the minde to induce and
lead it to the consideration of the diuine light, whereof corporall light is a very small resem-
blance: and hereby also the minde might know that God, *who dwelleth in a light that none can
attaine vnto*, is a maruailous light, as holy men know by experience when he sheweth himselfe
vnto them. For as the eye is like to a glasse that receiue the Images of things offered vnto
it, so God imprinteth Images of himselfe in our minde as in a glasse. Wherefore as a glasse
cannot receiue any Image, but of such things as are set before it: so the image of God cannot
shine nor be imprinted in the minde of man, vnlesse he alwaies set God before his eyes, that
hee may receiue his Image. And as the eye is illuminated by the beames that proceede
from the Sunne, so the minde is illuminated by the brightnesse of the diuine light, in which
we consider the Father in the vnitie of the godhead, as the spring and fountaine of all light,
and the Sonne, as the beames & brightnes ingendred thereof, and the holy Ghost, as a flame
proceeding from it, which causeth the eye of the mind to receiue it, and to be made partaker
therof. We see then how our eies together with the light admonish vs of great things, of most
excellent works of God, and of great secrets of spirituall & heavenly things, whose images he
hath imprinted in the light & in our eies, to the end, that by these corporall & visible images,
wee may haue some knowledge of those things whereof they are images, which cannot bee
seene & perceiued with corporall senses, but onely with the spiritual senses of the soule. Where-
fore we ought greatly to praise God for his goodly gift, both of the light & of the eies, which
cannot sufficiently be valewed. For although it did vs no more seruice then it doth to brute
beasts,

beasts, namely to guide & leade vs in this corporall life, yet we ought seriously to acknowledge the excellencie of so great a gift of God, & how profitable & necessary it is for vs. But there is a great deale more in it, by reason of the minde and vnderstanding which God hath giuen to the spirit and soule of man, as it were spirituall eyes, to the end there might bee an agreement and proportion betweene them and the eyes of the bodie. For the eyes declare to the minde what they see, that it might take knowledge thereof: so when the minde hath seene with spirituall eyes those images that are offered vnto it by the bodily eyes, it causeth them to see a great deale more clearly, then the eyes of brute beasts doe. For because they want minds, and vnderstanding, their eie sight pierceth no further then vnto those corporall things which they behold. Wherefore when they see the light of the Sun, they onely prepare themselves to be guided by it, & neuer consider or looke any further. But man, if hee bee not altogether brutish as beasts are, stayeth not there, but passing further hee considereth the beauty of the sun, and those great benefits which it bringeth with it. And being ascended so hie by the meanes of corporall light, he ascendeth euen to the spirituall & diuine light, and to God, who is the eternall and infinite Sun. Man also hath so much the more knowledge of the nature of corporall light, and the effects therof, & hath also so much the more celestial & heauenly light whereof bodily light is an image, as his mind is illuminated by the word & spirit of God. For otherwise men see little clearer and not much farther by the light of the body, then brute beasts do. Moreouer we made mention in our former speech of 4. things requisite to see by: which also are to be vsed in the other senses I will onely adde a little of the fourth thing, which is of the meane that receiueth the object of the sensible quality, & beareth it to the instrument. If those bodies that are set before our eyes, are so thicke by nature that the light cannot pierce through them, then doth the light appeare vpon them, but not in so great measure, nor so cleare as in the aire & in other bodies, as in glasse, cristall or such like that are not so thicke, that they will hinder the light from piercing through them. This part of light that is vpon thicke bodies, is called colour, which is of diuers sorts, according to the mixture of light & darkenes that is in them. For first there are 2. kinds of simple colours, by mingling of which together al other colours are compounded. The one is white, which hath most light in it of al others, & therefore will take any other colour. Then there is black colour, which hath least light in it: and therefore, it will take no other colour. Now according as these 2. kinds of colours are mingled together, all other colours, being infinit in number, are compounded, taking their diuersity & difference, as they haue more white or black mingled in them. For this cause some are red, others yellow, these greene, those ski-colour, others gray, or blew, or tawny. In a word, it would be a difficult matter, yea impossible to rehearse al their differences & varieties. But God sheweth himselfe yet more wonderfull in the diuersity that is seen euen in one kind of color. For let vs consider in a meadow or garden all the herbs, trees, & plants that are there with leaues & flowers, & we shal see no green in any one of the, which differeth not in some thing from the green of another kind, although they be white, or black, or red, or yellow, or azure, or of any other colour, we shall not find one that differeth not in something from others of the same color, but of a diuers kind. So is it with diuers fethers and colors of birds, amongst which there are such sundry colors, that a man can not tel what certaine name to giue them: as for example, we see about the necke of a Ring-doue. And although Painters indeuour as much as lieth in them to counterfaite all these diuersities in their paintings mingled with many colours, and howsoeuer, as followers of nature, they come very neere her, yet they can neuer approach so neere as to bee able to represent any colour so liuely as shee brings it forth. Now if the eyes were not capable of light, they could not see any colour, nor discern one from another: and if they could not see colours, they should see nothing. For nothing can bee seene but by meanes of colours, no more then it may bee seene without light, of which those are made. And as the eyes can not well see if they haue not as much light as is needefull for them: so if they haue too much, and more then they want, they will see a great deale lesse: or if it bee very great, they will bee dazeled, and as it were blinde. Therefore it must bee dispensed vnto them by iust measure and proportion according to their capacite: and then through the reflection of those things which it discovereth vnto them, it imprinteth their images in them, as the image of a ring is imprinted in sealed waxe. Now hauing spoken of the principall vse of our eies, if I should enter into a more particular consideration of their nature, I know not almost at which ende to begin. For there is nothing in the matter, of which they are made, or in their forme, composition and vse, how small soeuer it bee which

The difference betwixt sight of men and of beasts

Of colours and of their nature variety, and vse.

All compound colors made of black and white mingled.

Nothing seene but by colours.

Of the mat-
ter & hu-
mours of the
eyes.

Of the chri-
stalline hu-
mour.

How the hu-
mours are pla-
ced.

How Gods
providence
appeareth in
the eyes.

is not able to cast all men into great admiration. For first, if you aske after their matter, they are compounded of three sorts of humours, of which the one is like to water, the other to glasse molten, or to the white of an egge, and the third to ice or cristall: and therefore they take their names of those things which they resemble. Concerning the Christalline humor, it is not so thinne, but more firme then the other twaine, much like to waxe melted. Neuerthelesse it is a great deale more cleare and more glistering then both the other: so that there is the same difference betweene these three humours, and that which may be seene through them, which is betweene cristall glasse, and water, and that which a man may see through them. The Christalline humour is given to the eye to impart light vnto it, therefore it is in the eye, as it were a little round cristall glasse, very glistering. And although the other twaine are very bright, so that the light may passe through them, as it were through water and glasse yet they haue no light of themselues, as the cristalline humour hath, which could not receiue that light which it doth from without, if of it selfe it were not partaker of light, and if by that participation which it hath, there were not in it a naturall agreement with the other. The other twaine are ioyned vnto it not onely to nourish and moysten it, that it dry not to fast, but also to helpe to preserue it, and to moderate the vehemency both of those spirites and colours that might hurt it. Nowe because these humours are liquid and soft, they had neede of fitte vessels to keepe euery one in his place appoynted, for the executing of their office. The cristalline humour is in the midst of the other twaine, because it is the glasse of the eye, which receiue the light, and the images of those things that by the light are disclosed vnto it. Therefore it hath behinde it that which resembleth molten glasse, or the white of an egge, which is not altogether so soft and liquide, as the other before that resemble water. Thus hath God disposed them according to that natural conueniency which is betweene them, that they might be so knitte one to another, as is meetest both for them, and their vses. And being all ioyned together, they serue to fill vp that hollow place within which the eyes are inclosed, so also the other parts, and namely the fat, whereof they are well provided, serueth not only to fil vp void room, but also is appointed to this end, that the eyes might rest them more at ease, & be moistened the better. In all which things great wonders of Gods providence appeare most cleerly: namely, in this, that the humours are so distinguished, euery one keeping his place without mixture or confusio, as also in this that the cristalline humor, which is partaker of light & which ought to receiue it, is so wel copassed about & fortified on al sides. For this cause it is more firme then the other, that it might both keepe & distribute better the light which it receiue, & also preserue it self, & help the other humours that are ioyned vnto it, which being as it were Nurses vnto it, doe in like manner helpe it againe. Moreouer, we are greatly to maruaile at the providence of God, in considering the coats and skins of the eyes, their forme and motions, their diuers colours, and the sinewes whereby they receiue sight: the discourse of which matters, I lay vpon thee, *ARAM*.

Of the tunicles and skins of the eyes: of their forme and motions: of their sundry colours: of the sinewes whereby they receiue sight, and of other parts about the eyes. Chap. II.

ARAM. If we would stand to consider of all those things that are worthy of admiration, but in one eye onely, as well in respect of the matter, as of the forme, and meanes whereby they receiue the vertue of seeing, and performe their dutie, as the Philitions shewe these things in an Anatomy, a man might make a very great booke thereof, as likewise of all the other members. For there is no member so little, wherein there is not most exquisite art, and wherein a man may not see marueilous workes of Gods providence, so that I should bee wonderfully abashed to see any Philition prooue an Atheist, if he haue neuer so little knowledge of the nature of mans bodie, and of the composition and Anatomie of the parts of it, were it not that God punished them with the like iudgement that hee hath done other great Philosophers, whome he casteth into a reprobate sence, because through pride and ingratitude, they abuse that knowledge of naturall things, which he hath giuen them. Let vs learne therefore to know the Creator by the knowledge of the creatures, and let vs looke vpon the worke-master in the excellencie of his works. And now to this end, according to our intent, let vs with the eyes of the mind, behold the eyes of the body, seeing they looking vpon all things, yet cannot see themselues.

Now

Now as we haue perceiued, that God hath disposed the matter and humors of the eyes according to that office whereunto hee hath assigned them so hee hath appointed tunicles or coates which are little skins, in which they are contained as it were in their vessels, and compassed about with them as it were with little hands, to keepe them vnited and close together, and to preserve them, that they moue not forth, and runne out, and withall to be vnto them as a sure defence. These skinnies according to their offices and vses are disposed one after another, and interlaced betweene the humors of the eyes, according to that agreement of nature which they haue, both amongst themselves, as also with those humors which they serue & which in like sort serueth them, to the end that neyther the one nor the other shold easily receiue hurt. And among those five seuerall tunicles, which there are of them, according as the Phisitions and Anatomists distinguish them one is very slender, like to a small spiders web, or to a very little fine white skinne, that is betweene the parts of an onion. Then there is another that is like to a little threed: and the third resembleth in colour the stone of a redde grape, I meane the outward side of it. They are named by the Grecians and Latines according to the similitudes and likenesse of those things which they resemble. But the chiefest, strongest, and hardest of them is like to a slender and cleare horne, I meane that horne whereof Lanterns are made, but that it is not so hard and thicke by a great deale: and by reason of the similitude which it hath with horne, it is called by the same name. This hath God created in this sort, both that it might bee a stronger defence to all the humors of the eyes, and also that it might serue for the light which they are to receiue, through which it shineth, as the light that is in a Lanterne belids the horne of which it is made. There is yet another white skinne, which serue to keepe in the whole eye vnto the head, in the place assigned for it: and this is the first, as that like the spiders webbe is the last, and then the other are placed betweene these in the same order that I haue named. Heerein appeareth the worke of God, namely his providence is to be well marked in this, that he hath not placed the eyes so far out in the face and head, as he hath done the nose, eares, and lippes, but more inward as it were in holes and little dennes, by reason of the humors whereof they are compounded, to keepe them so much the more fast and close together, because they are liquide. Therefore they are shut vp in their holes, as the water of a Well is in that place where it is gathered together. For this cause the Hebrewes often vse the selfesame word to signifie both the eyes and fountaines. Next, God hath created them of a round forme, both because it is the fairest, most seemely and most perfect, as also because it is most moueable, and easiest to turne and returne on euery side, as the office of the eye requireth. For seeing they are given to man, and to all creatures for the direction of the whole bodie, and of all the members thereof, they ought not to be so fastned in the place where they are, that they can never looke but one way, nor stirre themselves on any side. Therefore God hath appointed to euery eye seven muscles, both to keepe them firme and steady, as also to cause them to remooue and turne vppward and downward, on the right hand and on the left, crossewise and round. And as the rounde forme is most perfect, so it is most fitte for the office of the eyes, to the end they may see all things better, and comprehend all sorts of shapes better then if they were flat, or hollow, or square, or of some other fashion besides round: as a man may iudge by the diuersitie of looking-glasses, and of their figures and makings, according to the variety of which, they represent diuersly those things whose images they receiue. Now because man, as also all other creatures goe forward, and not backward or sidewise, there God hath not placed the eyes either in the hinder part of the head, or on any side thereof, but before. And although the eyes bee moueable and made to turne on euery side, yet they neuer turne cleane backward, but onely sidewise, so farre as they can see and behold well. For they haue nothing to looke vpon within the head, but onely without. Therefore they haue this aduantage besides, that being set in that place which is assigned vnto them in the head, they may turne from one part to another, and see, not onely on the right hand and on the left, but also behinde, by that motion which the head hath from his sinewes by meanes of the necke: which motion the head should not haue, if it were seated vpon the shoulders without a necke: and this is another commodity of the necke, whereof we spake not before.

Now before we goe any further in the discourse of those parts that are about the eyes for their defence and preservation, it shall be good for vs to consider here of the goodly painting, and variety of colours that are in them. For first we haue a white colour, which couereth the greatest part of the eye: next that goodly small circle, which is round about the eye: then the aple of the eye, which the Hebrewes call the daughter of the eye, being in the midst of it, as

Of the tunicles and skins of the eyes.

Five tunicles.

A testimony of Gods providence.

Of the forme of the eye.

Of the muscles of the eyes.

Of the vsuall
sinewes.

The vse of the
kernels neere
the eyes.

Of the eyelids
and of their
haire.

The vse of the
eyebrowes.

Against the
pride of wo-
men.

Psal. 94. 9.

Of the pro-
portion be-
tweene the
heauens and
the head.

it were a little glasse, wherein a man may alwayes see some image, as it were in a glasse when one looketh into it. This little circle is called by some a *Crowne*, and by others a *Raine-bow*, because of the diuersitie of colours that are seene in it: which are not all alike in all men. For some haue this circle more blacke, others more gray, others more yellow, or more redde. Moreover, besides the sinewes of those muscles that are giuen to the eyes to moue them euery way, each of them hath one proper vnto it selfe, whereby the life and vertue of seeing is communicated vnto it from the braine, by meanes of the soule that giueth life to all the body. Therefore these sinewes differ from all the rest, in that they are not solide, but hollow within, like to little water pipes, to carry vnto the eyes the spirits of sight, which are as it were a little flame of light, whereby they receiue from the braine, life and vertue of seeing.

Next we are to consider how God hath placed them neere the nose, to the end they may purge also by that on each side, as well as the other humours of the braine. Therefore there are kernels hard by them in the head, which serue both to moysten and to water them according as they haue neede, by reason of their burning nature and perpetuall motion, and also to retaine and soke in humors, least they should descend and fall downe vpon them too fast, and so hurt them. Besides this commoditie, the nose in his place is vnto both the eyes in steade of bulwarks, and so also are the bones which close them in on euery side, and bals of the cheekes, which are higher then the holes of the eyne, that they also might serue to defend them. Moreover, God hath further armed them with eye liddes, which serue them both for ornament, and are also in steade of gates vnto them, hauing muscles to open and to shut them, either wholly or in part as neede shall require, both for sight, for sleeping and waking, and for defence. And besides the eyebrows wherewith God hath covered them aboue the liddes, there are little haire growing at their brimmes, which God hath not giuen in vaine. For first, they serue to direct the beames of the sight, that they may see more directly: next they serue for defence against little flies, against dust, moates, and other small things that might enter in, and trouble them. Moreover, they serue for ornament, as it were some pretie border round about them. And because the haire of the eyeliddes haue another office then those of the eyebrows, therefore they are otherwise disposed: for they are not so thicke, nor mingled one within and aboue another, as the haire of the eyebrows are, but they are raunged and set all in ranke, even orderly one by another. And as for the eyebrows they doe not onely serue to set forth the eyes, that their beauty may the better appeare, but also to defend them against the raine, against the sweate of the head and forehead, and other things that might descend and fall vpon them if they had not this to stay them. And to this purpose we see the agreement which they haue with the nose on each side, and howe the prouidence of God hath made them like to a halfe a circle, or a halfe moone, or a little arch, or else after the fashion of a little penthouse, to the end that the sweate and raine might haue an easie course and descend on both sides, and not runne into the eyes. And because they should not hinder in steade of helping, God hath created them of that nature, that they grow not like the haire, beard, or nails, but continue alwaies at one stay. What then will those women say for themselves, who take so great paines in twitching and plucking off the haire of the eyebrows, to the end they should not be so thicke or great as nature hath made them. For they thinke it greater beauty when they are shorter and thinner. But in this, as in all their paintings and pranking they doe not onely lift vp themselves against nature, as though they would worke here a spite, but also behaue themselves as if of set purpose they meant to reproch God for creating them as hee did. Now in speaking of the eyes, let vs beware that we be not so blind, as that we cannot see that thing by them, which they teach vs, or take no heede of that which they shew vnto vs. For the consideration of one of them alone, or of one eyelid or browlidde only, ought to teach vs to open and to lift them on high that they may search out & contemplate him that created, the & hath giuen them vnto vs euen to him who saith, *I that formed the eye, shall not I see?* Therefore we ought to be afraid, least our eyes be giuen vnto vs as iudges, to conuince vs of our ingratitude towards God their and our Creator, and to condemne vs. For there are but too many miracles to be seene of his almighty power in their creation, and too many witnesses of his prouidence towards vs, to make vs more then ashamed and confounded. We haue yet another point to be noted touching their situation, which causeth a certaine proportion and agreement to be betweene the heauens and the head, and betweene the eyes of the great and little world, and those of the body and soule. For it is most certaine, that they could not be placed more conueniently, then in the highest part of all the bodie, as it were in the highest towre, seeing

seeing they are to serue all the other members in place of Warders and Watchmen, and of guides and leaders. Therefore *Salomon* had reason to call them *the Lookers out by the windows*. For the holes of the head in which they are placed as it were Looking glasses, are their windows through which they see and behold. We may also say as much of the apple of the eye, which looketh within this little circle, as it were by a window. For this cause, as God hath placed the sunne, moone, and all the rest of the lights aboue in the heauens: so hee would that there should be some proportion betweene the heauens and the head of man, and betweene those goodly lights aboue named, and the eyes that are created to receiue light from them, and to be that in man who is the little world, which the sunne, moone, and other lights of heauen are in this great vniuersall world. Therefore for as much as the eyes are as it were the images of these goodly bodies and celestiall glasses, they occupie the highest place in this bodie of the little worlde, as the lights doe in the great body of the world, whereof they are as it were the eyes, to giue it light on euery side. For this cause also the eyes are more fierie, and haue more agreement with the nature of fire, then any other member that belongeth to the corporall senses. And as they are in a high place, so they are admonished thereby of the place vnto which they ought to looke, according to that which *Dauid* saith *I lift mine eyes to thee that dwellest in the heauens*. In all these things we see a goodly harmony and agreement betweene the great and the little world, the like whereof wee shall also finde betweene the worlde and the spirituall heauen, whose sunne and light is God, and betweene the eyes of the soule and of the minde. Therefore *Iesus Christ* said very well, *The light of the body is the eye: if then thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be light: but if thine eye be wicked then all thy body shall be darke. Wherefore, if the light that is in thee be darkenesse, how great is that darkenesse*. So that the eyes being as it were the lanterne, lampe and flame of the whole body, they could not haue a more apt place, or more conuenient for their nature, then that where God hath placed them. The like also may be said of the spirituall eyes of the soule and of the minde. For God hath lodged the vnderstanding & reason in the braine of man, as it were in a high towre, in which it ought to raigne as a Queene and Princeesse, and guide vnder her lawes all the affections & actions of men, as eyes guide all the members of the body. And when God, who is the Sun & light of the world, and of the spirituall heauen, reacheth out his beames to these eyes of the soule by his eternall Sonne and giueth them life, vigour and vertue by his spirit, then is the minde well lightned, and then doth she happily and to her proper end direct all the parts of the soule. Now for the conclusion of our speech, seeing wee haue spoken largely enough of the eyes of the body, and of their nature, beautie, and excellency, and what goodly images of the spirituall eyes they represent vnto vs, let vs yet a little better acknowledge the greatnes of their Workmaster, by considering apart the matter whereof they are made, I meane by it selfe and without the workmanship: as if we should now beholde their substance without that disposition and forme which he hath giuen them. What is an eye pluckt out of the head but a little clay and mire? as indeede it is the matter whereof it is made. Now what a wonderfull thing is it, that God hath so appropriated it, as to make such a goodly peece of worke thereof, and such a faire instrument for the seruice of men? And therefore our Sauiour *Iesus Christ* meant to represent this diuine worke, when hee made the blinde to see by putting clay vpon his eyes. Let vs therefore vse their sight, which is such an excellent gift of God, to behold his workes, and those goodly images of the diuine nature, which on euery side, and continually are before our eyes: and let vs beware that we feede them not with the sight of prophane and dishonest things, least they serue to poyson the minde and soule, whereas they ought to become messengers, to declare vnto it honest & healthful things. For he that doth otherwise is worthy to haue, not onely his bodily eyes put out, & pluckt out of his head but also the eyes his of his minde, that so he be may blinde both in body & soule, as it commonly falleth out to many. But let vs follow our matter propounded touching the senses, and their members: speake vnto vs *ACHITO B*, of the eares, and of their composition, offices, and vse.

Eccles. 1. 2.

The eyes draw
nere to the
nature of fire

Psal. 123. 1.

Math. 6. 22. 23

The agrement
betweene the
eyes of the
soule & those
of the body.

John. 9. 6.

*Of the Eares, and of their composition,
offices, and uses. Chap. 5.*

ACHITO B. The wisdom of God is so great, and he provideth so well for all things by his providence: that he neuer doth any thing in vaine: in so much that there is nothing what-

whatsoever in all nature, which hath not his proper vse, and which is not compounded of matter and forme agreeable thereto, for the instruction of men. But for asmuch as men are rude of vnderstanding, and by reason of their naturall corruption easily turned aside from the chiefe end of their being, namely the contemplation of celestiall and heavenly things, in place whereof they betake themselves to the care of those things that are earthly and corruptible it commeth to passe, that hauing eyes and eares, they neither see nor heare any spirituall thing, so that their very light is become darkenes. And then how great may wee thinke the darkenesse to be in those parts that ought be guided by them that are capable of light? Therefore as we haue learned, that the eyes are the first guides and houshold-masters that God hath giuen to every one, and the first authors and inventors almost of all artes, sciences and disciplines, because by their sight we know the light, colour, greatnesse, figure, number, situation, and motion of the bodily things, both neere and farre off: so now wee are to know, that the hearing and the eares are very conuenient for one man to communicate his knowledge with another, as if one should powre wine or water out of one vessell into another. But they are especially giuen by God to men, that they might serue to receiue the doctrine and instruction of wisedome, as we may perceiue if wee consider diligently their nature and vse.

The situation
of the eares.

Of their making.

Of their
forme.
The eares of
men and apes
only are with
out mouing.
Of their vse.

The eares then, in mine opinion, are also as it were watchmen ouer the whole body as well as the eyes. For it is not onely required, that a watchman should see, but also that hee should both heare and speake. Therefore are the eares placed hard by the eyes on each side, as well for an ornament to the head, as for the commoditie and vse of the whole body. For that place is fit for them that they may so much the more conueniently receiue those sounds that come vnto them, and cause them to heare, euen as the eyes receive the light, which causeth them to see. Therefore as God hath disposed the matter whereof it pleased him to make the eyes, and hath giuen them such a forme as agreeth best to that office, which he would haue them performe, so hath he done in regard of the eares, as also of all the other members of the body. For this cause he hath made them of gristles, which are a great deale harder and more firme then either flesh, kernels, sinewes, or ligaments: but yet nothing so hard as the bones are, as we haue already learned by that which was spoken before. Besides, neere about the place where the eares are, he hath set the hardest and firmest bones that are about the head. Therefore they are called stony bones by reason of their hardnesse, and of their naturall agreement with stones: whereby the eares are strongly fortified, and that very agreeable to their nature and office. As for their forme, it is halfe round, and very well compassed. They are also doubled in about the ends, as if nature had wrought them about with little ledges turned in of the same matter, in most excellent and decent manner. And among all living creatures God hath giuen vnmooueable eares to none, but onely to man, and to an ape: for the rest can mooue them vp and downe. And as for this externall and eminent part of the eare that appeareth without, if it serued onely to beautifie the head, the vse of it were not to bee disposed. For it is eident by such as haue their eares cut off, how deformed and vnseemely the head would be to looke vpon, if it were not decked with that part of the eares planted there by God for their greater ornament, as it were two goodly bruches. Hereof it is, that those men haue this part cut off, who are to bee made deformed and infamous for some notorious offence. But besides the honour and ornament, which this part of the eares bringeth to the head, it serueth also to couer the braine which is next to the eares, least it should be hurt. And to the end that they might not be easily bruised, or broken, nor yet hang downeward, they are as I haue said, of a gristly substance, as are all those parts that are bare and appeare outward, and which are in danger to receiue iniuries and discommodities from without. Likewise this outward growing of the eares bringeth a double commodity with it to the rest of that member. The first is, that it keepeth backe the rayne and sweate of the head, and much filth that might enter into the eares, if those places were flat, and had nothing but the holes of the eares without these bulwarkes. Therefore their forme is made so, that they ascende and bend vpward without, but are hollow within. The other is, that it helpeth much for the better receiuing in of the soundes that are brought to the eares by the ayre, because thereby the soundes are better conueied vnto that place, which is properly appointed for the hearing. For this cause the eares are not pierced straight outright, but their holes are made windeing in, like the shell of a snayle, whose forme they represent, so that one cannot thrust straight-foorth so much as a little threede, or the bristle of a hogge. For if they were boared outright many inconueniences would befall them. The first is, that the sounds would not be conueied

ed in so well, as they are in places that bend and giue backward, where they haue rebound; which causeth them to stay and sound better. The second is, that the eares should receiue ouer great sounds and too thicke, and so being more confused, they could not be discerned and vnderstood so well. Againe, as too great light doth not onely dazell the eyes, but hurte them withall: so ouer great sounds would marre the instrument of hearing, if they were not distributed and compassed according to the capacity thereof: For there must alwaies be an answerable and apt proportion betweene the sense, the thing subiect to sense, and the meane by which the sense is made. Heereupon it falleth out often, that many become deafe by hearing ouer great sounds, wherof we haue experience in Smithes, amongst whom many are thicke of hearing, because their eares are continually dulled with the noise and sound of their hammers & anuiles. The like oftentimes happeneth to those that deale with artillery, by reason of the continuall vse and greatnes of the sound. Moreover we must note, that there is a very little hole in each of those stonie bones, in which the hearing is properly made, and within which also there are three very small bones; wherof the one is called an anuile, the other the hammer, because they are made almost of the same fashion, so that a man would say, that nature had framed a little anuile and a little hammer to make sounds, and to cause them to be heard. The third small bone was found out by certaine Phisicians and Anatomists, and being boared in the middest is fashioned like to a little stir-rope, and is alwaies lesse then any of the other twaine. Phisicians that write of Anatomie make no mention of this last, or if any speake of it, they are but few, and of late time. And in deede it is a hard matter, even for them that are most skilfull and expert, to looke vnto all how diligent and able soeuer they be in Anatomie, especially in the view of many instruments, and of their sundry parts, which are so small, that hardly can we discernie them with our eyes if we looke not very narrowly vnto them, and that after we are told thereof before. As for these small bones wherof I speake now, and namely the third, a man may perceiue them better in a dry Anatomy, and in some skull that hath nothing but the bare bones, then he shall in a whole body. Therefore the skilfullest Phisicians and Anatomists confesse, that the body of man hath such wonderfull art in it, that euery day they find some new thing in it, which was not obserued by any in former times. But let vs returne to our speech concerning that which remaineth of the composition of the eares. Besides these litle bones, there are two small skinned full of nerues, which hold and bind these bones in such wise, that they are as it were a litle tabour stretched out in that place. These small skins haue their originall from those sinewes, by which the vertue of hearing proceedeth from the braine to the eares. For after the sounds are made in the aire, they are caried to these skinned, and then heard and discerned by them. Hereupon they are made hollow, to receiue the sounds that come from without, hauing a nature that agreeth very much with the aire, as the eyes doe with the fire, I meane in respect of their vertue which is burning and glistering, albeit their substance be moist. Therefore as the eyes iudge of light and colours, and by that meanes bring great pleasure and profite to men: so the eares iudge of sounds and of the voyce, of notes harmony, and of melodies, whereby man receiueith commodity and delight. And if there were but the sundry notes of Birds, what solace doth he receiue by it? But besides, how many instruments are there of most excellent and melodious Musicke, what voyces and pleasant songs, framed very cunningly, and with great grace and harmony by the art of Musicke? For wee see by experience, that this science is given of God to men, that it might be chiefly dedicated to their eares, to the end that by the sounds and songs which they heare, they might be stirred vp to praise God the giuer of them. Therefore Salomon not without good reason called them *the daughters of singing or of Musicke*, because of the delight which they take therein, and also because this whole art, and all songs and melody would be vaine and vnprofitable to the life of man without hearing. But aboue all, the chiefest profit that the eares bring to men, is by the meanes of speech, whereby they communicate one with another all their conceits, imaginations, thoughts and counsailes, so that without them the whole life of man would be not onely deafe, but dumbe also and very vnperfect, as if man had neither tongue, mouth nor speech.

And on the other side, seeing man hath alwaies neede of doctrine and instruction, albeit all the other bodily senses helpe him therein, neuerthelesse, none is so fit or more seruiceable to this purpose, next to the eyes, then the eares. Wherfore if Salomon for the cause aboue rehearsed, called them the daughters of singing, a man may also call them the daughters of discipline & of knowledge. For as man hath nothing more proper then speech, wherby he

Of the place
of hearing.Three small
bones in the
eares.Of two skinned
within the
eares.What profit
and pleasure
is receiued by
the eares.

Eccles. 12. 4.

How doctrine
is learned.

others know what hee hath in his minde and heart, so he hath nothing more fit then that, to teach all things by, whose doctrine is already begunne by meanes of the other senses, but principally of the eyes. For the other senses together with the sense of seeing, are as masons, that lay the first foundation of the frame of doctrine, and afterward speach buildeth vpon this ground-worke: which it cannot doe, if it be not holpen by the eares and by hearing, which agree with the voice pronounced by the eares, that it may be heard and vnderstood of them.

The benefit
of Lectures.

Pro. 1. 5. 6.

How hearing
is framed in
the eares.

Thus after the knowledge of things is found out, and artes begunne by meanes of the sight, after the same maner that was declared before by vs when we intreated of the eyes, then the sense of hearing teacheth a great deale more, both greater matters and sooner. For we receiue and vnderstand in a short space, that which our master who teacheth vs, hath obtained and prepared in a very long time. For how many things must we see, and what books must we reade before we shall attaine to the knowledge of that, which we may learne by hearing of one lecture, at which we shall be auditors onely one houre or lesse? Let vs consider then how conueniently and bountifully God dealeth with men in this behalfe, when that thing which is very profitable and most necessary is made so easie for them. For nothing is more profitable or more necessary then to learne much, nor any thing more easie then to heare much. Therefore *Salomon saith, That a wise man shall heare and increase in learning, and a man of vnderstanding shall attaine vnto wise Counsels, to vnderstand a parable and the interpretation, the words of the wise and their darke sayings.* This also is the meanes whereby God hath appointed, that men shall learne and vnderstand his will. And therefore, as we heard that eyes were giuen vnto vs, to this end specially, that they should contemplate the works of God, their & our Creator: so we ought to know that eares were giuen vs, that before all things we should heare & vnderstand his voyce & word, & consecrate them wholly to that purpose: to the end that after the eares of the body haue heard it, they should be the messengers to declare it to the eares of the soule and minde, to cause them also to heare and vnderstand the same. For this cause, as the aire that entreteth into the eares, and bringeth vnto them the sound made in it selfe, when it is stricken and moued, moueth the little hammer of the eares, and causeth it to strike vpon the anuile, and so maketh a sound by meanes of the little taber, through whose sound the spirits of hearing are awakened: so God by inspiration worketh in his Prophets and ministers, who receiue his voice after a diuine manner: and then are they as it were the hammers that strike vpon the anuiles of mens mindes and hearts, by which sound the spirits of the hearers are awakened and stirred vp. But my desire is, that we should thoroughly consider heere this great secret of God that lyeth hidde in nature, namely, the meanes whereby the hearing is made and framed. Neuerthelesse, God giueth vs great light thereunto by the matter and forme of the instruments, which he hath made for the hearing. Wherefore seeing the eares are framed so artificially as we haue heard, as appeareth to the eye by their Anatomie, we cannot doubt but that God would haue their vse and artificiall composition known to them that may behold with their eyes the instruments of hearing, when they are laide open vnto them, as they are to Anatomists, to the end that by the view and contemplation of them, they might iudge of that secret worke of nature which God hath wrought in hearing, which cannot be seene with eyes when it is in doing. For we know by experience whereto serueth a hammer, an anuile, and a taber, and what sound they make when the one striketh, and the other is stricken, and how that hollow things are more fit to receiue sounds, and to cause them to be heard better, then things that are solide and more thicke. So that when we see instruments like to these in the composition of the eares, we may easily iudge, that God hath not placed them there, but to doe that seruice which may be performed by such instruments, to the end we should know the great skill and wisdom of the Workmaster that made them. Now for the conclusion of our speech, let vs learne, that although our eares did vs no more seruice then the eares of brute beafts doe to them, and reached onely to the vse of this life, yet could we not sufficiently acknowledge that good, which God doth to vs by them. But we must make a greater account of this, that by the meanes of his word which he will haue declared to our eares, he causeth them to serue to his honour and glory, & to our owne saluation. Therefore let vs apply these so beautifull & artificiall members, with all the rest of our senses to their principal end, yea to the end of all nature, namely, to the glory of their Maker: & let them be deafe, & stopped vp against all dishonest things that might poison them, & so consequently our minds

minds by them. For that which Saint Paul saith, That *euill words corrupt good manners*, ought to be extended to euery vile, dishonest, and wicked thing which the eares may heare. Wherefore they that abuse them so vilely, deserue that God should pluckethem off, and stoppe them, and make them altogether deafe, not onely their bodily eares, but also those that are spirituall, as hee maketh them blind according to that threatning which hee giueth out by *Esay*. Now to follow our purpose touching corporal fences & their instruments, I thinke we ought to intreat of the tongue, because it serueth chiefly for speech, whereof we haue already made some mention, & for the sence of taste, in which we must be instructed. Therefore *ASER*, declare vnto vs the diuers vses of the tongue, and what instruments are necessary both for voice and speech.

Of the diuers vses of the tongue: of the instruments necessary both for voice & speech: how there is a double speech: of the forme thereof: how the spirit of man is represented thereby. Chap. 13.

ASER. If wee were onely of a spirituall nature as the Angels are, it is certaine we should by and by vnderstand one another, by that minde and vnderstanding, wherof we are partakers, as they vnderstand each other; neither should we neede speech, tongue, eares or eyes, to heare & see by, no more then those natures that consist only of spirit, hauing all those things spiritual wherby they communicate both with God & amongst themselves. But we can haue no such communication among our selues by the vnderstanding of the mind & spirit onely, because of that corporall nature which commeth betweene the soules and spirits one of another. Wherefore the help of speech, aswel as of the other externall senses, is very requisite for vs in euery part of life. Also because our soules, being kept vnder our flesh as vnder a veile, vseth cogitations & discourses, it standeth in need of speech, of words & of names, by means of which it may vtter and publish that, that lieth hid as it were in a deepe and darke place, where nothing is seene. Forasmuch therefore as the tongue is the principal instrument, wherby God giueth speech to men, and without which they would be dumbe, and seeing also it serueth the sence of taste as wel as the roose of the mouth, it shal not be without good consideration, if intreating now of this member and of the vse thereof, we place it in the order of our discourses, between the instruments of hearing wherof we spake before, & those of taste, of which we wil speake hereafter, for the agreement it hath with them both.

God hath giue the tongue to man not for one vse alone, but for many: & namely for 3. at the least, which are all necessary for the life of man. The first is to frame the speech: the second for the taste: the third, to help to prepare them meat that is chewed in the mouth for the nourishing of the body. And because the first is the noblest of al, & giuen to man onely, whereas the other twaine are common to him with beasts, I wil begin with that: whereunto this may be added, that because of the conueniencie it hath with the hearing and with the eares, these two matters will agree the better, being ioyned in order one after another. Next we wil handle the other vses that appertaine properly to the sence of taste and to the nourishing of man. Now wee haue first to note that God hath placed many instruments in the body, without which speech could not be wel pronounced & expressed. For first, speech could not be without voice, for the which God hath created many instrumētts that are al necessary for that purpose, as namely the wessell of the throat, the winde-pipe, the throate, the lungs, the breast, & certain back running sinews appointed therunto by reciprocal motiōs. All these parts helpe onely to make the voyce of man, without any framing of speech, except it bee the vessell of the throat, which is a little fleshy and spongie body, in figure like to a pine apple, hanging at the end of the palat, whose vse is manifold. For it serueth first to stay the aire frō rushing in ouer fast & violently into the lungs, & frō entring in too cold & ouer sodainly vnto the. The it serueth also to diuide & distribute the aire whē it ascendeth from the lungs, that it may be the better scattered & disperled into all parts of the mouth. And by this meanes this instrument fashioneth the voice, & causeth it to yeeld a sound, & so prepareth it for the tongue, that it may be articulated & framed into speech by the same. Therefore besides the wessell of the throat which serueth for these two vses, there are fīue other instruments which in regard of this present matter serue only to frame the voice into speech, that otherwise would be but a confused voice. The first is the tongue, which hath the chiefe place among the rest: then the palat, the teeth, the lips, & the nose. For although a man may speak whē he hath not all these

The Instru-
ments of the
voice.

The vse of
the wessell of
the throate.

Fīue instru-
ments requi-
site to frame
the voice into
speech.

Of the digni-
ty of speech.

Ecclef. 17. 5. 6

Basil, in sermo

Two sorts of
speech in mā.

The degrees
by which wee
come to
speech.

parts perfect, yet his speech will not be well framed if he want any one of them, as we see by experience in them that haue lost their teeth, or their lips, or the roofof the mouth, or that haue their nose cut, stuffed, or otherwise troubled. For this cause the Hebrewes name their letters, some guttural, because they are pronounced more in the throat: others, dental, because a man cannot well pronounce them without the teeth: and so they call others, labiall, that is, letters of the lips: and others, letters of the palat, because they cannot be well expressed without those parts of the mouth. The like is in all other languages, albeit they doe not distinguish their letters by such names. Now in such varietie of instruments made for the seruice and vse of one onely thing, we ought to acknowledge the great nobilitie and dignitie of speech, with which God hath indued and honored man aboue al other creatures. For he hath not given it to any of them, but to him only, & by that he hath put a difference betweene him and the beasts; as also by reason and vnderstanding, whereof he hath made him partaker, and in respect whereof he hath given him speech, which is as naturall vnto him as reason, which is the spring-head thereof, and from whence it proceedeth, as a riuer from his fountaine. For how could men make knowne their counsailes and thoughts without speech? And what good should they receiue by that fence and vnderstanding which God hath giuen them more then to beasts, if they had no more speech then they haue, wherby to make it known? And to what purpose would speech serue the, if they knew not what to say? And what should they haue to speak, if they had no more vnderstanding & reason then other living creatures haue? Were it not sufficient then to haue a confused voice onely as they haue? Therefore also we see how God hath ioyned these two things together, granting speech vnto man, because he hath created him partaker of reason and vnderstanding. And hauing deprived beasts of the one, he hath also deprived them of the other, so that they are partakers neither of reason nor speech. For this cause *Ecclesiasticks* hath ioyned these things together, saying, *That God hath giuen to men counsell, and tongue, & eyes, eares, & an heart to vnderstand, & sixtly, hee gaue them a spirit, and senenthy, he gaue them speech to declare his workes. He filled them with knowledge of vnderstanding, and shewed them good and euill.* Wherby he teacheth vs plainly, what is the right & true vse of speech, to what end it is giuen to man, & from whence it springeth. For he placeth counsell in the first place, and next the tongue. Againe, after the heart and spirit, he placeth speech, that we might know who is their messenger. Whereupon we may conclude, that the one is giuen for the other, and both to glorifie God, by shewing forth his workes and maruelous acts. To which effect *Basil* the great saith very well, that God hath created vs and graunted vs the vse of speech, to the end wee might haue ability and meanes to lay open one to another the counsaile and thoughts of our hearts, and to distribute amongst vs that which is in euery one, by reason of that communicable nature in which we are created. For the heart ought to be in man as a secret treasure, or as a larder or pantry in a house, out of which all things necessary for the vse thereof and for the maintenance of the whole family are dayly taken. The hart also is like to a celler or garner, wherein counsels & thoughts are locked and closed vp, and the tongue is like to the steward who draweth out and dispenseth whatsoeuer is to be distributed. For as wee said in the beginning of our speech, our soule vseth thoughts and discourses, which cannot be declared so long as it is inclosed in this tabernacle of flesh, without speech, words, and names, by meanes of which, she bringeth forth and publisheth that which was inclosed & hidden in the secreete closet of her vnderstanding. And so wee say, that there are two kindes of speech in man, one internal and of the minde, the other external, which is pronounced, and is the messenger of the internal, that speaketh in the heart. Therefore that which is framed in voyce, pronounced in speech, & brought into vse, is as a riuer sent from the thought with the voyce, as from his fountain. For before the thought can vtter any outward speech by meane of the voice, first the minde must receiue the images of things presented vnto it by the corporall senses. And then hauing receiued them by the imaginative vertue that is in it, reason must discourse to know & to consider of them well, & to separate or ioyne things according to that agreement or difference, that concord or discord, which they may haue amongst them. Next, it is necessary that iudgement should follow this discourse, to make choice of, & to follow that which it shal iudge to be meete & conuenient, & to reiect & shun the contrary. Lastly, all must bee vttered by significations apt and conuenient for euery thing: so that when the minde hath giuen ouer to the office of the vocall instruments, that which it hath comprised and resolved vpon in maner aforesaide, the same is manifestly declared outwardly by the aire framed into voice, I mean by the moouing of the articulate and distinct voice, whereas before it was hid & cowerd. Now when this voice and speech

Speech is propounded with the mouth, as it is inuisible to the eyes, so it hath no body whereby the hands may take holde of it, but is insensible to all the senses, except the hearing; which neuertheless cannot lay hold of it or keepe it fast, as it were with griping hands, but entring in of it selfe, it is so long detained there whilest the sound reboundeth in the eares, and then vanisheth away suddenly. But albeit the sound & the voice passeth so suddenly, as if presently it flew away, hauing respect to the outward speech, neuertheless the internal speech remaineth, not only in the spirit, hart, & thought that ingendred it, being not in any sort diuided, cut off, or separated, but also it filleth all the hearers, by reason of the agreement that is betweene the spirits & mindes of men, & the speech that is bred there, and because it differeth not much from the minde, & from the thought where it first began and was bred. And thus the thoughts and counsailes of the minde & spirit are discovered & manifested by speech. So that al voice is not speech. For the name of voice generally taken comprehendeth all sounds & things which bring any noyse to the eares. Neuertheless it is more properly and specially attributed to those sounds, which al sorts of liuing creatures are able to make with their throat to signifie any thing therby. But man only hath articulate & well distinguished soundes: vnto which, birdes of all other beastes approach neere, so that even many of them are taught in some sort to frame mans voyce: but it is without vnderstanding. And because that instruments of musick do after a sort imitate the distinct voice of men, wee attribute voice to them: although the sounds which they make be more without iudgement and vnderstanding then that of beastes. But in men, voices framed into wordes are signes and significations of the whole soule and minde, both generally and specially, namely of the fantasie and imagination of reason and iudgement, of vnderstanding & memory, of wil and affections. Wherefore it is an easie matter to iudge by his speech how all these parts are affected, namely, whether they be sound, or haue any defect in them. For if a man bee dull witted, or haue his fantasie and imagination troubled, and his memory slowe and heavy, he shall haue much adoe to speake that which he thinketh and conceineth in his minde, and haue as wee vse to say, but a bad vtterance. VVhich thing may also happen to good wits, either for want of exercise and vse, or through some defect that may be in the body, or in the instruments of the voice, or because the matter whereof they speake may be profound, obscure, and difficult, so that a man cannot easily finde words fitly to expresse the nature of it, as the worthinesse thereof requireth. Which reason oftentimes maketh wise and skilfull men slow to speake, because they know what a hard matter it is to vtter in good sort that which is to be spoken, in so much that they had rather keepe silence, then speake ill or vnproperly. But a light head and a cock-braine that is void of this consideration, will thinke he hath a more ready wit. For he will speake before he ponder or discourse in his minde. So that whosoever hath not a ripe and stayed reason, nor temperate & settled senses, he can not haue his wordes set in good order, nor his speeches well knit and agreeing one with another, as we haue example hereof in children and fooles. And if a man haue reason & iudgement ready at hand, but not stayed and pithy, hee may well prooue some great babbling pleader, but not eloquent. For he onely is to be accompted eloquent, who can conceiue well in his spirit and minde that which he ought to speake, and then is able to expresse it well, both by apt words and by sentences that are well tied and knit together. We see then how the voice and speech of man lay open his whole heart, minde, and spirite. But the voices of beastes haue no significations but onely affections, I meane such as are in men, and which the Grammarians call Interiections, because they are not framed into speech, nor well distinguished as others are. Now if we vnderstand all these things well, they may helpe very much to instruct and confirme vs in the doctrine of the Trinitie of persons, of the Vnity of the Godhead, and of the eternall generation of the Sonne of God, who is his diuine and euerlasting word. Likewise they will cause vs to receiue more easily, how this heavenly and eternal word, namely, Iesus Christ, is the Image and Character of God, the expresse and ingraued forme of his person, as it is in the Epist. to the *Heb.* & not in shadow or painting. For the glory, maiesty, and vertue of the Father is alwayes hid fro vs, but only so far forth as it sheweth it selfe ingraued in his son & in his word, as the image of the minde appeareth imprinted & ingrauen in the speech that is vttered. And as the internal word bred in the minde departeth not from it neither is separated, & yet it imprinteth an image thereof in the mindes of the hearers, to who it is declared: so the diuine & eternal word begotten of the Father, is alwaies residēt in God, & yet imprinteth his image in the harts & mindes of men, to whom it is manifested by those meanes which hee hath appointed for that purpose. Thus you see a gappe laide open into these

What voice is

Speech representeth all the parts of the soule.

Who is to be accompted eloquent.

Heb. i. 3.

Of the image of the heavenly word in the speech of man

high and great secrets of God, which wee ought to marke well, following such phrases of speech as are taken from humane things, & vsed by the spirit of God in the holy scriptures, to the end wee might more easily vnderstand them. Wherefore if there were no other reason, this were sufficient to induce vs to consider more diligently the excellent worke, and great prouidence of God, which appeareth in the framing of the voyce and speech of man, and in the nature and vse thereof, and in those members & instruments of the bodie, which serue to that purpose. Therefore *AMANA*, let this matter bee the subiect of thy discourse.

Of the agreement which the instruments of the voyce and speech haue with a paire of Organs: what things are to be considered in the placing of the lungs next the heart: of the pipes and instruments of the voyce. Chap. 14

A*MANA*. When we consider diligently all the instruments created by God in the body, as well for the ministry of the voyce as of speech, we shall finde amongst them all things requisite in the best and most perfect instrument of musicke that can bee, to make a good harmony: and we shall know, that no Organs are so well made, or disposed in such good order for the compassing of their sound and melody, as the instruments of the voyce and speech of man are. And by the consideration of this concordance, we are admonished alwayes to haue the same thing in the mouth which we haue in the thought, to the end that from such an agreement, as it were in euery part of an Organ and of an instrument of musicke, there should proceede a good harmony and pleasant melody. For if there should be discord betweene the heart, the tongue, and the speech, the harmony could not be good, especially before God the Iudge of most secret thoughts, no more then the harmonie of a muscicall instrument quite out of tune would be pleasant in the eares of men, and namely of good Musicians, who can iudge best of concords and discords.

First then we must note, that the breast, necke, and head, are as it were the instrument and the body of the Organs, within which they are put and inclosed, & by which they are sustained: next, that the lungs are as it were their bellows to blow them. Therefore it is made of two pieces ioyned together, like to a paire of bellows, to draw in & to thrust forth the aire, and to helpe each other in respiration and breathing. Wherein wee must call to minde how needefull it was, that the backebone and breast, and the building of the ribbes should bee framed in that sort that wee heard before, that they might serue to this vse, and make room for these bellows to enlarge themselves, and to do their duty. Wee see also what their nature is, what motion they haue, and from whence they receiue it. For God hath created them of that nature, that they moue and remoue of themselves, by the vertue of the soule and life in the body, without which they would be voyde of motion, and could not doe their office as we see in dead bodies. And because the lungs are the bellows that blowe winde into the instruments of the voyce, without which it could not bee made, therefore they are lodged next to the heart, so that they cover it, to this end that men should be admonished, that their voyce and their speech is the messenger of their heart: and that for this cause the heart and the mouth, and the voyce and speech which proceede from them, alwayes ought to consent and agree together. For it would be great dissolutenesse, if the heart, which ought to bee the originall and fountaine of the speech, should thinke one thing, and the speech, which is the messenger of the heart, should vtter and declare another. For before the tongue and mouth speake, or speech bee framed in them, it must first bee conceived and bred in the heart and minde, and then brought forth and pronounced by the tongue and mouth. Therefore *Elihu* saith to *Iob*, I pray thee heare my talke, and hearken vnto all my words, Behold now, I haue opened my mouth, my tongue hath spoken in my mouth: My words are in the vprightnesse of my heart, and my lips shall speake pure knowledge. We see here, how *Elihu* ioyneth the heart with the mouth, the tongue, the palat and the lips, all which are instruments of the speech, as wee heard before. Therefore there must alwayes be a good and generall agreement betweene all these things. This good concord beginning in our selues, according to euery mans particular place ought to stretch it selfe generally to all, that we may all agree together, as the spirit of God so often exhorteth vs thereunto in his holy word. And therefore it calleth them, men of double hearts and double tongues, that are not vpright in heart, nor true and certaine in word. Our Lord saietb;

There must be an harmony betwixt the heart and the tongue.

Of the nature of the lungs

Why the hart & speech must agree together.

Iob. 33. 11. 2. 3

Iam. 4. 11. Psal. 12. 2.

out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, and that a good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth good things, and an evil man out of an evil treasure bringeth forth evil things. For as the tree is knowne by his fruite, so speech maketh manifest both the heart and mind of a man. Therefore he shall be a great deale better knowne by his speech, then by the sight of his face. For his face doth not so well lay open to the eyes his heart, minde, and manners, as his speech discloseth them to the eares: as we may iudge by that which we learned to this effect in the former discourse. Therefore before the bellows of the lungs blow to frame afterward voice and speech in the tongue and mouth, the draught must bee first drawne and framed in the heart, that the tongue and mouth may represent and expresse it afterward: otherwise they will speake to no purpose, but onely giue testimony, that there is little wisdom and vpright affection in the heart. Herofit is, that Salomon sheweth oftentimes, that a wise mans tongue is not lightly set on worke without the direction & counsaile of the hart and minde, whose seruant and messenger it ought to bee: but a foole powreth forth all his minde at once. For he vttereth al that commeth in his mouth, and speaketh before he hath considered what he ought to say, so that his words are sooner spoken then thought vpon. The heart of the wise guideth his mouth wisely, and addeth doctrine to his lippes. Faire words are as an hony combe, sweetnesse to the soule and health to the bones. The wise in heart shall be called prudent: and the sweetnesse of the lippes shall increase doctrine. A wise man concealeth knowledge: but the heart of a foole publisheth foolishnesse. A foole powreth out all his minde: but a wise man keepeth it in till after. There are many such like places in the Prouerbe, which I could alledge to this purpose. And we know what is commonly spoken when a man speaketh of a good affection and in truth that he speaketh from his heart: but if hee bee knowne to be a lyar, crafty, and deceitfull, we say that he speaketh not from his heart. Which is as much as if one should say, that the same thing is not in his heart, which he hath in his mouth. Although in truth when those speeches are thought vpon before, such contrarieties are found as well in the heart as in the tongue and mouth. For if they were not first in that, they would not be in the tongue which is the messenger of the heart. This is the cause of that double heart which wee said was in wicked, close, and disguised persons. You see then what we haue to note, both in regard of the bellows that blow the Organs of mans body, and also of the player that ought to blow and direct them. Now let vs speake of the instruments and pipes into which the waide and breath of these bellows doth enter, and giueth motion and conuenient sound to every one of them. They haue ben named all vnto vs before. Wherefore we haue to consider of that pipe which is called the rough Artery or wind-pipe, which is made like to a flue, and in regard of the matter, is of the nature of a gristle and of skin. It was necessarie that it should be of such matter, because it is to moue when it receiue in, or giueth out the aire, and to be enlarged or restrained as neede requireth. Needfull therefore it was that it should bee compounded of such skins as are easie to moue, and to open, and shut, and which might serue for soft and tender ligaments. And because the voyce cannot be framed, if the aire whereof it is made, be not beaten backe with some thing, it was in like maner requisite, that some gristles should be mingled therewith, and linked together: as it was needfull for the eares to be made winding in that the aire might rebound the better, and receiue the sounds, as we heard before. For this cause it is called a rough artery, as well in respect of the matter whereof it is compounded, as of the figure. For it is made after the maner of small circles and rings, placed in a ranke one by another throughout the whole length thereof, like to the taile of a Crevis: and that with such moderation, that it is thicke, slender and drie, according as neede requireth to make the voyce of a reasonable bignesse. If it bee to drie, it maketh the voyce shrill and hard to bee pronounced: as experience sheweth in hring feauers, and in great droughts. Again the pipe therof is larger beneath then aboue, and so lesseneth vpward where neede is, like to the pipe of a Bag pipe, to the end that the last should neither be too slow and weake in ascending, nor yet ouer hastie and sodaine. If it be slow and languishing, it will turne to winde without any noyse and sound: and if bee hastie and sodaine, it will breede sighes in stead of voyce: as it falleth out to them that are diseased and weake whose breath is short, and to olde men, who haue small vertue of respiration, and much lesse of singing. Therefore some expound that place of Ecclesiastes where it is said, that all the daughters of singing shall be abased, of the voyce of olde men, and of the instruments which breed and pronounce it, and of their vertue and strength: although others will haue it to be vnderstood of the eares. But it may be referred to them both. Now the principall instrument of the voyce is in the head of the rough artery, namely in that place

Matt. 12. 34.
35. Luk. 6. 45

Pro. 16. 21.
23. 24.

Pro. 12. 23.

Pro. 29. 11.

Of the pipes
and instru-
ments of the
voyce.

Of the winde
pipe.

From whence
proceedeth
the change of
voyce in sick-
nes.

Ecclesi. 12. 4.

The Anatomists call it
Latinx.

which is commonly called the knot or ioynt of the necke, or *Adams morsell*, being fashioned like to an *Almaine flute*. I abstaine from speaking more specially of the rest of these pipes and instruments, which are onely quils to receiue the blowing of the lungs, as also of the three gristles, which make the distinction of the voyce, and namely that in the midst, which in forme is like to that end of the bag-pipe that is put into the mouth, or like to the lips of certaine pots made to powre out wine, or of oyle pots and such like things, as we may see in Apothecaries earthen pots.

How the
voice is made
great or smal.

A testimony
of the prou-
idence of God

Faire Organs
within euery
man.

Besides, in the midst of that gristle, there is a deepe slit or cleft called *glottis*, that is, a little tongue, because it is the proper instrument of the voyce, and hath both the sides enlarged or closed vp by muscles proper to that vse & purpose. As touching the gristle before, it is fashioned like to a little shield, so that a man may both see and touch it in the necke. That which is behinde, is of the fashion of a ring which is put vpon the thumb. And as these gristles are dilated and opened, or pressed and shut by their muscles, especially both the sides of that cleft whereof I spake even now, so do they make the diuersities of voices. For as when they are opened, they make the voice big and obscure, as it were the base in singing: so contrariwise when they are pressed, they make it small, cleere, and shrill, like to the countertenor: and as they are more or lesse restrained or opened, so they make diuers notes of the voice, as the tenor, the meane, and such like. And because the pipes cannot make this variety of voyces in this cleft, therefore there are chinkes which serue for the same purpose. In this sort then, this instrument of the voyce, which is placed in the top of the artery and called *Larinx* by the Physicians, being aided by gristles and their muscles, and by that little tongue whereof I spake not long before, together with these chinkes, frameth of it selfe as many sundry voices and notes as all the pipes and flutes of a paire of Organs being set together, and furnished with all sorts of pipes, both great, small, and meane. Wherein wee see a wondrous full prouidence of God, whether wee consider the instruments named by vs, or the place that containeth them. For the arterie, which commeth vp from the lights to the throat, occupieth but one part of the necke: and yet it doth as much alone, taking it whole with the other instruments of which I haue spoken, as a whole paire of Organs. For in a paire of Organs there must be many pipes, some great, some small, and others of a middle sort that are greater or lesser as it falleth out, according to the diuersity of notes for which they are made because they cannot be either enlarged or restrained, open or shut, but as they are first framed. Therefore there needeth as many of each sort as the parts of Musicke are diuers, and as there wanteth variety of notes to fill euery place, and to furnish both the base and the meane, the tenor and the countertenour. But, as might be gathered by our speech, the pipe and instrument of the voyce is made of such a fashion, that when a man is disposed, he may enlarge it for the base, and then restrain it for a countertenor, or else open and shut it in middle sort either more or lesse to make the tenor or the meane, and to cause the voice to ascend and descend according to those notes and tunes which hee would haue it make, and that by the meanes before touched. The like may be done in speech. For as euery one is disposed to lift vp or to depresse his voice, to enlarge or restrain the pipes & instruments thereof, hee may speake either higher or lower, bigger or smaller, or clearer, and set what sound, tune, and accent he please vpon the speech, which hee will pronounce. Wherefore we may very well say, that euery one carrieth about with him and within himselfe very faire and strange Organes, vpon which he may play at all houres at his pleasure, either in singing or speaking: yea they are so whole and perfect, that they want neither the bellows, nor the cros beame, nor the cords, nor the hollownes for sound, nor the seate, nor the pots, nor the porters, nor the bearer of the keyes, nor the table wheron they are set, nor the Organ pipes. For all this is in a few small instrumētts which discharge their duties, yea they are more perfect in man then in any artificiall Organs. And if any organ-maker could, I will not ly make such, but only counterfeite them, and make as many sundry sounds and tunes with one pipe, as others do with many, all men would greatly admire such a workeman & his worke, especially Organists & Musicians that vnderstood the art of musick. How much more tō ought we to admire that great and diuine Organist, that hath made those goodly Organes of mans body, & given them such a good sound? And how greatly ought we to desire, that they may be the true temples of God, & good Organ-players therein, to cause these faire Organs to sound againe, and to sing and preach his prayes by them? For I doubt not but that these are the true Organs, whereby he will be praised and glorified by vs. But there is yet a great deale more to be considered of this matter, of which both this and the former discourse

hat

hath bin made. For these Organs being prepared as I haue set them in sight, haue nothing more then the sound of the voice, as it were an instrument, without speech. Wherefore we must now make a speaking instrument, which hath not his like neither in all the workes of nature, neither in all humane and artificiall workes. This Art and office belongeth properly to the tongue, of whose nature and vse, and of the excellencie and vtility of the Art it hath, which is the speech, thou ARAM shalt giue vs some profitable instruction.

Of the tongue, and of the nature and office thereof: of the excellencie, and profite of speech which is the Art of the tongue; what is to be considered touching the situation therof in the head, and neere the braine. Chap. 15.

ARAM. The Ancients being desirous to extol eloquence, very much propounded the image of an Orator, as it were of one that spake of gold, who in speaking drew out a golden chaine, which comming from his tongue was fastened to the eares of a great many men that heard him, whereby hee drew and led them after him whither he would. Thus they compared the speech and eloquence of an Orator to a chaine of golde, because of the vertue and power which it hath with men, being able to keepe and stay them, to moderate their affections, and to guide and gouernethem easily without force and violence, as if one should leade them tyed with a chaine, whom they would voluntarily follow not being constrained, but onely of their owne good will, which neuertheles should be so drawn that it could not resist. As indeed that perswasion which proceedeth from speech draweth the wills and affections of men, with a sweete and pleasant kinde of violence, which they follow with great desire, and cannot gainsay it. Now this art and office belongeth properly to the tongue, of which we are now to speake.

The praise of eloquence.

The tongue then is a fleshy and muscly member, but soft and like to the substance of a toad-stoole, being full of sinewes, arteries, and veines. For it had neede haue good store of sinewes, both because of those sundry motions which it hath necessarily, as also for the sense of tast and of touching, which agree to the nature thereof. Likewise it had neede of many arteries, that so it might haue great abundance of spirite and heate, by reason of the diuersitie of motions which it hath. And to the end it should not want nourishment, it hath in like manner great plenty of veines: and that it should not dry vp through continuall moouing, it hath humidity to wet and moisten it. Wherupon we ought to note wel the providence of God in this, that although spittle be but an excrement & superfluity, which partly distilleth from the braine into the throate, & partly is sent vp thither fro the boiling stomake, yet it is not vnprofitable, because it wetteth & moisteneth the tongue. For being very dry it is more slow in moouing, as we see by experience in them that are subiect to great drought. Therefore God hath provided a remedie for that inconuenience, by meanes of two fleshy kernels like to sponges, on each side one at the roote of the tongue, which are commonly called *Almonds* because they are fashioned like vnto them: these through passages ordayned for that purpose moysten all parts of the mouth. Moreover, the tongue is tyed to a forked bone with many muscles by two branches, which hold it vp as it were two neere pillars, and that with such a counterpoysse, that it can mooue and remoue it selfe equally on each side. For if it were tyed by one branch onely, it could not keepe it selfe vpright, but should go crossewise only from one side. But God hath provided very well for that: and if we did know and consider it wel, we are admonished thereby, that speech pronounced by our tongue ought first to bee well weighed as it were in a ballance, to the end it decline not, or turne on any side more then it ought, but holde it selfe vpright, and directly follow reason. Moreover, it cannot easily be declared, by what Art the tongue stretcheth forth it selfe so diuersly by the meanes of muscles, and how it hath so many sortes of motions from all sides, so ready, and so sodaine, and for so many things as it hath both to speake and to doe. But it is farre more difficult, yea impossible to tell the causes, how a man can by the tongue frame so many sortes of words and so diuers, which are as it were the markes and paintings, not onely of all visible things, but also of all things inuisible, & of al the thoughts of mā. For if we would intreate of any matter one with another, we know already by that which hath bin spokē, how it can hardly be done without speech, as also that we cannot speake without certain words & names

The description of the tongue.

Of spittle and the profite thereof.

Our speech ought to be vpright.

The profite of speech.

Gen. 11. 7.

Acts. 2. 3. 4.
A miracle of
letters.The benefite
of letters.The difference
betweene
voice and
speech.The vse of
grammer, Lo-
gicke and
Rhetoricke.

to name and signifie those things by, whereof we minde to speake. For if we have no wordes and names to make them knowne by, we must alwaies haue the things themselues present, that we may point at them with the finger, which is impossible. And although it were so that we had them alwaies before our eies, yet that were not sufficient. For we should be forced to speake to the eyes by signes, & yet we could neuer without comparifon inuent so many signes, nor counterfait and imagine so many things with all the sences and members of our body, as the tongue alone would affoorde vs by meanes of speech. For it giueth a name to euery thing. Therefore it is able to make the natures of things knowne, and to set before vs as well things absent as present, inuisible as visible, spirituall as corporall. In a worde, God hath giuen this benefite to man, by meanes of the tongue and the eares, that they can represent one to another, and cause each other to know and vnderstand as well diuine thinges as humane. And although God made this diuersity and confusion of languages amongst men, to punish them for their arrogancy and ingratitude, neuerthelesse hee hath so provided for this euill, that he hath manifested the more his great goodnesse towards them, and the riches of his eternall prouidence, by that knowledge of so many sundry tongues which he hath giuen them, and chiefly that by them his Gospell might be published. And if this benefite of God be worthy of great admiration, ought we not also to maruaile much at this, that such a varietie of sounds proceeding out of the mouth of man, can be comprehended in so small a number of letters, whereby so many sorts of words, and such diuers languages are expressed? By this meanes also, we see that speech, which cannot bee perceived by any of the sences but by the eares, is made as it were visible, so that by the helpe of letters a man may speake to the eies, and not see them, as hee may also to the eares by meanes of the voice. And although voice and speech flie into the aire as if they had wings, inso much that a man can neither behold them with his eies, nor smell them with his nose, nor holde them with his hands; neuerthelesse speech is kept still before the eyes, and may be called backe when a man will by meanes of writing, and by the benefite of letters. Yea, it may be sent to them that are absent, and as far as one will, that they may vnderstand it, euen to them also that are not yet borne. For wee see how our predecesours teach vs after their death by their bookes and writings, and how by this meanes their words are not onely visible vnto vs, but also as it were immortal. Wherefore the lesse wee can conceine how this may be done by the tongue and by letters, the more ought we to wonder at this great worke of God in man, praise him for it, and giue him thanks. Now albeit the eye of our vnderstanding dazell, and cannot wholly comprehend this worke of God, neuerthelesse we see this well enough, that the tongue doth so helpe to frame the voice into speech, and to make the diuersitie of wordes whereof speech is compounded, as the hands and fingers of the Organ-player who toucheth the Organs, and of the Musicion that playeth vpon an instrument of Musicke whatsoever it bee, serueth to cause the sound thereof to be heard. For although, when one bloweth the Organs, the pipes thereof will yeelde diuers soundes and tunes, if they bee open, according as they are either great or small, long or short, wide or narrow, as wee haue saide: yet these sounds will bee but confused, without harmony and melody, if the Organist doth not play with his hands, thereby to dispenche as neede requireth that winde and breath which is to bee distributed into the pipes, and if he touch not the keyes of the Organs according to those tunes & notes, which he would haue the pipes to make, following the Arte of Musicke. And this wee may see yet more plainly in a bagpipe. For although it soundeth by reason of the winde, within the leather bag, which receiueth and keepeth it as it were a little sacke, yet it alwaies yeeldeth forth but one sound, without distinction and harmonie, vntill the Minstrell play with his fingers vpon the holes of the pipe that belongeth vnto it. Therefore as there is great difference betweene a simple confused voice, and that which is distinct and artificiall, so is there betweene voice and speech. So that when the tongue hath receiued the wind & breath, which ascendeth vp from the lunges by the rough Artery, and is fashioned into voice by the means afore mentioned: then it formeth the same afterward into distinct speech by such an Art and Science, as none can vnderstand, much lesse expresse it, but GOD onely, who hath giuen, it to the tongue, in which consisteth the chiefe dignitie thereof. For it is that science, which is the mother of Eloquence, which men haue in such great admiration: and because of this, the Artes of Grammer, Logicke, and Rhetoricke haue beene published by the best learned men. For all these three Artes are specially appointed for speech: the one to make it proper pure, and neate, namely Grammer, the other, namely Logicke, to knitte wel together all discourses made by speech, and all sentences in them, according as they agree among themselves

selves, depend and follow one another, and are grounded vpon good reason: Thirdly, Rhetoricke is ioyned vnto them, to adorne and polish speech, to make it more significant and very eloquent: so that whereas Logicke maketh speech as it were a simple picture, that hath nothing but bare draughts, which serue to make it whole, and furnished in regard of euery part and lineament thereof, Rhetoricke maketh it not onely as it were a picture wel set forth with faire and liuely colours of all sortes, but also adorned and enriched with goodly hills and dales and such like paintings, that it may shewe the better, and bee made fairer and pleasanter, to beholde. Wherefore as there is great difference to looke vpon betweene these two pictures, so is there of speech in respectes of the eares, as it is propounded either more plainely and simply, or more decked and garnished. For this cause seeing God hath vouchsafed vs so much honour as to giue vs speech, especially to praise and glorifie him with our tongue, and for to benefit the common society of men, wee must not bee content onely to speake, but wee must study to speake well, in fit tearmes, and wisely, to the glory of God, and to the good and profit as well of our selues as of them that heare vs. This cannot be done but by the knowledge of God & of his word, without which all the Logicke and Rhetoricke of men is but vaine babbling. But when the one is ioyned with the other, and the artes that teach men to speake elegantly are applyed to this purpose, then is the vse thereof very good, and woorthy of great commendation. Therefore we must acknowledge our selues to bee as it were Organ-pipes, hauing of our selues neither sound, nor voyce, nor tongue, nor mouth to speake of God, and of his workes as we ought, and to praise and glorifie him, but onely so farre forth as hee beeing the Organ-player bloweth within, and inspireth vs by his holy Spirit, giuing vnto vs wisdom and tongue and mouth, and vertue in speaking. Nowe heere wee must not onely call to mind what wee haue already spoken of the causes, why the lungs, which is one chiefe instrument of the voice, & without which it cannot be made, is placed so neere the heart, but also we must consider how neere the tongue & the instruments of voice and speech next vnto it, are vnto the braine, wherein is the principall seate of the spirit, and which is chiefly assigned to the mind of man, & to that part of his soule that is most diuine. For seeing God would haue the tongue to be the messenger, & as it were the interpreter of the spirit & minde, and of all the thoughts thereof, that men might teach one another both the knowledge of God his worship, and of all other good things, and seeing he would haue speech to bee the bond of humane societie and of that communication, which men ought to haue one with another, therefore it was very requisite, that being the instrument of speaking it should be neere the braine, which is the lodging of all the internal sences, of which, if God wil, we will intreate hereafter in their place. For as all the external sences doe carrie to the internal, and the bodily to the spiritual, whatsoeuer they perceiue by sence according to their nature and office, thereby to admonish and instruct them, that they may thinke and iudge thereof and lay it vp in memory: so the internal and spirituall sences carry the same things afterward to the tongue, that it might declare and make them known to those, vnto whom they would communicate their minde and cogitation. Hereof it is, that the tongue is oftentimes taken for doctrine, and for all speech both good and euill: in which sence Salomon taketh it when he saith, *The tongue of the wicked shall perish.* And S. Paul calleth *speaking with the spirit and with vnderstanding also*, when such a language is vsed as is vnderstoode of euery one, and which serueth to the edification of them that heare it. Therefore the tongue must not stirre, nor the mouth open it selfe to speake, before it haue received a commandement and charge from reason, which is the Lady and mistresse thereof, to guide and gouerne it, whose messenger and seruant it is to giue notice of that which the reason and minde would haue knownen. Wherefore it is very conuenient that the lady and mistresse of the tongue should haue her lodging ouer and neere about her, and not to be farre from her, to the end she forget not herselfe, nor attempt any thing without a commandement from reason. So that as before we gaue the heart to be the gouernour, guide, and counsaillour of the tongue: so now we appoint the braine as lord and master thereof, to the end it should haue a good guide both aboue and beneath it. For no member in all the body hath greater neede. Therefore S. James calleth the tongue a fire, yea a world of iniquitie, which defileth the whole body, and setteth on fire the course of nature, and is set on fire of hell. Such are the fruits of an vnbridled tongue that is misled & ill gouerned: as contrariwise it is an excellent treasure in man, when it is moderated and vsed wisely and soberly, and in time and place conuenient as neede requireth. For all these

We cannot
speake wisely
without the
knowledge of
God and his
word.

Why the
tongue is pla-
ced neere the
braine.

1. Cor. 14. 1.
14. 15.

The Mistresse
of the tongue

James 3. 6.

Why the tong
is so fashion-
ed & fenced
on euery side

these things God giueth vs good instructions in the matter and composition of this member. For first, hee doth not content himselfe in giuing to man but one onely tongue for so many offices as are assigned vnto it, whereas many other members are double, and yet serue chiefly but for one thing: but also hath made it tender, soft and pleasant, and tied it fast with many bands, as it were so many small cords and threeds, to restraine and bridle it, to the end it should not runne ouer or be too forward, and that it should not bring forth bitternes in steade of sweetnes, nor pricke and hurt any body. Therefore it is made blunt on euery side, not sharpe or forked, like to the stings of Scorpions and other venomous beasts. Moreouer it hath the gums and teeth, with which it is inuironed & closed in on euery side as it were with a quick-set, and with a strong rampire to keep it fast shut within the bounds and limits thereof, as it were within a caue. Besides it hath lips as it were gates to open vnto it, or to shut it vp and muzzle it, least it should take too much licence. Therefore seeing God doth garde the tong so on euery side, he giueth men to vnderstand that they ought not to abuse it, and teacheth them what care they ought to haue of this little member, seeing that of al the outward members, none is so hid, couered, compassed about, & locked vp with such a naturall covering and inclosure, as that is. And to end our speech, we know that when the hart & minde, which ought to be the guides & gouernors of the tong, shall be reformed in purity and true knowledge of God by his grace, there wil be nothing but good spech & al truth in the tong, to the setting forth of the glory of his diuine Maiesly, and to the profit of euery one according to the duty of true charity. But if the mind and heart be euil, and blinded with error and ignorance, they wil bring forth like fruites and speeches. Now hauing discoursed at large of the first office of the tongue, which consisteth in framing of the speech, we must consider of the other two vses thereof, which are in tasting, & in preparing meat that is chewed in the mouth for the nourishment of the body. Therefore, thou shalt begin, *ACHITO B*, to discourse of these two offices, & of those instruments, which serue the tongue to this purpose.

*Of the office of the tongue in tasting, and in preparing meate for the
nourishment of the body: of the teeth, and of their nature
and office: of the conduite or pipe that recei-
ueth & swalloweth downe meate. Chap. 16.*

One member
may serue for
many offices.

ACHITO B. The more we consider the worke and providence of God in the composition of mans body, the more we shall maruaile at it, and daily finde therein new matter and occasion to glorifie his name. Before we considered thereof, as of the frame of an house: now we shall see it as it were a towne or city that hath Milles and Ouens, and Artificers of all arts and occupations. And, which is more wonderfull, we shall perceiue such industry in many of the members, that oftentimes one alone will serue for many offices, for the due performance whereof mans reason would require many members: and yet God hath so well provided therefore, that one alone doth better discharge them, and with lesse trouble then many together could doe. Which may euidently be knowne by those vses and offices of the tongue, whereof we are yet to intreate.

Why the
mouth is the
fittest place
for the tong.

The office of
the tongue.

One, and that the chiefest reason why the tongue is fitly placed in the head neere the braine, was declared vnto vs in the former speech: now we must note others, especially why it is necessary that it should be in the mouth, as likewise in the head. For the tongue could not haue satisfied any one office committed vnto it, if it had bene placed barely and openly in the face, as the eyes, nose, or eares are. And seeing it was requisite to haue it couered, it could haue no better couering then the mouth, as may be proued by many reasons. The first is, that seeing it is the instrument of speech, which must be holpen by many other parts to haue it well framed, as we heard before, it was to be lodged in a place where it might haue neare at hand all instruments needefull for that seruice. Now this vse of speech is proper to the tongue of man onely, and not to that of brute beasts: but to the other twaine following, are common to man with beasts; namely the sense of taste, for which God hath appointed both that and the pallat: to which cause it was requisit also that it should be neare the brain and in the head, as the other instruments and members of the senses are, as also in the place appointed for the preparation of bodily food. For it must first iudge of tastes and discern betweene good and bad meate, and betweene good and bad drinckes, to the end, that what-

locuet

whatsoever is good for the nourishment of the body, may be kept, and that which is bad, rejected: and that afterward, which is the last office, it may helpe the teeth and mouth to chew the meate, and so to swallow it down. For the iawes and teeth are as it were the stones of the mill, which serue to prepare the meate for all the body. Wherefore as there are two stones in every mill, namely, one beneath, which abideth alwaies stedfast, & turneth no way, and another above, which alwaies turneth about to bruze & grind the graines of wheat that are betwene them: so in the mil of mans body there are two iawes like to two millstones, of which the one is alwaies firme, & the other mooueth. But there is this difference betwene these & millstones, that the neather iaw onely mooueth, which is true, not only in man, but also in all other living creatures, except in the Crocodile, who in this point quite differeth frō all other living creatures that haue iawes & teeth. Now God hath so appointed this motion of the mill stones of mans body not without good reason. For seeing the braine is so neere, & that there are so many goodly members in the head about the vppermost iawe bone, it were to be feared, that the continuall and great moouing thereof would shake them, and bring them into some inconuenience. And that the iawes might bruze & breake whatsoever is put betwene them, as the stones of the mill grinde the graines of corne, the teeth are planted in them to serue them in this worke.

Of the mil of mans body.

And in steade of winde or water, which driue artificiall mills about, this natural mill of which we speake, hath his muscles and sinewes to mooue it, and to set it a working when neede requireth. For this cause *Salomon*, meaning to shew the defect of teeth in olde age, & what small strength old men haue to chew their meate, saith, *that the grinders shall cease because they are few, and the doores shall be shut without by the base sound of the grinding.* These doores are the lips, because they serue the mouth, and the mill which is within them. For wee vnderstand by the mouth, all that is from the lips vnto the throat & winde pipe; whereid not onely the mil of mans body is contained, but also as it were a part of the bake-house, in which the meat that is grinded is to be kneaded, & so made ready for the ouen, that afterward it may be baked in the stomake, which is as it were the ouen and kitchen of the whole body to dresse meate for it, wherewith all the members thereof are to be fed & nourished. For foode cannot nourish the body if it still continue such as it is put into the mouth, vnles it be better prepared & dressed in such sort, that it may easily be turned into the substance of the body that receiue it. As then the iawes & teeth are the mill & millstones, which bruze & turne to meale the wheate that is put betwene them, that is to say, all kinde of meates, both hard and tender, for the nourishing of the body: so we may say, that the tongue in this respect playeth the miller, and serueth in stead of a hopper, into which those graines that otherwise would skatter from betwene the millstones are put that they may be ground. For when the meate falleth on any side frō betwene the teeth, the tongue serueth to send it backe againe, that it may be well chewed, & not auoid the grinding of the iawes & teeth. Thus we daily come to greater knowledge of strange instruments in the body of man. For we heard before what Organs & what kind of muscicall instrument God hath made in him for the voice & for speech: now we may see how there are within him, a mill and a miller, a bakehouse and a kitchen. Hereupon we ought to thinke, that the Master & maker of these, hath not created the that they should be idle, as though he had giuen them nothing to grinde, or to bake. For he is no such workmaster as to make any worke, & not to set it a working, or to leaue it vnfurnished of things necessary: neither any such master or Lord, but that he can easily doe it. Wherefore although there are as many of these milles and ouens, as there are not only reasonable creatures but also beastes, and although he hath vndertaken to maintaine them alwaies, euen from the creation of the world vntil the consummation thereof, yet he neuer wanted matter to set them on worke when it pleased him. Hereby wee may know whether wee haue a rich Father or no, and what cause we haue to feare that he will leaue our milles and ouens emptie, although we had many houses full of them, as indeed we haue in our selues, our wiues & children, so long as we acknowledge him to be such a one, and that we yeeld obedience vnto him, as becometh his children. But wee haue further to note, that as our mill is not without a Miller, & such tooles as are necessary for him, so the Ouen & Kitchen haue their Baker & cooks. For first, the teeth do not only serue for a mill, but they discharge some part of a cooks office, because the more they chop the meat, & chew it wel, it is the better prepared for the stomack to bake it so much the sooner. Therefore we say commonly, that the first preparation & digestion of meat is made in the teeth. For this cause God hath giuen a great number of them to man, & hath made them of bone, & distinguished them into sundry sorts, according to that office

Of the kitchen of the body

God ministereth food to all creatures:

Of teeth & of
their diuers
kinds.

The tongue
like to a ba-
ker.

Of the Gullet
or Wezand.

Of the Epi-
glot or little
tongue.

Good lessons
for every one.

whereunto he hath assigned euery one of them. For right afore there are foure aboue, and as many beneath, that are broad, sharpe & cutting, which are called *Incisorie teeth*, because they are apt to diuide and to cut the meate as a knife doth: and these haue but one roote. Then there are other twaine on each side commonly called *Dogg-teeth*, because they resemble teeth of dogges, which are broad towards their roote, but sharpe and pointed aboue: and these also haue but one roote of a reasonable length. Their office is to breake the meates and other things, which by reason of their ouer great hardnesse could not be cut by the first. Next, the other teeth are appointed to bruze very small those meates, which haue already passed through the former, euen as millstones bruze wheate. Therefore they are sharpe, broad, hard, and great, and haue more rootes then the other. And because of the similitude which they haue with millstones, they are called by the same name both of the Grecians and Latines, as also *Lawe-teeth* and *grinders*. All teeth are planted in the Lawe-bones by meanes of the Gummies, being fastened within them, as it were nailes, so that they cannot easily be moued, shaken, or plucked out. And although bones naturally haue no feeling, yet teeth are very sensible, by reason of certaine branches or small soft sinewes which enter into their substance. For this feeling is necessarie for them, both because they are bare and couered with flesh, as other bones are as also for the meates sake & for taste: as they that in some sort are seruiceable to the tast, as well as all the other parts of the mouth. Thus you see how the teeth serue at one time both for a mill and a cooke together with the tongue & the rest of the mouth. Again, the tongue serueth for a baker, hauing this office laide vpon it, together the meate together after it is well ground and chewed, and to fashion it round like to pilles or small loues that are yet but dough, to this end that it may with more ease be swallowed downe. Wherein it dealeth like a Baker, who first fashioneth his bread into loues. Next it plaith the part of a baker and of a peelee both together, as that which setteth in the meate, and causerh it to descend into the stomacke, which is the ouen wherein it must bee baked, that afterward it may nourish the whole bodie. For this cause it was necessarie that the tongue both in breadth and length, should bee answerable to the whole mouth in such sort, that it might touch all parts of it to discharge so many offices.

Wee see then that mans bodie is not onely like to such a frame of a house as we considered of before, but also like to a great Citie, wherein there are Milles and Ouens, and Artificers of all occupations.

Now vpon this that hath bin discoursed touching this last vse of the tongue in preparing and swallowing downe meate, we must further note, that as there is a pipe that reacheth fro the lungs vnto the mouth for respiration, & for the breath of the voice, as hath bin declared vnto vs: so there is another from the stomake vnto the same place, properly called the *Gullet* which the Phisicians commonly call by the Greeke name *δυσίπυλός*: whose office is to carry the meates & drinke into the stomacke. And as the other pipe is in the former part of the necke, that it may goe right to the mouth to draw in the aire, so this second is behinde in the necke, that it may keepe more heate in it, and it is longer then the first. Neuerthelesse, many thinke that there is but one pipe for breath and for meate and drinke: as there are some also, who albeit they know well there are twaine, yet they suppose that the one is for meate, and the other for drinke, that the lightes also might be moystened thereby. Yea, there haue beene skilfull and great Philosophers, who seeme to haue beene in this error, or at leastwise hath disputed thereof. But because GOD hath so distinguished these passages, and that the first is the breathing pipe, for the reason vttered before, this excellent Workemaster hath made another little instrument, called *Epiglot* by the Phisicians, made of gristly matter, reasonable harde, and fashioned like to a little tongue that is of a triangle forme, or like to an yuie leafe. This instrument serueth to couer the pipe for breath at the very top of Larinx, as it were a couer of a pot. It serueth the pipe to this vse, not to keepe euery thing out of it, but to suffer no meate or drinke, or any other thing to enter in, in any such quantitie as might hinder breathing and respiration. For a little thing will stoppe a mans breath and strangle him, as appeareth in those whome Histories affirme to haue beene strangled, some by a little haire, others by a stone of a grape, some in supping vp milke, and others by such like trifles. Yea many times wee haue experience of this perill when wee eate and drinke, if neuer so little meate or drinke enter into this passage. Therefore God teacheth vs two things thereby: the first is, vpon what a slender threed our life dependeth, seeing so little a matter is sufficient to deprive vs of it.

The

The other is to admonish vs how quiet and sober wee ought to be in eating and drinking, not gluttonlike; and also in speaking, when we take our refection. For then is the danger greatest, if we speake whilest we eat: because we cannot speake without voice, nor haue voice without breathing, nor breath without opening this little couer. And because the breathing pipe is formost, the meat and drinke must needs passe ouer this little tong as it were ouer a little drawbridge. So that if the small couer were lift vp and opened, in stead of going beyond the pipe of breathing, it would enter into it. But it must not be so fast shut vp, but that breath may alwaies issue out, and that some thin humour and liquor may enter in, to moisten and supple both the artery and the lungs: otherwise potions appointed for that purpose by the Phisicians, were vaine and vnprofitable. Hauing now spoken sufficiently of those instruments which are seruiceable to voice and speech, and of all the proper offices of the tongue, it will be thy part, *AS ER*, to morrow, to take in hand againe, and to pursue our matter of the senses, and of their instruments, and first to instruct vs what the sense of taste is, and what the palat is that serueth it.

The end of the second daies worke.

The third daies worke.

Of the sense of taste giuen to the Palat: what tastes are good to nourish the body: of the diuer sitie of them: of hunger and thirst, and of their causes. Chap. 17.



AS ER. It is wonderfull that God causeth al things whatsoeuer they be to serue his work in such sort, that nothing is in vaine, idle or vnprofitable: wherof we haue already seene many testimonies in our former discourses of the least parts of the body. But, which is yet more wonderful in his prouidence, he hath created, made & disposed nothing throughout al nature without great order, excellent measure, & moderation in al things: which gaue occasion to the first Philosophers to call the whole frame of the world, *Mundus*, which is as much to say, as an Ornament, or a well disposed order of all things. Wherby God would haue vs especially learne to know, how greatly order pleaseth him and how he abhorreth all disorder and confusion, and how greatly he desireth, that men after his example, should obserue measure and moderation in al their works. Hereof we may haue a goodly instruction in this place, if we consider how al the senses, & namely, the taste with those sauiory relishes that agree with it, receiue their strength, vertue and nature from all the elements, according to that agreement, which their nature and offices haue with them: as also what pleasure wee take in the relish of all things, when it agreeth with our taste: and contrariwise how it troubleth vs, when it is vnpleasant and not agreeable to our taste.

Yesterday we discoursed of the corporall senses, and of their members and instruments: wherupon we spake of the tong, both because of the agreemēt it hath with the eares by reason of speech, as also because it is the instrument of taste together with the palat, which is the vpper part of the mouth, made like to a pretty vaute, and to a little heaven. Therefore *Iob* said, *Doth not the eare discern the words, and the palat taste meat for it selfe?* And againe, *The eare trieth the words as the mouth tasteth meat.* The sense of taste then is that sense, wherby the mouth iudgeth of all kindes of tastes, which are many in number. And this is a notable gift of God, in that he hath giuen such relishes to meates and drinckes, whereby not onely men, but also all liuing creatures can presently know by their taste what things are good to eat & drinke, and what are otherwise. For if God had not giuen the sense of taste to all liuing creatures, that they might iudgetherby of al meates & drinckes, what would their life be? But we are to know this thing further, that men iudge by their taste, not only of such things as may serue to nourish them, but also of medicines. For Phisicians know the qualities of herbs & simples more by their taste, then by any other sense: afterward by this knowledge they iudge easily of their natures & properties, & for what remedies & vses of Phisicke they will serue. Therefore this iudgment of the tast is very necessary for the life of mā, especially for the nourishmēt of all liuing creatures: because all things which the earth bringeth forth are

What the palat is.
Iob. 12. 11. & 34. 3.
Of the prouidence of God in the variety of tastes.

The sense of taste necessary for Phisicians

not good to feede them. For some things are diuers fro nourishment, as earth, clay, wood & stones: other things are altogether vnauory, and haue no taste, and some haue but a very little. But God hath provided a remedie for this, by the meanes of salt, and of sundry sortes of sauces and spices, wherby they may be made to haue a pleasant taste. There are some things also, which are cleane contrary, either by reason of their euill taste, as gall and wormewood, or else because of the hurt which they may bring with them, as those things that are venomous, and very poison. But God hath very well met with this inconuenience both by this gift of the sence of tasting, and also by putting into such things as might hurt either man or any other living creature, a certaine qualitie, which we call relish or taste, that is contrary and very vnpleasant to the sence of tasting: as likewise hee hath giuen to those things that are healthful and good to nourish, a relish that is agreeable and pleasant to our taste, if it be not corrupted, either by sickenes, or by some vnbrideled appetite: the like is to be said of the spittle, which beside the vse before named, hath this also, that it helpeth the taste. Wherefore if it be already infected with some euill taste, it will not well receiue others, but will cause euery thing to bee of the same taste wherewith it is infected and corrupted. Now those things are most sauorie, and haue the best relish, that haue in them the best mixture of heate and moysture, which two qualities make the relish of things, and without which wee see that all extreame colde and drie things haue no smacke or taste, as flax or tow, and dry woodde, or water that is very pure. In other things, those that haue more moisture then heate, haue their taste lesse sharpe, so that according as heat and humidity are tempered together, the diuersitie of tastes is framed. For if humiditie doth not exceede and surmount earthy drynesse, or both of them bee consumed by heate, there is no taste. So that as all bodily things are compounded of all the elements, and differ one from another, according as they haue more or lesse of the elements, so is it in tastes. For this cause this sence of taste answereth to the element of water, and holdeth most of the nature thereof: as the sence of touching hath more affinitie with the earth, to the ende it might agree better with those things that are to be felt thereby. For the vigour and sence thereof ought to be close together and throughout, and such as taketh faster hold then any of the rest. So likewise the sence of sight agreeth with the fire, and that of hearing with the aire, as we haue already touched it. And as for the sence of smelling, it agreeth both with the fire and with the thicke aire, because smells are stirred vp by heate, as smoke is by fire, which afterwards are by the meanes of the aire caried to the sence of smelling, whereof we will speake hereafter.

Another vse
of Spittle.

How the
Sences agree
with the ele-
ments.

The heate &
humiditie the
preseruets of
life.

But let vs goe on with our discourse of tasting, and of such things as are apt to nourish the body. For we cannot liue without the helpe of many things: amongst which, meates and drinckes are chiefest: because that as hunger requireth meate, so thirst desireth drinke. Wee must therefore vnderstand, that this soule and life which is called *Vegetative* or nourishing, and which is common to man with all other living creatures, hath two principall instruments in the bodie, namely heate and humidity: of which, heate is first and chiefe, belonging properly to the vertue of nourishing: next humiditie is ioyned to heate, that it may feede and preserue it. For life is preserued in the body by heate, which is the chiefe instrument thereof: so that as soone as heate is gone, it becommeth starke dead. And because this heate would easily and quickly consume it selfe, if it were not nourished and maintayned, the moysture is ioyned vnto it in liuing bodies, as it were a bridle to keepe it backe, to the end that life might be prolonged, which otherwise would faile presently after it were forsaken of heate, as heate also would decay, if it were not nourished and preserued by humidity, which it necessarily requireth. For heate draweth humour vnto it selfe, and sucketh and drinketh it vp: likewise humour refresheth heate, and slaketh the vehemencie thereof: all which wee may plainly see in a lampe. For let vs compare the light of a lampe with life, and then let vs consider, whether this light can be preserued without fire, and whether this fire can continue any long time and not be extinguished, vnlesse it haue two things. The first is matter, as namely the wicke of the lampe: which matter cannot be firme if it haue no drynesse in it whereof fire may take holde. For fire being hot and drye, cannot haue any fellowship with coldenesse and humiditie, without some middle qualitie agreeable to his nature. On the other side it will soone consume the drie matter, on the which it delighteth, if the vehement heate thereof bee not abated and tempered by some humidity, which both resisteth the drynesse, and also by the coldenesse it hath, moderateth the heate of the fire. Therefore we see, that the matter of the wicke of a lampe cannot continue long beeing once lighted, if it bee not greased with some tallowe, or some humide

humide matter to preferue both that and the fire of which it receiue light. For when it is burnt out, the fire also dieth with it through want of nourishment that might maintaine it. But it is not ynough although the fire haue meete matter to nourish it. For they must bee so well wrought and mingled one with another, that there bee neither too much nor too little of eyther, but as much as neede requireth. For if there be a great deale of wicke and but a litle oyle and tallow, it will endure so much the lesse while: and if there be too much oyle or tallow in respect of the wicke, it will flake the fire ouermuch, yea it may be in such great quantitie, that it will put it quite out. But if due proportion be kept betwene the cotton and the oyle or tallow, the fire will preferue it selfe very well, and giue a goodly cleare light.

The like is done in our bodies. For if they were without naturall heate, there would be no life in them: and if this heate had not meete matter to preferue it selfe within them, it would quickly be extinguished. Now seeing it must be nourished and maintained, this cannot be done vnlesse it haue some solide and firme matter, which cannot be consumed so quickly, but that it may preferue it selfe sometime. Againe, forasmuch as there is no matter so solide and firme, which is able any long time to resist the fire that consumeth all, if the violence thereof be not moderated, this matter must of necessitie be moistened. Heere then the meate, which is most solide, standeth in stead of match or weeke to this naturall fire, from whence proceedeth life to the body: and drinke is as it were oyle in a lampe, to moisten the meat, to the end that this fire should not consume it so quickly. And because it must alwaies be kept burning, (otherwise the light thereof, which is the life, will die together with it) it must haue new matter continually ministred vnto it, as it were to a fire that cannot alwayes continue kindled in the chimney and not goe out, if it be not preferred by wood or coale, or in a candle or lampe, if it haue not alwaies cotton, or weeke and oyle, or some other tallowy and moist matter. Therefore we see that when either of them beginneth to faile, another is put in to supply the place of it. And thus as fire and the light thereof are maintained in a lampe or candle by meanes of that nourishment they haue both in the weeke and in the tallow thereof: so life and that naturall fire which giueth life to the body, are maintained by that food, which they receiue ordinarily in eating and drinking. The meate then in mans body, is to nourish and preferue the naturall heate thereof, as the weeke is in a candle or lampe: and the moisture which it receiue by drinke, is vnto it as the oyle and tallow.

For this cause if heate be stronger in a man, he shall feele thirst, which is an appetite and desire of that which is moist and cold, that is, of such qualities as are contrary to the fire, which is hot and dry. For the moisture must be confirmed and strengthened to moderate the burning heate, as it is when oyle is powred into a lampe. And if both heate and moisture consuming each other, beginne to waxe faint and to faile, they must both be holpen, that they may gather more strength: as when we put not onely oyle, but wicke also into a lampe. And this is the cause of hunger, which is a desire of that which is hot and moist.

But there is difference betwene the humiditie required in hunger, and that which is required in thirst, because the moisture desired in thirst is more thinne and lesse earthy, then that which is required in hunger. And if the moisture be increased ouermuch, so that the heate decreaseth and languisheth, and consequently the appetite to meate and drinke and to receiue nourishment, decayeth, it must be restored againe by Phisicke. For although all nourishment be as it were Phisicke to the body, neuertheless, there is this difference, in that foode repaireth the whole person and all the body, whereas Phisicke repaireth onely the instruments of the body, which are to serue for nourishment. For this cause foode is alwayes necessary for all, at all times, and in all places: but besides that all stand not in neede of Phisicke, they that want it, vse it but at certaine times as necessitie requireth. For if those members that serue to nourish the body be well disposed, and discharge their office so well, that all the parts of the body receiue due nourishment, and the whole body be healthy and sound, there needeth nothing but ordinary foode to preferue the body, and to keepe it in good health. But if any member be weakened, and doth not his dutie well, especially any of those that ought to serue to nourish the whole body, it must be restored againe to strength by the meanes of Phisicke. Now albeit the sence of taste whereof we haue presently discoursed, be not so apt to teach, especially, the knowledge of spirituall and diuine things, as the senses of seeing and hearing, of which we haue spoken heeretofore: yet we may receiue much good doctrine thereby. For as the body cannot liue except it haue such cor-

A comparison
betwene a
lampe and
mans body.

The causes of
thirst and
hunger.

Of Phisicke,
and the cau-
ses thereof.

Instructions
from the
sence of taste.

porall foode as agreeth to the nature thereof, so the soule cannot liue if it haue not that knowledge, which God hath appointed for it. And as life is kept in the body by heate, which is the chiefe instrument thereof, so the life of our soules consisteth and is preserued and increased by heate, namely, by the loue and charitie of God, without which it cannot liue that life that is agreeable to it owne nature. For the soule that is separated from the loue of God, is dead in respect of the true and blessed life, seeing God liueth not in it, nor it in God. For this cause this loue must be alwaies nourished and maintained therein by the celestiall and diuine moisture, agreeable to the nature thereof. Wherefore as it is of a heauenly and celestiall nature, so the food thereof must be answerable thereunto. This food therefore cannot be had but of God, who is the life of the soule, as the soule is the life of the body: and the meanes which he hath appointed to minister this food vnto it, is his heauenly and eternall word, and those spirituall graces which he communicateth vnto vs thereby. But let vs follow our matter subiect of corporall sences. And seeing we haue intreated of the meanes wherby the body is nourished, we ought to consider more particularly of those things that are meete and conuenient to maintaine and preserue the body of man, and see how God prepareth them to this end: in which thou shalt instruct vs, *A M A N A*.

Of helpes and creatures meete for the preseruatiō and nourishment of the body: how God prepareth them to serue for that purpose: of their vse. Chap. 18.

The equality
of heate and
moisture pre-
serueth life.

A *M A N A*. God being carefull ouer the welfare of his creatures that haue life, hath put in them a desire to preserue themselves, to the end they should follow after such things as are profitable for their health, and shunne that which is hurtfull and contrary vnto it. Now this preseruatiō consisteth either in the equalitie that may easily be reduced and brought to an equalitie by that which we eate and drinke. For if there be so great exceisse of heate or moisture that the one consumeth the other, death followeth necessarily: if there be no exceisse of either, but a good equalitie, the body is very well affected. But it is very hard to find a body so tempred. And although such a one might be found, yet it could not long continue in that estate, but that it would quickly change, as we may iudge by that which we haue learned in the former discourse. But when this change doth not bring with it so great exceisse and inequality, but that it may be kept vpright by nourishment, the body is neuertheless well disposed, vntill such time as the exceisse is greater then can be repaired by foode. For then if foode will not serue the turne, we must haue recourse to Phisicke: and if the inequality be so great, that by the helpe of Phisicke no remedy can be found, there is no other naturall aide to be had.

Of the ine-
qualitie that
is in the na-
ture of the
body.

A testimonie
of the great
providence of
God.

What meate
is fittest for
infants.

Now this inequality that approacheth so neere to equalitie, is very pleasant, as that which is the pricke and procurer of naturall pleasures, necessary for the life of man to incite him to desire them, and as it were the sawce to make them toothsome. For if there were alwaies equalitie, we should neuer be affected with hunger or thirst, nor with any appetite to eate or drinke. And if this appetite were not, we should not haue those pleasures, which we receive by meates and dringes, and by their diuers tastes and relishes. So that we should not haue such a notable testimonie of the goodnesse and bountifulnesse of God towards vs, and of his care, as we haue by the sence of taste which he hath given vnto vs. Wherein also hee admonisheth vs in such sort of our mortall nature through the necessitie we haue of foode for the preseruatiō of our life, as that withall he supplieth this want and necessitie, that we may the better know and taste the sweetnesse of his loue toward vs. For, whereto would those creatures serue that are good for our nourishment, if we had no vse of them? And how could we vse them, if we stood not in need of them? Therefore seeing the matter standeth thus, it appeareth euidently, that we are nourished by such things as are familiar and like to our nature, and are healed by things contrary to that which hurteth vs. For the nearer any thing approacheth to our nature, the sooner it is converted into it. So that amongst those meates that are familiar vnto vs, they nourish best that draw neere to our nature. For this cause babes new born that are little and tender, haue milke for their foode, which is very meete for them by reason of the agreement that is betweene it and the matter whereof their bodies are made. For, as we haue already heard, the milke is made of the selfe same blood wherewith they were nourished in their mothers wombe, and wherof they were before ingendred and conceived: forasmuch as the parents seede, of which they were framed, is deriued from their owne blood. Whereupon it followeth, that the matter

of

of their bodies is of the same substance: and so that food which draweth neereſt vnto it, is moſt naturall and meete for them. For this cauſe we ſayd before, that all things are not ſeruiſeable for meate, drinke and nourishment, but thoſe onely that haue a nature agreeable thereto, and that for the reaſons ſpecified by vs. Heere then we muſt call to minde that which we haue already touched elſe where, namely that ſeeing the body of man is compounded of all the elements, it is therefore needfull that the nourishment wherewith it is to be preſerued and vpholden, ſhould participate of all the elements, to the end that all and euery part of mans body ſhould be maintained and preſerued by that which is like to it ſelfe. Therefore God hath well provided to this purpoſe, as we ſee in the matter whereof our bodies are made. For we haue heard what difference there is according to the ſundry parts and diuerſity of members in the body: and yet the whole matter of them all is taken from the ſubſtance of the ſame elements, and the difference betweene them commeth of this onely, that ſome parts participate more of ſome elements, & others of other elements. Heereof it is, that the hardeſt parts of the body, as the bones, are moſt earthy: and ſo conſequently all the other parts, as they haue either more or leſſe of all the elements and of their qualities. For this cauſe all the parts and members of the body muſt haue food agreeable to the nature of the elements whereof they participate, according to that portion of matter which is in euery one of them. Wherein we ſee a goodly teſtimonie of the bond and agreement that is among all creatures, yea in all nature it ſelfe, together with the correſpondencie that euery creature hath with it like. Therefore if we want ayre for breathing, we draw it in euen as it is of it owne nature, together with thoſe qualities which it bringeth with it ſelfe. If we deſire drinke, onely to reſreſh and to moiſten the body and the meate it taketh, pure water ſerueth that turne, which is common drinke for all creatures, and ſufficient for the whole life of man, although there were no other. But God hath given this advantage to men aboue beaſts, that beſides this drinke common to them both, they haue others, not onely more pleaſant to their taſte, but alſo more forceable to nourish them. For if the queſtion be of taking ſuſtenance either by meate or drinke, we muſt haue ſuch meates and drinckes as are more firme then the ayre & the water, and which are able to ſuſtaine the body according to it owne ſubſtance and nature. For as the water and the ayre, whereof the body is made, could not conſiſt in the compoſition thereof, but would ſlide and fall away, if they were not intermingled with ſome other matter that is more earthy and ſolide, thereby to keepe and knitt them together: euen ſo, if food conſiſted only in liquid and moiſt things, that had no other ſubſtance of more earthy and ſolide qualitie, in which the vertue of heate might remaine, and which might be conuerted into the greatneſſe and maſſineſſe of the body, the living creature would alwaies haue an appetite, and neuer leaue eating. Therefore God hath ſo framed thoſe creatures, which he hath given to man for meate, that whatſoeuer is earthy therein doth not ſtill retaine the nature of the earth, as if it were nothing but ſimple earth: and ſo likewiſe that which is of the nature of fire, or of the water, or of the ayre: but all is ſo well mingled and tempered one with another, that the taſte and ſauour thereof is pleaſant and fit for all the parts of the body, that are to be nourished. And according as the qualities of the elements are mingled one with another, ſo the meates and drinckes compounded of them, haue their ſundry taſtes together with their other qualities. For if God had not ſo provided for it, man could haue no taſte therein: and if he taſted not, he would haue no appetite, and ſo could neither eate nor drinke. And if he could neither eate nor drinke, he could not liue, as we may iudge by that which we haue already heard.

From whence
commeth the
different ſub-
ſtance of our
members.

Inſtitution V
will ſee how
aged is

Men haue
more varietie
of drinckes
then beaſts.

Sp. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Sp. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Sp. 1. 1. 1. 1.

We muſt eate
neither too
much nor too
little.

The chiefs
end of feede.

Now as he cannot liue without eating and drinking, ſo it is requiſit that he eat & drinke with that moderation, that he take in no more meate & drinke then he ought to doe. For if he take too little, he cannot be ſufficiently nourished: & if he take too much, in ſtead of being ſatiſfied, he ſhal be burdened, & in ſtead of preſeruing his life, he will kill himſelfe. Therefore it is very neceſſary that euery one ſhould alwaies obſerue great ſobrietie, otherwiſe God will correct our riot, our gluttonie and drunkenneſſe. But the danger that commeth by not keeping a mediocritie, is a great deale more to be feared on the one ſide then on the other. For there are but few that breake not ſquare oftner in eating & drinking too much then to little. Now to end this ſpeech, we haue farther to gather ſuch good inſtructions as all men haue in thoſe things which God hath given them for nourishment, yea in their mouth alſo, to the end to render vnto him honor, glory & praiſe. Whenſoeuer beaſts doe eat, their tongue ſerueth to feed them, no otherwiſe then that of men doth helpe them: but they praiſe not God with that tongue which ſerueth to nourish them, becauſe he hath not given them that gift of ſpeech,

John. 1.

Vnthankfull
men are like
to hogs.

Luke. 12. 48.

1. Tim. 4. 4.

Food must be
receaued
with thankgi-
uing.Some more
like to mad
dogges then
men.

speech, wherewith he hath endued man, and that for the cause which we haue already heard. For as a fountaine cannot be without a riuer, so a riuer cannot be without a fountaine. For this cause seeing reason, of which God hath made man partaker, is as it were a fountaine in him, and speech as the riuer that issueth from it, the Grecians expresse both reason and speech with one and the same word, which Saint Iohn also vsed, when speaking of the Deitie of Iesus Christ, he said, *In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and that word was God.* For as all the workes of God are perfect in their kind, so he maketh nothing without cause, and which hath not his vse. So likewise he giueth nothing to any creature, but withall he giueth the instruments and meanes which it ought to vse, therby to be made seruiceable as the thing it selfe requireth. Heereof it is that he gaue not speech to beasts, because he made them not partakers of reason, without which speech would stand them in no stead: so that it would haue beene a superfluous worke of God. Therefore seeing it is so, God requireth not of beasts that they should by speech praise him with their tongue, as he requireth it of men, vnto whom he hath given the meanes to performe it. For beastes haue neither reason to vnderstand what is spoken, nor speech to vtter any thing thereby, whereas man hath both the one and the other. He hath both the fountaine, and also the riuer that runneth from it. Wherefore when he sitteth downe to meate, and whiles he is taking his refection (to which vse his tongue serueth him, according as we heard before) and when he riseth from table, truly he is much more brutish then any brute beast, if with the selfe same tongue he doeth not praise and glorifie G O D, acknowledging as he ought the goodness of that celestially Father, that giueth him that foode, and that nourisheth him. If hee doe otherwise, he looketh no more from whence the meate commeth vnto him then doth the hogge, who with his snout alwayes towards the earth, feedeth vpon the Akornes that are vnderneath the Oakes, and neuer looketh or considereth from whence they fall. Yea, the Hogge doeth a great deale better discharge his dutie in praising G O D then such men doe, that eate and drinke as brute beasts without giuing thanks to G O D for the benefite he distributeth amongst them. For he praiseth God in his kind, as all other creatures doe in theirs, according as the kingly Psalmist testifieth in many places of his Psalmes. Neither doth God require more of them then he hath given vnto them. But seeing he hath giuen more to man then to all other visible and bodily creatures, he requireth so much the more of him, and that very iustly. For as it is written, *To whom much is committed, more shall be demanded of him.* Wherefore man is not onely too too inexcusable, but more vile and sauage then any brute beast, if his tongue serue him no farther at the table for the praising of God thereby, then if (beastlike) his snout and nose were in a cratch or manger. For how shall the foode in the vse thereof be sanctified by the word of G O D and prayer, if he take it after that sort? And if it be not sanctified vnto him by that meane, as Saint Paul teacheth, he vseth it not as the child of G O D, but as a theefe and a very prophane man. For as *Every creature of G O D is good when it is receiued with thanksgiving,* so it is defiled to the filthy, not through any fault of the creature, but of such as abuse it like to Infidells. But all they abuse it that giue not thanks for it to the Creator. Wherefore as every thing is cleane to the cleane, that haue their hearts purified by the word of G O D which they haue receiued by faith, so nothing is cleane to the defiled and to Infidells. But if these men of whom we speake, be vnworthy to be taken for men, yea, to be compared with hogges, then whom they are much more vile and detestable, we may easily iudge what is to be sayd of those that doe not onely not praise God or giue him any thanks, but which is worse, blaspheme, and as it were despite him in lieu of recompensing him for the benefites they haue receiued of him, which is vsually done by gluttons, drunkards, and swearers. What shall we say of such men, but that they deserue rather to be called mad dogges then men? except we had rather call them children of the Diuell, whose instrument, tongue and mouth they are. And as for those that cease not to prattle and babble about vaine and vnprofitable matters, and that take delight in backbiting and slaundering every one, we may with good reason compare their tongue to the clack of a Mill. For seeing every one of vs carrieth a mill in his mouth, as we shewed before, these men may truly boast that their Mill is better furnished with all kind of instruments then others are. But they are not the more to be esteemed for that, but rather the lesse, for the reasons which we haue already heard. And when they adde to their clacking euill speech and backbiting, infecting all tables where they come with their tongue, they may well bee compared to dogges that doe not onely barke but also bite. But it is time to draw the last draught of the pensill vpon the face

face of mans body, by considering the sence of smelling with the member that belongeth vnto it: wherein we looke to be instructed by thee, *ARAM.*

*Of the Nose; and of the sence of smelling, and of their profite and vse:
of the composition, matter, and forme
of the Nose. Chap. 19.*

ARAM. Forasmuch as beautie is a grace that proceedeth of the proportion, agreement and harmonie of things, it is then very seemely in mans body, when it followeth nature onely, and is without any blemish or defect. Nowe this beauty consisteth in foure things, namely, in figure, in number, in greatnesse and in situation. For the members of the body are well or ill coloured according to the disposition of the matter. And the correspondency of the members one towards another, as wel in the number, as in the length and greatnesse of each of them well compassed and proportioned together, is one cause also of beauty: as likewise the placing of every one of them in his proper place, most conuenient and agreeable to his nature and vse. For if any thing be wanting of all these things in any member of the body, there is deformitie in stead of beauty.

What beauty is, and wherein it consisteth.

But if we consider onely the beauty of the head and of the face thereof, whereof wee discoursed yesterday, we shall not finde any one member that hath not singular beauty in it, and that agreeth not very fitly with the rest, being of so good proportion and measure, and hauing such a great and excellent grace, that a man may truly say that the whole worke hath in each part thereof so great perfection, that nothing can bee added or taken away nothing can be wished to make it more faire, profitable, excellent or perfect then it is in it owne nature. To the setting forth of this beauty, the Nose, whereof we are to speake, serueth very much, yea so much, that hardly any member in all the face or head so disfigureth a man, or maketh him more deformed then the nose, if it be euill fauoured, disfigured, or taken cleane away. But besides this beauty, which it bringeth to a mans head, we are to know that it is very seruiceable to the whole body, and chiefly to the braine lodged in the toppe thereof, as it were the Lord and Master: that as it giueth motion and sence to all the members: so it might be compassed about with all the senses as it were with seruitours and men of garde. Therefore as it hath neere about it, the eyes, eares, tongue, and palat, which are the instruments of seeing, hearing and tasting: so the nose is needfull to serue the sence of smelling. Neither is it placed so neere the sence of tasting without the great prouidence of God. For there are many things in nature, which if they be tasted onely are deadly, or at leastwise very dangerous and hurtfull, as appeareth chiefly in things that are venimous and poisonfull. For this cause, albeit the sence of smelling be not altogether so necessary for liuing creatures, namely, for such as are most perfect, as the other senses, so that they may more easily want it, neuertheless GOD hath giuen it them, to the end it might be as it were a messenger to the tast to shew what is good for it and what not, and this chiefly for two reasons. The first is, to keepe men from hazarding themselves through an immoderate desire to eat and drinke, before they haue discerned by the smell of such things as are to be taken, whether they be profitable or hurtfull for them. The second reason, is to take all suspicion and feare from them, which otherwise might cause them to abstaine from those things that are good and profitable for them. And therefore this sence of smelling is neerely conioyned, and hath great agreement with the sence of tasting. For this is a generall rule, that, albeit euery thing that smelleth well hath not alwaies a good taste, yet whatsoever a man findeth good to his taste, the same hath also a good smell: and contrariwise, that which is founde to haue an ill relish, the same hath also the like smell. For the taste and smell are giuen not onely for profite, but for pleasure also and delight. Neither doe those thinges which serue for delectation, alwaies bring profite, but sometime the contrary, principally through their fault that knowe not how to vse them moderately. For they are so subiect to their pleasures that they can neuer keepe measure in any thing, as we see by experience, especially in these two senses of taste and smell. For as the ordinary meates satisfie not the delicate appetites of men, but they must haue new dainties daily inuented to prouoke their appetite further, and to cause them to eate and drinke more then is needfull, to their great hurt: so men are not

The nose is very seruiceable to the braine.

Why the sence of smelling is placed so neere to that of tasting.

Of the agreement of these two senses.

How men are subiect to these senses.

contented

Ioh. 12. 3.

How the spi-
rits are refresh-
ed with sweet
odours.Of the diuers
vses of the
nose.Of the mat-
ter of the
nose.How the
Nose is in
steade of a
spout to the
braine.

contented with naturall odours which nature bringeth forth of it selfe, but now they must haue muskes & perfumes, with infinit varietie of distilled waters & artificiall smells, in regard of which, naturall saours are nothing set by. And yet if they were vsed with sobriety, there were no cause of reprehension, seeing all the creatures of God are good, if they be vsed moderately, and as they ought with thanksgiuing. Hereof it is that they are often mentioned in Scripture in the good part. And not to seeke farre off for examples, wee haue the testimonies of the holy Euangelists, as our Lord Iesus Christ himselte, who was neither nice nor voluptuous, but the perfect patterne of all sobriety and temperance, did not reiect nor condemne precious ointments and sweete odours, but sometime permitted the vse of them vpon his owne person. Moreouer, it is certaine, that the *animall* spirits in the braine are greatly relieued and recreated by those good and naturall smells that are conueied vnto them by meanes of the nose, and of the sence of smelling placed therein: as contrariwise they are greatly offended by euill odours, yea oftentimes by artificiall saours, which commonly cause rheumes, catarres, and great headaches. For the spirits of the head are subtle, pure, and very neate, so that sweet smells are good for them, and stinking saours contrary vnto them. To this end therefore that the braine might receive this benefit of good odours, God hath placed both the sence and instrument of smelling so neere vnto it: the instrument to keepe & conuey odours vnto it, the sence to discerne & iudge of them. Therefore this sence of smelling hath some agreement both with the fire, and with thicke aire, because smells are stirred vp by heate, as smoke is by fire, which are after carried by meanes of the aire vnto the sence, and received and kept by the nose. Forasmuch also as the braine needeth aire to nourish and preserue the *animall* spirites, the nose in this respect also standeth it in great steade. Therefore God hath created it not onely to serue the sence of smelling, but also for respiration, that it should be the principall pipe and passage, by which both the braine and lungs may draw in or let out breath as neede requireth. For this cause the braine doth stretch out and restraine it selfe: and as by stretching forth it selfe it draweth in the aire by the nosethrilles, so by keeping it selfe close together it retaineth the aire. And so the externall aire being drawne in by the nosethrilles, is distributed by the cranies that are open in the palat, in such sort, that the greatest part is drawne into the lungs, and the residue goeth to the braine by the passages and holes that leade vnto it. And although the mouth serueth also for respiration, yet the nose is appointed more especially for that purpose, and is much more fit and apt for the same. Therefore God hath giuen it both matter and forme agreeable for that office. For first concerning the matter, it is not made all of bone, nor all of gristles: because if it were all of bone, a double inconuenience would ensue thereof. The first is, that the bones would be in danger of breaking, chiefly about the end of the nose when it should hit against any hard thing, because they would not bend and giue place easily, as sinewes will do. The second inconuenience would be this, that the ends of the nosethrilles could neither open nor shut, neither enlarge nor restraine themselves, but would continue alwayes at one stay: whereupon two other mischiefs would follow. First, the nose could not open and enlarge it selfe so much as were requisite many times to draw in great store of aire to coole and refresh both the lungs and the braine, especially when they are heated and set on fire. For at such a time there is perill of strangling. Secondly, for as much as the nose is giuen to man that it might serue the braine in steade of a pipe and spout to purge it of flegmatike humours, a man could not by blowing, close it together & straine it to get the filth out of it, as neede requireth many times. For the humours that distill from the braine are not alwaies very liquide and running, but sometimes so grosse and thicke, that a man cannot easily purge the braine or nose, except it bee closed and strained hard. Thus you see two euident causes why it was needefull that the nose should bee compounded of gristles, and not of bones onely, at leastwise from the middledownward. On the other side, if this lower part had beene made of flesh onely, or of kernells, or of skinnies, the nosethrilles could not so well haue beene enlarged or restrained, nor continued so open, as is requisite for the seruice of all those duties and offices already mentioned: besides that those parts could not so well withstand the inconueniences whereunto they might be subiect, if they were of a more tender matter. Lastly, as it was needefull that one part of the nose should consist of that matter for those causes spoken of, so also it was necessary that the vpper part should bee made of bones, not onely to keepe the sence of smelling the better, which is in that part, and to be as it were a buckler vnto, it but also to serue in steade of rampires both for the eyes and for the braine. As for the inward parts, there are two nosethrilles distinguished

distinguished one from another by a gristle which is betweene them both, as it were a little wall to diuide them, to the ende that if the one be stopped, the other may alwayes discharge the offices assigned to them both. And to the end they may more easily draw in the aire for the seruice as well of the lungs as of the braine, and also receiue in the odours, they are larger at the first entrance, and after as they ascend vp they waxe more narrow, and that not without good reason of the prouidence of God. For he hath in a manner taken the selfe same course that he did in the composition of the eares, which hee made large and wide at the entry, hauing that forme, and that hole within, which we heard spoken of before, together with the causes why. The selfe same reason in a manner may be rendred here. For as it is to be feared that ouer great sounds would hurt the eares if they entred in all at once, so the lungs and much more the braine might be ouer cooled by the aire that should enter in at the nosethrilles, if it should ascend vp too fast at once, too sodainly, or too vehemently. By reason whereof it is requisite, that it should be retained in some sort, to the ende that by the tariance which it maketh it should be heated and better tempered. The like consideration is to be had of the vapours and smelles in regarde of the braine, not onely of euill sa- uours, but also of those that are good. For some are so violent by reason of the abundance of heat in them, which falleth out chiefly in such as are most excellent, that if they bee not dispensed moderately, they hurt the braine. This commeth to passe in some persons, through the weakenesse of their braine. There are others, and namely such as care not for sweet things, who take no pleasure, no not in good smelles, so that oft times the sweetest and most delicate odours are hurtfull to their head. Now God hath well provided for all these things, hauing placed a little bone in the top of the nose, which is pierced through like to a little siue. Hereupon it is called by the Physitions the *siue-bone*, or otherwise, and that more properly, the *spongy bone*, because the holes thereof are not strait, as are those of a siue, but somewhat spongy like to the holes of a sponge. And this serueth for the better and more commodious discharging of all those vses declared by vs, and for the auoyding of those discomforts which we haue heard of. Whereunto may bee added, that the humours which descend from the braine may not fall downe so fast together, but distill better by little and little, and the good humors be kept more easily from falling downe all at once together with the euill. I passe ouer heere briefly the muscles giuen to the nosethrilles to mooue them, as also the nerves, which are sent from the braine to the sence of smelling to bring vnto it the vertue of smelling, as the eyes, eares, palat, and tongue receiue from thence their nerves also, which bring vnto them that facultie and vertue that is meete for their nature. Wherein wee may further note one goodly point of the prouidence God, in that giuing motion and sence to every member of the body by the sinewes, hee giueth a speciall and proper sence to those nerves that are to minister vertue and power to every one of the corporall senses, which the other sinewes haue not. For there is none that giueth the sence meete for sight, but those that are allotted to the eyes for that purpose. The same may bee said of those that are giuen to the eares for hearing, and to the tongue and palat for the tast, and to the nose for smelling. Now to end this speach, we are to draw out some instruction meate for the minde, according as we haue done in our discourses of the other sences of the body. As then we iudge by the nose and sence of smelling which God hath giuen vnto vs, what difference there is betweene a good and stinking smell, and how the one is pleasant and delightfome, and the other vnpleasant and abhominable: so likewise we ought to consider what small pleasure God taketh in the infection and stench of our sinnes, and how hee is delighted with the sweete smell of the iustice and vertues of Christ Iesus, when wee are perfumed therewith, and when he smelleth the sauour thereof in vs. Therefore whensoever, and as often as we feele some stinch and abhorre the same, that euill smell ought to admonish vs of the filthinesse of our sinnes, and teach vs to haue them in greater abomination then any carrion smell whatsoever, and to abhorre our selues when we present our selues before God, perfumed with such an infernall sauour. For if we turne our faces aside, and stoppe our nose, and euen spit vpon the ground when we meete with some great infection, shall we not thinke that God turneth his face from vs when he findeth vs so stinking & infected? Contrariwise when we smell some good sauour, it ought to bring into our remembrance the odour of Iesus Christ his sacrifice, & of those vertues that are well pleasing & agreable in the sight of God, and stirre vs vp with all indeauour to present him with such smels, to the end wee may be of good odour before God and men. Which the holy word will teach vs, after hee hath giuen vs a spirituall nose whereby we may attaine to the right sence and smell of

Of the nose
thrills, and of
their parting
asunder.

Of the spon-
gy or siue-
bone.

Of the mus-
cles of the
nosethrills &
of the sinewes
of smelling.

Notable in-
structions for
the soule.

Of the
nose
thrills
and of
their
parting
asunder.

that good odour of Iesus Christ and of the Gospel, working in vs the spirit of discretion to discern truth from lying, that our soules may be refreshed, as the braine is by those good smells that are brought vnto it by the bodily nose, and by the sense of smelling that is therein. Now therefore being come to the end of this goodly matter of the five corporall and externall senses, me thinkes we should profit much by a brieue collection of their vse, and of the commodity which they bring to men: considering also the diuersity that is in their faces and visages, in which these goodly organically instruments of the senses are painted: and how their faces are images and pictures of their heart and minde. The discourse of this matter appertaineth to thee *ACHITO B.*

Of the vse briefly of all the outward senses for the seruice of man, namely in purging the superfluities and ordures of his body: of the diuerſitie that is in mens faces, and of the image of the minde and heart in them. Chap. 20.

ACHITO B. When we take some pleasure by considering the workes of God, namely those which we beare about vs in our nature, (as indeede such contemplation affordeth great delight to their soules that are not buried in ignorance) we ought to thinke that we haue great occasions and certaine meanes to consider, what pleasure and ioy it would be to see and behold the Creator and Workmaster, who hath made and giuen to man such excellent senses, such wonderfull vertues and faculties: what delight ariseth of hearing and smelling onely some small odour, and of tasting a little of his providence, wisdom, goodness, benignity, grace, and mercy, much more, when they are thoroughly tasted and relished of vs. Which may be performed by them that imploy all care and diligence in meditating on his eternal word, and in considering the workes of his Almighty power, vntill such time as by the dissolution of this mortall tabernacle of the body, they shall haue put on immortalitye to enioy true contemplation, that is, to beholde him face to face, who onely is able to satisfie the soule with goodness and felicity, as the Prophet teacheth vs where hee saith, *In thy presence is the fulnes of ioy, and at thy right hand there are pleasures for euermore.* Now then wee may knowe by that which wee haue hitherto heard in these our discourses, what testimonies God hath planted of his great providence in all the partes of our bodies, what care he hath had and still hath of man, and how hee hath giuen him as many corporall senses as he needeth for the vse and fruition of all those visible and bodily creatures which he hath created. For he hath eyes, whereby he vseth and enioyeth the light, and the pleasure of such diuersity of colours as may be seene in the world, as well naturall as artificiall and compounded, with the sundry mixtures of naturall things. Then by the eares hee hath the vse of all kinds of sounds, and principally of speech, together with the pleasure of harmonies and melodies consisting in the varietie of tunes and songs, as well of mans voice as of birdes and other creatures, and also of instruments of musicke, which are so many and of such diuersity amongst men. And by meanes of the nose & nosethrills he hath the fruition & pleasure of odours and smells so diuers in nature, both natural and artificial: and by means of the mouth, tongue, and palat he enioyeth and iudgeth of al sorts of tastes, which also are very diuers, and chiefly of meats and drinks wherewithall he is nourished. For this good God hath appointed a meane for the preservation of mans life, whereunto hee hath ioyned pleasure with profit, if men know how to vse the same with moderation and measure, rather to make supply to necessity then to satisfie pleasures. The like may be said of al the rest of the feelings and touchings of al the bodily members, of which there is great variety.

But hauing spoken sufficiently of the composition of the external parts of mans body, & of the outward members, of the natural senses of man and of their vses, we ought to consider also what instructions God giueth by them vnto men concerning their infirmity. For although the body of man be so beautifull and excellent outwardly as wee haue declared, yet it hath infection within, which of necessitie must appeare and breake forth outwardly, that it may be purged and vburdened. For the body cannot reape that profit of the nourishment it receiveth by all the elements, and chiefly of that which it eateth and drinketh, as that it can conuert and turne all of it into nourishment and substance, and auoid all those accidents and inconueniences whereunto it is subiect by reason of the infirmity of it owne nature. Therefore it commeth to passe necessarily, that the body is full of excrements, of much

Plal. 16. 1. r.

Of the vse of
the externall
senses.

Of the super-
fluities that
proceede out
of the body.

much superfluity and ordure, which would kill it if it were not disburthened thereof. For these excrements would be poison vnto it in steade of nourishment. Therefore the providence of God hath so provided a remedie for the same, that admonishing man of his infirmity, to the end he should alwaies remember that he is created of clay and of earth, and that he shall returne vnto it againe, it hath withall ordained the meanes wherby man shall be comforted, & discharged of those excrements and superfluities which might hurt him. And for this cause there is no member but hath his proper passages appropriated for purgation & serving in his place, yea even the noblest members. For I speake not only of those members, which we account most vile, abiect, & shameful, & which nature teaches vs to couer & hide, being appointed for the voiding of the grossest, vilest, & most filthy excrements, but also of those that are the excellentest and chiefest in the head and face, so that there is no part of our body out of which there proceedeth not some infection & filthines. In somuch that a man may well say, that our whole body is within as it were a stinking draught or puddle that emptieth it self on euery side as it were by sinks & gutters. For if we consider it generally, there is no part that is not subiect to sweat, (which oftentimes sauoureth very strongly) & that purgeth not it selfe by sweating fro that superfluity, which it casteth forth by that meanes. Therefore the providence of God hath so well provided for this, that the skin hath in it little holes called by the Philosophers, *Pores*: which are so subtil & so small, that they cannot bee perceiued by the eye. Through these pores, the superfluities that are evaporated by sweat haue their issue, so that it cometh to passe oftentimes, that sicke persons are cured by this only remedy, or at least are greatly comforted thereby. But let vs come to the noblest members in the head, and in the goodliest part of man, which is the face. The eyes, eares, nose, & mouth serue for pipes & spowts to the braine and head, to purge it of those superfluities that otherwise might oppress it. Wherin we are againe to consider of the providence of God, & of that care which he hath of vs. For seeing the head is the principall member of the whole body, and seeing the braine within the head is so noble a part, God hath giuen vnto it more passages for the purging of it, then he hath done to all the other members. Therefore we see what store of flegme doth daily issue out by the nose & mouth, so that a man is many times much troubled both in blowing his nose & in spitting. In this respect it seemeth the nose maketh the face to looke like a Limbeck, albeit the water that distilleth through it hath no very good smel, neither is pleasant to looke vpon, no more is the spittle that cometh out of the mouth. As for the eares they are not without filth, so that they must be oftentimes looked vnto & cleansed, and the waxe that is in them taken forth: which differeth much fro the waxe that is made by Bees. For as Philosophers testifie, this eare-waxe is nothing else but the superfluity of the cholericke humour, which is purged there by those pipes: as they say also, that the melancholy humour is purged by the eyes, which are many times watrish & very foule by reason of the rheumes and sundry humours that fall downe vpon them. Whereby we see, how God doth admonish vs on all sides through the infirmities of all our members, what account we are to make of our selues. For if the goodliest and most noble members, if the pleasantest, most delicate, and neatest parts are so foule & filthy, what shal we say of the rest that are of the basest and most abiect, which are appointed for no other vses then to be as it were the draughts and sinks of the whole body? But on the other side, let vs consider how God by humbling vs on the one side, doth yet on the other side provide for our necessities by those meanes of purging which he appointed for the body of man. Where we haue further to obserue, that there are many superfluities and excrements purged from the braine, which are profitable for those members that are assigned to bee the instruments of their euacuation: as we see it plainly in the yellow humour that is purged by the eares. For it defendeth them against fleas, little flies & other small wormes and beasts, that might otherwise enter within them.

We haue further to consider for our better humilatiō, that God hath so created all the members and instruments belonging to our corporall senses, as that he admonisheth vs thereby of their nature, and what they can doe of themselves. For there is not one of them, but it is in some sort made hollow, to giue vs to vnderstand thereby, that they exercise their principall and chiefe office by receiuing from without, that which belongeth to their nature, and not by sending forth any thing of their owne. For when the eyes see, they receiue into them images of those things that are before them. And if they send forth any thing, it is so farre from helping them to see better, that it hindereth and dimmeth the sight, as wee see when men weepe, or when any humour runneth out of their eyes. Likewise our nose hath no sence of the odours by meanes of that

M m

wind

Of the passages
ges meete to
purge the body
by.

Of the pores
in the skinner.

Of the spowts
of the braine
and head.

The face compared
to a
Limbeck.

Good instructions
for all
men.

The profit of
eare-waxe.

winde and breath which proceedeth out of it, but when it draweth in the aire with which the odours are conuained vnto it. And so it is of the other senses. Whereby wee are taught to know the nature of our soule, which can bring forth no good thing, if it haue not receiued it before of God, to whom she can giue nothing, but onely receiueth from him. You see then many good lessons, which we are taught by the instrumēt of our senses & by our own nature, but we commonly passe them ouer and neuer thinke of them at al, or if we muse vpon them sometimes, we say as much indeede, and confesse it in word, but in the meane time wee are nothing humbled thereby. Now then we haue bestowed doores and windowes vpon the frame of mans body, and may with ease beholde the outward excellencie and shewe thereof, in regard of so many goodly workes as are cutte out and ingrauen in euery externall part of it. Wee are by and by to looke vpon the inward furniture, being enriched with all sorts of rare, great, and sumptuous workes. But for the end of our present matter, seeing wee are taught that so many profitable and pleasant senses and members are planted chiefly in the face and visage of man, it cannot bee without fruite and great admiration at the prouidence of God, if we consider that amongst so many faces as there are of men, women, and children, a man shall hardly finde two in all the world, that resemble each other so neere, but still some difference will appeare to him that looketh narrowly vpon them. And if there be any so apparent resemblance that a man cannot finde any difference, yet that falleth out very seldome. Neither is this seene onely in the whole countenance, but also in the seuerall parts thereof, and namely in the nose, whereof there is so great variety, as that you shall finde very few that are like in all points: so that it is to be wondered at, that in such a great similitude of faces there is so great dissimilitude. For there is great likenesse in that they are all humane faces, made of the same matter, and hauing the same parts: but yet they are very vnlike in respect of the particular differences, which are in each of them and of their parts. Now if wee haue occasion to admire this diuersitie that is among many, what shall we say to the dissimilitude and difference of countenance that is to be seene in one and the same man, as if he had many faces to vse & change at his pleasure, as we see men may change masks before their faces? It is certain that there appeareth great difference in the countenance of one and the same man, as he is either young or olde, sound or sicke. For as a mans yeares alter, so there will be some change in his face, bearing his countenance according to the health or sickenes that is in him. But I speake not now of this diuersity, but of another which happeneth to men in all ages, & at all times. For there is great difference to be seene in a mans face according as he is either merry or sad, angry or pacified, humble & modest, or lofty and proude. For if he be quiet and modest, he will haue a sweete, milde, & gracious countenance: if he be angry, hee will haue a furious face, as though hee were transfigured into a sauage beast, hauing fierie eyes as if hee cast from them flames of fire: he will cast forth smoake at his nosethrilles, as if he had a fornace kindled within him: his whole countenance will bee redde as if fire came out of it. Therefore it was not without reason said of a Philosopher, that angry and furious men should beholde themselves in a glasse: to the ende they might know thereby how such passions change the countenance, and how they are transformed thereby and looke hidious and fearefull. And if a man be loftie and arrogant, his visage will testifie the same sufficiently, especially his eyes and eye-lids, which will be lifted vp, as if pride and arrogancie had there placed their seat. For if wee denie or graunt any thing that pleaseth or displeaseth vs, we declare it by them, speaking by signes as the tongue doeth by wordes. And although pride bee conceived and bredde in the heart, yet it is seated on the eye-liddes, where it sheweth and manifesteth it selfe. For seeing it desireth alwaies to be aduanced and to be lift vp aboue all, yea to be alone without any companion, that place is very fitte and conuenient for it, being high, eminent, and apparent. But a proude person ought to consider, that, that place is very much declining, to the ende hee may thinke of the danger of falling downe, as they that are in some high and steepe place where they can take no holde. For it can not bee but that pride will haue a fall, howsoeuer it may seeme very long first. For that sentence of Iesus Christ is alwaies true, who sayeth, that, *Who soeuer will exalt himselfe shall be brought low, and who soeuer will humble himselfe, hee shall be exalted.* The eyes also do speake and testifie of the heart within. For if the heart bee humble, modest, chaste, and well stayed, the eyes will be so answerable thereunto, that their very lookes will declare sufficiently how it standeth affected. Contrariwise, if the heart be proud, vnchaste, loose, impudent, and lasciuious, the looke and countenance of the eyes will openly bewray

The diuersity
of face is won-
derfull.

The greatest
variety of
noses.

Variety of
countenance
in one man.

The descrip-
tion of an an-
gry visage.

Of an arro-
gant counte-
nance.

Pride is sear-
ted vpon the
eyelids.

Math. 23. 12.
Luke 14. 11.

bewray the same. Also wee say commonly of such as are past all shame, that they have brazen and shamelesse foreheads. And it seemeth that the French worde *Affronteur*, is derived from thence, because they that are of that occupation must have good foreheads, they must be bold and shamelesse, like to harlots and murderers. And as shame is seated and appeareth principally in the forehead and cheekes, so is it a note of impudency when shame is banished from thence: as that which then possesseth the place assigned to shame and modestie.

The seat of shame.

Esay 48. 4.
Ezech. 3. 3.

Of the true
Physiognomy

Therefore the Scripture attributeth a brow of brasse and of yron, a hard forehead, and a strong face to them that are impudent and past grace, to such as are vnttractable and rebellious. By these things then we know how the face is the image, messenger, and witnesse of all the affections of the heart, inso much that it is very hard for him, do what he can, to cover and conceale them. Also it is the image and witnes of a good and euill conscience. For as a good conscience causeth it to appeare ioyfull and open, so contrariwise an euill conscience maketh it sad and hidden; as it were the visage of a condemned person. We commonly call Physiognomy the Science wherby men iudge of the nature, complexion, and manners of every one, by the contemplation of all the members of the body, and chiefly of the face and countenance. But there is no Physiognomy so certain as that which we haue now touched, whereby men may be easily conuincid of that which they thinke to hide in their heartes, which notwithstanding is quickly discied in their countenances, as if we read it in a Book. Now it is time to enter into our edifice & building; there to contemplate the internal and spirituall senses, which the soule vseth in her works and operations. But first wee will make the way more easie to attaine to so high a matter, by learning briefly what is the nature, faculties, and powers of mans soule, and what are the sundry kinds of the soules, the burthen whereof I lay vpon thee, *A S E R.*

Of the nature, faculties, and powers of mans soule: of the knowledge which we may haue in this life, and how excellent and necessary it is: into what kinds the life and soule are diuided. Chap. 21.

A S E R. If God hath shewed himselfe wonderfull in the creation, composition, nature, and vse of the externall senses and members of mans body (of which we haue hitherto discoursed) both in the matter whereof they are made and in the forme giuen vnto them, and in all other things that belong vnto them: no doubt but wee shall haue much more cause to maruaile at the excellent workmanship of his providence in the composition, nature, and vse of the internall senses and members, which lie hidden within the body, whereof the sequelle of our speech requireth that wee should intreate. For these are the principall, by meanes of which the other receiue life, and are kept and preserved in life. But forasmuch as the soule giueeth life to the whole body and to all the members thereof, we are withall to consider of the nature thereof, what faculties and vertues it hath, and how it worketh in all the partes of the body, according to the knowledge which GOD hath giuen to men, both by the testimonie of his worde, and by the effectes of the soule. For neither the body nor any member thereof should haue aty more motion or feeling then is in a blocke or stone, if it had no Soule to giue it life. For this cause after Iob hath spoken of the creation and composition of the body, he addeth, *Thou hast giuen mee* Iob. 10. 11. *life and grace, and thy visitation (that is to say, thy providence) hath preserved my spirit.* This agreeth with that, which we haue heard before of *Moses*, where he sayeth, *That the Lord* Gen. 2. 7. *made man of the dust of the ground, and breathed in his face breath of life, and the man was a liuing soule.*

First therefore we must vnderstand that there are in man three kinds of faculties and vertues that worke continually within him and neuer cease: the first is commonly called *Animal*, the second *Vital*, the third *Natural*. Of these two latter we will speake hereafter. Concerning the *Animal* facultie, it is diuided into 3. kinds: the first is called *Principal*, the second *Sensitive*, the third *Motive*. The *Principal* is diuided by some into three kinds, by others into five. They which make five sortes, distinguish betweene the common sense, the imagination, and the fantasie, making them three: and for the fourth they adde *Reason*, or the iudging faculty: and for the fifth, *Memorie*. They that make but three kinds differ not from

Three sortes of faculties in man.

Of the Animal powers

Of the Sensi-
tue.

of the motiue

How we come
to the know-
ledge of the
soule.

The know-
ledge of the
soule how ne-
cessary and ex-
cellent it is.

The know-
ledge of our
selues very
necessary.

The diuision
of creatures.

the other, but only in that they comprehend all the former three vnder the common sense, or vnder one of the twaine, whether it bee the other imagination or the fantasie. As for the *Sensitive* facultie, it comprehendeth the vertues of the five corporall senses, of which we haue spoken before. As for the *Motive* vertue, it comprehendeth the moouing of all the outward parts of the body from one place to another, especially of the feete and legges which is to walke, and of the hands which is to apprehend & to gripe. This moouing is done by the sinewes, muscles, and filaments, as we haue already declared: but not without knowledge & will, as the other that are more properly called *naturall motions*, of which wee may speake in their order. And this notion is led by the imagination in regard of beastes, but in regard of men, by reason. But because wee haue already handled at large these two last powers of the soule, namely, the *Sensitive* and *Motive*, when we spake of the externall members of the body, we will now speake especially of the first, which comprehendeth the internall senses spoken of by me euen now, which answer to the externall senses, according to the bond, agreement, and communication which the body and soule haue together. And because we cannot know the faculties and vertues of the soule, but only by meanes of those instruments whereby it worketh, as we shewed in our former discourses the nature and vse of the externall members, and how the soule is serued by them: so now we will do the like by the internall parts, to the end that we may the better know the nature of the soule by her operations and instruments, as the labourer that worketh by his instruments, and frameth those workes that are before our eyes. For the soule being of a spiritual nature and not bodily, we cannot see it in it owne substance & nature, nor haue any knowledge thereof but by the effectes, by which we may iudge and conclude of their cause, as also by those testimonies of the soule, which the Lord affoordeth vs in his word. And although the vnderstanding of man can not attaine to an entire and perfect knowledge of the soule, yet that small knowledge which we may haue, doth exceedingly profit and delight vs. For seeing it is the most excellent creature that is created vnder the cope of heauen, yea more excellent then the heuens themselves, or any of the celestiall bodies, because the soule only is endued with reason and vnderstanding, there is no doubt but the knowledge thereof is more excellent, profitable, pleasant, and necessary, yea more worthy admiration then of any other thing whatsoever, as that which alwayes yeeldeth profit to the greatest things that can be. Therefore we ought not to set light by that knowledge of it which we may attaine vnto. For there is in it so great variety, beauty, and harmony, yea it is so well adorned and set forth, that no heauen nor earth is so well painted or bedecked with such beautifull, lively, and excellent images and pictures as that is. On the other side, she is the Mistresse and Author from whence proceedeth the inuention of all Artes and Sciences, and of all those wonderfull workes that are made throughout the whole course of mans life. Therefore no man can beholde her or think vpon her without great pleasure and admiration. And seeing the fountaine and well-spring of all good and euill that befalleth vs is in the soule, there is nothing more profitable for men then to know it well, to the end they may labour more carefully to keepe this fountaine pure and well purged, that all the riuers of their actions and workes may issue & flowe pure and cleane from thence. For that man can neuer gouerne his soule well, nor bee master of himselfe, that doth not know himselfe. If we desire to know what workes we are to looke for of a workeman, what he can doe, or what may befall him, what hee is good for, and for what he is vnmeete, he must first of all be knowne what he is. Therefore that sentence of which we haue already spoken, that saith, *Know thy selfe*, ought here especially to take place and to be practised. For it is a harder matter to know the nature and quality of our soule & of our minde, the vertues & affections therof, to enquire & consider of it wel, & to know what may be knowne therof, as also the diuerse & holow lurking holes, the turnings & windings therin, the to know the bones, flesh, sinewes, & blood of our bodies, withal the matter wherof it is made, & al the parts & members therof. Seeing then we are to make enquiry of the nature & power of the soule by the effects therof, according as I haue already spokē, and seeing the principall effects is the life which it giueth to al liuing creatures, let vs first consider of the difference that is betweene the creatures void of life, & of those that haue life in them. Afterward let vs looke into the sundry sorts of liues that are in liuing creatures, as that which will helpe vs well to the vnderstanding of that we seeke for. First then we must note that al creatures are either spirituall or bodily. Al they are spirituall creatures that are without bodies, & which cannot be perceiued by any bodily sense, & such are the Angels both good & bad, & the soules & spirits of men. The bodily creatures are al those that are visible, & that may be felt & perceiued

perceiued by corporall senses; amongst which some haue no life; and some haue life. Again, Of creatures those creatures that haue no life, differ in two respects; for some of them haue no naturall without life. motion, as stones, metalles, mineralles, & such like creatures. Others haue their naturall motion; amongst which some are mutable, corruptible and subiect to change, others are immutable and incorruptible, continuing alwaies firme in their estate during the course of this world. The water, the aire, the windes, and the fire, are creatures hauing motion, albeit they haue no life; but they are subiect to corruption, and so are all the creatures that are compounded of the elements, whether they haue life or no. For being made of contrary matters and qualities, they corrupt and change, not in respect of their first matter and substance, which can neuer perish, according to the testimony of Philosophers, notwithstanding it alter in forme, but alwaies returneth to the first nature. Stones & mettalles, albeit they be very hard, yet are they not freed from corruption and consuming through vse. But the celestiaall bodies are of that matter and nature, that they moue continually, and yet abide alwaies intire and in their first forme, not being subiect to any change in respect of their bodies; neither do they weare or consume away as other creatures do that are vnderneath them. In so much that none of the celestiaall spheres are either wearied, worbe or spent more with all the labour they haue vndergone by the space of so many yeares, then they were the first day of their creation. For we must not take it for a change of their natures and qualities, that according to their diuerse course, the sunne, moone, and other planets and stars are sometimes further off, sometimes nearer each to other, that they haue their oppositions, coniunctions, diuerse and different aspects, according to the diuersitie and difference of their course and motion. We may say as much of the Eclipses both of the Sun and Moone. For the change that is amongst them is not in their owne bodies, substance, and qualities, but onely in regarde of vs and of our sight. Concerning the creatures that haue life, they are for the most part diuided into three kindes; but they that distinguish more subtilly make foure kindes. Of creatures hauing life. And because life is giuen by the soule, the Philosophers make as many sortes of soules as they doe of liues, and call them by the same names. They call the first, the *nourishing* or *vegetatiue* soule or life: the second the *sensitiue*: the third, the *cogitiue*: & the fourth, the *reasonable* soule, or the soule partaker of reason. Of the vegetatiue life. Touching the first, there is a kinde of life, that hath no other vertue in the creature to which it is giuen of God, then to nourish and cause it to increase, and to keepe it in being, vntill this life faile it. The soule that giueth life with these effects is called *nourishing* or *vegetatiue*; and this is proper to all herbes, trees, and plants that are maintained and kept in their kinds by the seeds, or by planting, setting, and such like propagations. Of the sensitiue. The second kinde of life named *sensitiue*, is so called, because it giueth not onely nourishment and groweth as the first, but sense also and feeling. They that will haue but three kinds, make but one of this, and of that which is called *cogitiue* by them that make foure, who attribute the sensitiue soule to the sea sponges, to oysters, cockles, and to those creatures which the Gracians and Latins call by a name, which in our language signifieth as much as plant-living creatures, because because they are of a middle nature betweene plants and living creatures hauing life and sense, as if they were compounded of both these natures together: so that they are more then simple plants, and yet are not perfect living creatures, as those are to whom is attributed the *Cogitiue* or knowing soule. And this is a soule and life, which not onely giueth whatsoever the two former imparteth to the creatures in whom they are, but also a certaine vertue and vigour, as of cogitation, of knowledge and of memorie, that they may haue skill to preserve their life, and know how to guide and gouerne themselves according to their naturall inclinatio. This soule is proper to brute beasts, whom some think to be partakers after a sort of reason, so farre forth as it concerneth things belonging to their nature. But wee will proceede no further at this time in this disputation: onely let vs note that they which make but three kindes of soule or life, doe giue to brute beastes that which wee called *Sensitiue*, comprehending them vnder that kinde of life, vnto which they attribute the same vertue and vigour whereof wee now spake, and which is distinguished by others, from that kinde of soule that giueth onely simple sense vnto the creature. Of the reasonable soule. The fourth kinde of soule and life is that of men, which hath all whatsoever is in the former kindes; and ouer & besides that (which is more excellent) is partaker of reason and vnderstanding: wherein it agreeth with the life of Angells, as wee will declare more at large in place conuenient, and shew also the difference that is betweene them. For this cause the soule of man giuen vnto him, is commonly called a reasonable soule, as all the former are called by names agreeing to their nature, as we haue declared. Therefore seeing the kinde of

The soule of
man differeth
from that of
beasts in vn-
derstanding &
immortality.

soule and life comprehendeth all the vertues and properties of the rest, it must be called *Vegetative, Sensitive, Cogitative* and *Reasonable* altogether. But we must note heere, that there is great difference betweene the soules of men, and those other of which wee spake before. For beside that the soule of man is partaker of reason and vnderstanding, with all properties that are in the rest, it hath that common with the Angells, who are spirits created of GOD, to live a spirituall life without bodier, that it is immortall also as well as they. But of this, immortalitye we hope (GOD willing) to intreate at large hereafter, as also of the creation and proper nature of the soule. In these two points then of vnderstanding and of immortalitye, the soule of man doth much differre from that of beasts. For although they haue a soule that giueth vnto them life, motion, and sence, with all other things touched by me, yet it is not partaker of vnderstanding, nor of an immortall nature as the Angells & soules of men are, but it is of a mortall nature, which endeth and dieth with the body. Therefore albeit the soule of man hath in it whatsoeuer is in the rest, beside that which is proper vnto it aboue the rest, and that which it hath common with the Angells, neuerthelesse it is called onely by the name of that thing which is the principall, chiefest and most excellent in it; as also the like is done with all the other kindes of soule and life. But methinkes we ought to consider more fully of that which man hath either common or diuers in his nature from the soule of beasts, and what are the proper actions of the soule ioyned with the body, and how it is hindered by the body without any change of nature. For the consideration hereof will greatly further our knowledge of the internall and spiritual sences, of which wee are to discourse, that we may step by step ascend vp to the highest vnderstanding and knowledge which the minde of man can attaine vnto concerning the soule. Let vs therefore heare *AMANA* of this matter.

Of the two natures of which man is compounded: how the body is the lodge and instrument of the soule: how the soule may be letted from doing her proper actions by the body, and bee separated from it, and yet remaine in her perfection. Chap. 22.

The soule is
the proper in-
habitant of
mans body.

A*MANA*. Albeit the greatest excellencie of man, which far passeth that of all other li-
uing creatures, ought to bee valued according to the soule that God hath given him,
differing from the soule of all other living creatures, his body beeing mortall and corrupti-
ble as that of beasts is; yet there are other points of excellencie in the matter, forme, and vse
of all the parts and members of which the body of man is made, that are not found in any
of the other, as we haue sufficiently shewed in our former discourses vpon this matter. When
by God would teach vs, that he hath prepared and built this lodging for an other manner of
inhabitant then he built the bodies of beasts, euen for a soule that differeth far from theirs.
For seeing hee maketh nothing without good reason, or that is without his profite, hee
sheweth by the instruments prepared for the workeman whom he will set on worke, what
manner of one he ought to be, and what workes he hath to make. And because he hath ap-
pointed workes and offices for the soule of man, which he would not haue in the soule of
brute beasts, he hath given to man such members and instruments as he hath not given to
other living creatures. As for those instruments which he hath common with beasts, God
hath otherwise disposed and placed in his bodie according to the office euery one hath, as
we may learne by their discourses.

Two natures
in man.

It is very euident, that man is not onely this masse and lumpe of skin, flesh, sinewes, bones,
and of such other matter gathered altogether in one body, whereof we haue spoken already;
but that there is yet in him another nature whose substance is inuisible, ouer and aboue this
bodily nature which we see. For experience sheweth vs what difference there is betwixt one
and the same body when it is dead. When there is no life in it, none of all those faculties and
vertues whereof the former discourse intreated, appeare within it, as we see they doe so long
as life dwelleth therein. And yet then the body is not deprived of those members which
it had before death, but keepeth them still vntil such time as they corrupt and waste away
of themselves, & finally faile all together for want of the soule and life that should preserve
and keepe them sound. In the meane time wee see, that they are without force, as vn-
fittes for vse, as if they were not at all, because they want soule and life which giueth them
vigour

vigour and setteth them a working. It is very cleere then by death, that the body hath no life of it selfe, nor any of those faculties and vertues which life bringeth with it; but that it receiveth them from another nature then from it owne. And this nature is called *Soule*, having sundry offices in man, as we have already vnder stood, & will hereafter handle them more particularly and in order. But in the meane time wee must note, that although the soule be not bodily, neuerthelesse it useth a bodily nature and instruments which it receiveth from that, for the performance of those workes that are assigned vnto it: which the soule could not doe without such instruments as are necessary thereunto. For as wee heard in the former speach, that among the creatures of God some are spirituall, others corporall, so we are to know also, that among the spirituall creatures, there are two sortes of spirits, of which some, namely, the Angels, were created to live a spirituall life agreeable to their nature, approaching nearer to the nature and life that is in God then any other: not being vnited or conioyned to any bodies that belong vnto them, vnto which they should giue life, as if they were creatures, compounded of bodie and spirite. Therefore wee call them not by the name of soules, as we doe the spirits of men, which God hath created to dwell in bodies, to giue them life, and to be ioyned with them in one person made of two natures, to wit, of a spirit and of a body. These spirites, which are also called *humane soules*, can live wel enough, and preferue themselves in their substance, hauing life alwaies in the, even after they are separated from their bodies. But the like cannot be saide of the bodies, which can not live, nor be preferued in their substance without their soules and spirits. Therefore Iesus Christ sayde, *Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soule: but rather feare him that can destroy both body and soule in Hell.* Wherefore albeit wee cannot see the soule, neither when it entereth into the body, and is ioyned vnto it, nor when it dwelleth there, nor yet when it departeth: yet it followeth not thereupon that it is not at all, or that it commeth to nothing. For the effects thereof shew vs the contrary, so long as that life which it giueth to the body continueth therein. And albeit we see no more effects of it, when it is seuered by death, yet it followeth not thereupon that the same thing should befall it that doth to the body, and so corrupt therewith. For it is so farre from corrupting with the body, that it keepeth the same from corruption so long as it is therein. And being separated, no maruaile if it effect no more that which it did in the body by those instruments which it had, because it hath them no longer.

Two sorts of spirits. The description of Angels.

Mens soules haue alwaies life in them.

Math. 10. 28. Luk. 12. 4. 5.

Wherefore in this respect it is like to an excellent Workeman, who cannot labour in his occupation without such instruments as necessarily belong thereunto. Yet in the meane season the Workeman continueth alwaies in the same estate, and hath no lesse knowledge and arte in him without his instruments, then when he hath them, albeit he vse them not when they are away. And although he enioyeth both his instruments and his arte, yet can he not well vse them, nor performe those workes which he hath to make, if they bee not sound, but corrupted or spoyled, as wee see in an instrument of Musicke. For if the chanter or Musicion be very expert in his arte, and handle his instrument as he ought to doe, yet can he neuer deliuer those foundes, tunes and harmonie which otherwise hee would, if his instrument were good. And yet that shall not hinder the Musicion from being alwaies as skilfull and expert in his arte, as if his instrument were very good and sound. Likewise if a man dwell in a dark lodging, he cannot see so wel & clearly, as in an other that is very light some: and yet he shall not haue sundry eyes, but the selfe same in both places. So that it followeth, that his dimnesse of his sight in one lodging rather then in the other, proceedeth not of any defect in his eyes, but of the house and habitation where hee is. The like may be saide of the soule lodged in the body, whose action and works therein are much hindred if it be badly lodged, if any part of the lodging be not good, or if it want those instruments and tooles that are necessary for it. For although it hath the vertue of sight in it selfe, yet it cannot without eyes see those things, which by means of them it beholdeth. And although it hath in it selfe the vertue to cause the hands and feete to mooue, and to set them on work according to their office, yet it cannot doe those workes by a maymed and lame hand, which it will doe by him that hath both his hands, nor cause a lame creeple wanting a foote or legge, or hauing some defect in those parts, to walke as well as an other that hath all these sound and perfect. And a man may iudge of my speech, by that which hapneth not only to them that fall into an *Apoplexie*, but also to such as haue some quaueme about their hart, so that they faint and fowne, and are for the time as it were dead: and yet afterward pluck vp their spirits, and come againe to their former estate. But before they bee reuiued, they

The soule compared to cunning Workeman.

To a Musicion

To an inhabitant.

The soule is
the Workman
the body, the
toole.

A glasse to
see God in.

The world is
not the body
of God.

How the soule
in the body
resembleth
God in the
world.

seeme as though they had no soule in their bodies, because it is not perceiued by the works thereof, as it is when the body is well affected. And this is chiefly to be seene in a strong *Apoplexie*, or falling sicknesse, in which the patient loseth all motion and sence. Whereupon it hath come to passe oftentimes, that many haue beene buried for dead in that case, who were not withstanding aliue, and some haue recovered and done well afterward, as we haue many examples both in common experience, and in histories olde and new. Now whilst the soule is thus letted from performing her actions by such inconueniences, who would not iudge, that she were cleane extinguished with the body? Neuerthelesse afterward when she can vse her instruments, she sheweth plainly that the fault commeth not of her, but of the instruments that faile her. Therefore when we speake of the soule and of the body, we must put the same difference betweene them that is betwixt a workman and his tooles, considering the nature of both, and what they can doe both ioyntly and seuerally. For an instrument hath neither knowledge nor force, nor vertue of it selfe, being able to do nothing alone, but onely so farre forth as it is set on worke by some workman. But there is another reason in the workman. For although he cannot vse his arte without those instruments that are necessary thereunto, yet he hath alwaies abiding within him that arte, power, force, and dexterity, whereby he worketh. So that when we speake of the soule, wee are to consider what she can doe of her selfe and of her owne nature without the body, and what she cannot doe without it. For we learne in the holy Scriptures, that when Angels appeared to men, because they are spirits, and haue no speech like to that of men, as beeing bodilesse and wanting instruments necessary for the framing thereof, therefore they tooke mens bodies to appeare and speake to men in and by them. No maruaile then if the soule, which is created to vse the members of the body as instruments, speaketh not without a tongue, as it doth with one, and with the other Organes of voyce and speech. Now forasmuch as wee know, that the soule giueth life, motion and sence to all the body, and that it hath sundry instruments in the body, in which, and by which it performeth those works for which they were created of God, we are now to consider what faculty, power and vertue it hath in euery part of the body. For albeit that we cannot asigne to the soule, especially to the spirit and vnderstanding which is the most excellent part therein, any certaine place of lodging, as if it were inclosed within any one part, or within all the parts of the body, neuerthelesse we may iudge of the nature thereof by those instruments wherby it worketh, and by their nature, and by the works it produceth. And in this consideration wee haue a goodly glasse, wherein we may contemplate God that is inuisible, making him visible and knowne vnto vs by his workes: euen as the soule is become as it were visible, and sheweth it selfe to vs by the body, in which it dwelleth, and by the workes which it doth therein. Therefore let vs propound vnto our selues this whole visible world as it were one great body, then all the parts as members thereof: next let vs consider how the soule of al this great body, namely the vertue and power of God worketh therein, and effecteth all the workes that are done therein, according to that order hee hath set therein, as the soule worketh in the body of man and in euery member thereof. Thus doing, as we know that there is a soule in the body, and another nature beside that which is bodily, and which worketh therein, and this wee perceiue by the effects thereof: so let vs marke withall by the works done in this visible world, that there is another nature that effecteth them, which beeing inuisible differeth from all this world we see, as that which is farre more excellent, which filleth the whole, and by vertue and power is in all the parts thereof, as a soule in a body. But in propounding this glasse before our eyes, we must take heede, that wee fall not into their doctage, who haue thought and affirmed that the world is the body of God, and that himselfe is the soule thereof. For thereupon it would follow, that God is mortall and corruptible in regard of his body, and that some part or other thereof would alwaies corrupt, as wee daily see corporall things doe. Againe, if it were so, God should not be infinite and incomprehensible as hee is: for the world doth not comprehend and containe him, but he all the world, whereof he is the Creator, and by whom the world is and consisteth. Seeing then the soule is the image of God in man, as the body of man is the image of this great world, in which God worketh as the soule doth in the body of man, let vs consider how God hath distributed the powers, vertues, and offices of the soule in the body, and in euery part thereof, as he manifesteth his glory and vertue in all this visible world, and in all the parts of it. For first, they agree herein, that as there is but one soule in one body, which is sufficient for all the parts and members thereof, so there is but one God in the world, sufficient for all the crea-

tures

tures. Next, if we cannot conceiue how the soule is lodged in the body, or how it giueth life vnto it, neither yet how it worketh and displaieth therein the vertues which it hath, but onely so farre forth as it testifieth the same by those diuers effects, which we see and perceiue in euery part and member thereof, no maruaile then if we cannot with our eyes discern or comprehend how God is throughout all, filling heaven and earth, how he displaieth his power and vertue, how he worketh in all his creatures, and how he guideth, gouerneth, and preserueth them by his heavenly providence. For if we cannot comprehend the creature, nor the nature thereof, how shall we comprehend the nature of the Creator? And if it be not in our power to know the workes of God wrought in vs, neither the workes of our owne soule, how shall we know his workes done in the whole world? And if we be not able to vnderstand or comprehend them, doth it follow therefore that he doth them not? yet there are many that conclude after that sort. For they beleue nothing but that which they are able to conceiue, know, and comprehend by their naturall reason. And so, because they cannot know how the soule being of a spirituall nature is ioyned with the body, which is cleane of another nature, nor conceiue how it is lodged and worketh therein, therefore they must conclude that they haue no soule, which worketh that in them that is there done. For they see not, neither can they shew how it worketh by those instruments, which it hath in the body, but onely so farre forth, as they beholde the worke. But we shall haue occasion else where to handle this more at large. For this time let vs goe forward with our speech of the powers and faculties of the soule, considering first of the braine, which is the principall instrument thereof, and the seate of the internall senses already mentioned by vs, of which we are to be instructed particularly.

The absurd collection of Atheists.

Of the braine, and of the nature thereof: of the sundrie kindes of knowledge that are in man: of the similitude that is betweene the actions and workes of the naturall vertues of the soule, and of the internall Sences. Chap. 23.

AR A M. The workmanship which God hath wrought in the whole course of nature as well in the nature of the heavens as of the elements, of liuing things, of plants, metals and other creatures, doth vndoubtedly containe in it great miracles, and very excellent and euident testimonies: which shew plainly vnto vs, that the nature of all things, yea of the whole world, commeth not by fortune and aduenture, but that they were created and ordayned by a more excellent nature then any can bee found in all the world. But there is not a more expresse and cleerer image of the diuine nature, then in that part of man, wherein are to be found those great and maruailous properties, which are commonly called *Animales*, as namely the *Thought*, *Vnderstanding*, and *knowledge of numbers*, and of *Order*, *Reason*, *Iudgement*, *Memory*, with the discerning of honest things from those that are dishonest, of good things from bad, together with the *Election* or *Reijection* of them. Therefore the contemplation of these vertues and powers is very necessary for vs, that by the knowledge of them wee may daylie learne to knowe GOD the better, by that resemblance and similitude of his wisdom, which he hath vouchsafed to transfer & to imprint in mans nature: and that we might be induced thereby to glorifie him: and that we should labour to the vttermost of our power, to haue this image shine in vs more and more, and daily to increase in likenesse vnto the patterne from whence it is taken.

Of the animal vertues.

Now let vs follow that diuision which wee haue already made of the sundry faculties, vertues, properties and offices which the soule hath in the body, namely, the *Animall*, *Vitall*, and *Naturall*: and that diuision also which we made of mans body, vnto which many attribute three seuerall parts, and call them bellies, the first and highest of which they place in the head, for the *Animall* faculties and vertues: the second, which is the middlemost belly, in the breast and stomacke for the *Vitall* vertues: and the last, from the Midriffe to the share bone, for the *Naturall* faculties. They vnderstand by the first the whole braine, which they diuide also into sundry partes, and call them likewise *Bellies*, and little *Bellies*. We haue already heard of the excellency of the head, of the place and situation thereof, of the goodly outward members wherewith it is beautified, of the bones whereof it is made, and of the couering wherewith they are couered, that the braine might haue his conuenient lodging.

Three bellies attributed to mans body.

and

Of the braine
and of the
image of God
therein.

builded
to noisles
affinity

The braine
most resem-
bleth the hea-
uens.

Three kindes
of knowledge

Of the first
kinde of know-
ledge com-
mon to all li-
ving creatures

and such a one as is requisite for the nature and office it hath: that it might bee well fortified and defended on every side to preserve & keepe it well, against all outward inconveniences that might come vnto it: & to the end also it might haue neere about it all those seruants and sences which it guideth and governeth, and all those instruments which it standeth most in neede of, both in regard of the workes it is charged with, as also for the purging thereof. For as much then as it is lodged in the head, we are to know, that as the head hath a certaine agreement with the heauens, and the eyes with the celestiall lights, as we haue already touched, so is it likewise with the braine. For it is of a more heavenly nature, and approacheth neerer to the spirituall and diuine nature then any other part of the whole body, as that where in a man may finde all those excellent vertues and *Animall* powers of which I made mention in the beginning of my speech, and which are no actions or workes of a brutish nature. Whereof also it followeth very well, that the Workemaster and author thereof, cannot bee of a brutish nature, without vnderstanding and knowledge of order, of things honest and dishonest, and of good and bad. Which teacheth vs moreover, that he greatly esteemeth of the preservation of nature and of humane societie, and detesteth whatsoever is contrary thereunto, seeing he hath imprinted in man such an image of his diuine nature, as he would not willingly haue defaced and blotted out. Wherefore, although wee cannot thoroughly know, either the nature of the braine, or the actions thereof, or of the soule which it serueth: yet that which may come to our knowledge will greatly helpe to confirme more and more this testimony of God and of his providence, which is already imprinted in our hearts by the light and law of nature. Therefore it were very good and profitable for vs, to consider diligently of that resemblance of God, which every one of vs beareth in a very small image, that we may giue him thanks, and referre to their proper end all those giftes and excellent parts, which he hath placed in our nature. We are to note then for the first point, that as GOD manifesteth more excellently his diuine nature, and the glorie of his maiestie in the heauens, and in the highest parts of this great visible world, then hee doth in other parts more base and terrestriall, as we may easily know by the contemplation of them: so dealeth hee with the head and braine of man, which is at it were the lodging of the internal sences already named, which are farre more excellent and noble then the outward sences. For if liuing creatures, and chiefly man, should onely and barely apprehend those things that are before them, without any imagination, thought, or consideration of them, thereby to know how to chuse or reiect them, as they may be either profitable or hurtfull, it would not bee greatly profitable, to haue them presented to the outward sences. For this cause God hath ioyned vnto them another facultie and vertue, which is more excellent and wonderfull then is the simple apprehending of them. This facultie and power is giuen for the knowledge of things, and that to the instruments in the braine, as it appeareth by experience in this, that according as the braine and the parts thereof are well or ill affected, it is perceived in the internal sences, of which they are the instruments, as wee will expresse more plainly in the sequelle of our speech. But concerning this present matter in the hand, we are to note, that there are three kindes of knowledge.

The first knoweth those bodies onely that are present before it: the second knoweth those also that are absent: and the third those things that haue no bodies. Wee see by experience, that although plants haue a certaine agreement with other liuing creatures, namely in this, that they inioy the same life with them, which we called before the *Vegetative* or *Nourishing* life, neuertheless, other liuing creatures haue this more then they, that they know, see, heare, taste, smell, and touch, which things are without them: whereas the whole life of plants hath nothing but that which is within them, hauing no sence or knowledge outwardly. Concerning that knowledge, which taketh notice onely of corporall things that are present before it, it is the same that belongeth properly to the external sences, of which we spake before, and which are giuen by GOD to liuing creatures for their preservation. For seeing they are bodily natures, and must liue amongst bodies, he hath endued them with a certaine knowledge of those bodies, to the end they may desire and follow after such things as are agreeable to their nature, and eschew that which is hurtfull. Now that which is hidden within any thing, is knowne by some outward meanes. And therefore the bodily sences were giuen vnto them, to the end that by them they might know whatsoever is externall, being annexed to the things that are perceived. And although GOD hath not giuen to all liuing creatures outward sences alike, yet they that are perfect haue all those five sences spoken of in our former discourses, by which they are able to perceiue and know all outward things

things, so that nothing can be founde, which is not comprehended vnder the knowledge of the senses. Wherein God hath so provided, that according to mans iudgement we see that all perfect living creatures ought to haue iust so many and not one more or lesse. For if they had lesse, they should not be so perfect as they are: and if they had more, they would be superfluous and for no vse, at least wise so farre forth as our small capacitie could conceiue, leauing in the meane while to the incomprehensible wisdom, and infinite power of God, that which we are not able to comprehend. For we owe him this reuerence, seeing he alone knoweth all things that are necessary and expedient for all creatures. Now besides this outward knowledge of things present, we see plainly, that there is another knowledge within of things that are absent. For our own experience teacheth vs, that even then when our externall senses are retired and withdrawne from doing their duties, the imagination, thought, consideration and remembrance of those things we haue seene, heard, tasted, smelt, touched and perceived with corporall senses, remaine still in vs both waking and sleeping: as it appeareth by our dreames, in which the images & resemblance of those things which the bodily senses perceived waking are represented to our internall senses when we are asleepe. We see testimonies of some part of this knowledge even in brute beastes, which causeth them to haue respect to such things as they neede: but yet they haue it not as men haue, who haue far greater knowledge, and more internall senses then beastes, as being partakers of reason and vnderstanding. The third kinde of knowledge, which is of things that are not bodily, is the principall effect of the vnderstanding, which listeth vp all the senses of man to the contemplation of the diuinity, and of the spirituall and supernaturall things: which kinde of knowledge is proper to man and to no other living creature. Of this knowledge we will intreate more at large hereafter, when we shall speake of those principall and most noble senses of the soule, namely vnderstanding, and reason. In the meane time that wee may the better knowe the facultie, vertue and office of every one of those internall senses of which we will intreate, wee are to vnderstand, that the soule worketh by them in their places, almost after the same manner it doth in the diuers kinds of her naturall faculties and vertues, according to the nature of every one of them. For this power and vertue which we call *naturall*, and which before we said was the third faculty that continually worketh in man and neuer ceaseth, is diuided into three sorts. The first is the vertue of *nourishing*, the second of *augmenting*, the third of *ingendring*: and these haue sixe other vertues and faculties common to them altogether. The first draweth vnto it, the second holdeth fast, the third digesteth, the fourth distributeth, the fift assimilateth and incorporateth, that is, conuerteth into it owne substance that which is dispensed vnto it, and so turneth it into the substance of the body that receiueth it: the sixt driueth forth whatsoever is superfluous. For the nourishment which the bodie receiueth would doe it no good, vnlesse it had some vertue in it to draw the same vnto it selfe, as also members and instruments meete for this worke, as wee will declare more at large by the helpe of God, when we shall speake more particularly of this matter. Besides, it is not enough for the body to draw foode to it selfe, but it must also retaine the same. And because the things that are taken cannot nourish the body except they be turned into the nature thereof, therefore they must first bee digested and prepared by this meane, as we vse to prepare such meats as haue need of dressing before we eate the. But because they are not sufficiently prepared by this first dressing, they must be once againe dressed by the naturall heat that is in the body, without which neither the heate of the materiall fire, nor the heate of the Sunne will serue the turne, vnlesse this naturall heate also doe his duty. Now after the meate is thus digested and prepared, it must be distributed and parted to all the members, that every one may take such nourishment as is meete for it. And because the matter is diuers in the whole composition of the body, as namely bones, gristles, ligaments, sinewes, arteries, veines, flesh, and other kinds of matter whereof we haue spoken heretofore: therefore must the food also be so conuerted in every member, as that it is to bee altered into a substance altogether like to every seuerall part it hath to nourish. Now forasmuch as al that the body taketh in for nourishment, is not fitte for that purpose, after that nature hath taken that which may doe her good, she reiecteth the residue, which is not onely not profitable but also very hurtfull for her, vnlesse she did cast it forth, and so discharge and purge the body thereof. Now let vs see how the like is wrought in the braine betwene the internall senses and the *Animall* vertues. For first there must be some facultie and vertue that receiueth the images imprinted in the senses, the knowledge whereof is as single and plaine as

Of the second kinde of knowledge.

Of the third kinde of knowledge.

Of the naturall vertue and of the kinds thereof.

Of the *Animall* vertues and powers in the internall senses.

may

Of Imagina-
tion.

Of Memory.

Of Fantasie
and com-
mon sense.Of reason &
iudgement.

may be, because it is onely of things that are bodily and present, as I haue already declared. This vertue is called *Imagination*, or the *Imaginative* vertue, which is in the soule as the eye in the body, by beholding to receiue the images that are offered vnto it by the outward senses: and therefore it knoweth also the things that are absent, and is amongst the internall senses as it were the mouth of the vessell of memory, which is the facultie and vertue that retaineth and keepeth whatsoeuer is committed to the custody thereof by the other senses, that it may be found and brought forth when neede requirerh. Therefore *Memory* is as it were their treasure to keepe that which they commit vnto it, and to bring it forth in due time and season. Now after that the *Imagination* hath receiued the images of the senses, singly and particularly as they are offered vnto it, then doth it as it were prepare and digest them, either by ioyning them together, or by separating them according as their natures require.

They that distinguish *Imagination* from *Fantasie*, attribute this office to *Fantasie*: others say it belongeth to the *Common sense*, vnder which they comprehend both the former faculties, because the office thereof is to receiue the images that are offered vnto it, and to discern the things as they are presented by al the externall senses, and to distinguish them as they doe. Afterward it is requisite, that all these things thus heaped together, should be distributed and compared one with another, to consider how they may bee conioyned or seuered, how one followeth another, or how farre asunder they are, that so a man may iudge what is to be retained and what to be refused. And this office belongeth to *Reason*, after which *Iudgement* followeth, whereby men chuse or refuse that which reason alloweth or disalloweth. For it belongeth to reason to discourse, and memory afterward, as I haue already touched, hath this office to retaine and keepe all. Thus you see the similitude & comparison that may be considered of betwene the actions and workes of the natural vertues of the soule, and those of the *Animall* vertues in the internall senses: which may greatly help vs to the better vnderstanding of that which we haue already touched before, concerning the spirituall foode of our soules, which properly belongeth to the internall senses. Now because all these senses, faculties and vertues haue their instruments in the braine, before we speake more at large and particularly of their office and nature, wee must see how these parts are placed in the head, and what vessels and members they haue in the braine: and this *ACHITO B* shall teach vs.

Of the composition of the Braine, with the members and parts thereof: of their offices, and of that knowledge which ought to content vs, touching the principall cause of the vertues and wonderfull powers of the soule. Chap. 24.

The nature of
the reason-
able part in the
soule is hard
to be known.

ACHITO B. The actions, faculties and vertues of the soule are so high and obscure, that their excellency far surmounteth the capacity of our vnderstanding. For we haue no other soule aboue this that effecteth these works, whereby we might see and know the nature hereof, as by this we come to the knowledge of corporall things, whose nature being of lesse excellency and more base, our soule which is of a more high & noble nature is able to know, comprehend and iudge of them. But because there is no nature in vs more high and excellent then our soule, none can know it as it is, but onely the creator that made it, especially that reasonable part of the soule, wherein the image of God is more liuely, and shineth more cleerely then in the rest. Therefore wee may in some sort know by this part, facultie and vertue which is the chiefest, what is the nature of the rest, that are inferiour vnto it. But because there is no part in vs aboue that, we cannot perceiue and know how it useth the internall senses, with their vessels & instruments, as by this we may iudge of the *Vnall* vertue, which it sheweth vnto vs in the heart, and of the *Nutritive* vertue which it discovereth vnto vs in the liuer, and in other parts and members serving to these faculties, as also to the vertue of generation. Therefore we must waite for a more ample knowledge of our selues, chiefly of our soules, and aboue all of that part which is most excellent in it, when we shall by the goodnesse and grace of G O D behold face to face the creatour that created it, and shall behold and know our selues in him, and contemplate him in all perfection and truth. But seeing we vnderstood by the former speech, that all the *Animall* facul-

ties

ties and vertues, and all the internall fences (in the knowledge whereof we desire to be instructed more at large) haue their seates and instruments in the braine, let vs now consider how these parts are placed within the head. And first of all we must call to minde what we heard before of the outward parts thereof. As for that which is within, there are hollow places, called *Little Bellies*, distinguished by distance of place, as it were diuers chambers in one building. Therefore there are certaine membranes or skinnies both to distinguish them and knitte them together, as also to preserue and keepe them from all hurt and daunger.

Of the little Bellies of the braine.

Now albeit these skinnies haue this office, yet it is much to bee maruailed at, how this whole frame can keepe it selfe and continue so firme, as it were the roofof a house or Church, considering that the matter there is great, spongie, and very tender. The first of these skinnies is a thicke covering, which is one of the chiefest skinnies that belong to our body. The substance thereof is thicke, and harder then any other skinne, and therefore it is called the *Hard mother*, because it bringeth forth and preserueth all the rest.

Of Dura mater, or the hard mother.

The vse and profit thereof is to wrap and fould in round about the whole braine, and to keepe it, that whilest it moueth, it should not be hurt with the bone of the head, which is commonly called the skull. For nature vseth to set a meane betweene two contraries, as wel to knit them together, as to preserue both the one & the other. Therefore because the bones of the skull are hard, and the braine is soft and tender, God hath placed this covering, which is of a middle substance betweene them both, and is so tyed to the one and the other, that it hangeth as it were betweene both, and toucheth neither of them, but there is space betweene them, to the end that motion of the braine might be free without any let or hindrance. The second vse therof is, to serue for a passage to the veines and arteries, for the nourishing of the braine and governing of the vitall spirits. Last of all, it serueth to distinguish the whole braine, first into two parts, namely into that before, and that behinde: then into the right side and the left. It is of this skin whereof some men thinke *Salomon* spake, when he made mention of a golden *Ewer broken in the extremitie of olde age*, & so we expounded it when we intreated of the marrow in the chine-bone. Besides this skinne, there is another named the *godly mother*, which is fine and very slender, wouen of many veines and arteries, seruing not onely for it owne life and nourishment, but also for that of the braine. Neither doth it only compasse and wrap in the braine round about, as the *Hard mother* doth, but entreteth also into the bowels and windings thereof, to tie and knit it together on all sides. As for the braine, which is the fountaine and beginning of the sinewes and of the voluntary motion, and the instrument of the chiefest facultie of the soule, namely, the *Animall* and reasonable facultie, it is greater in man then in any other creature, as that which filleth almost the whole skull. I say almost, because if it filled it fully and wholly, the motion thereof could not be perfect. His office and vse is, to worke and make fine the *Animall* spirit, which is necessary for the whole body, and to serue as an instrument to the facultie of reason, which is the chiefest facultie and vertue of the soule. The first part of the braine retaineth the name of the whole, being diuided into two parts, namely into the right part and the left. The hinder part is called the little braine, and that in comparison of the other parts. So that when a man considereth the whole braine, hee shall finde within the substance thereof foure *Ventricles*, or hollow places, which are ioyned together by certaine waies. Now although wee cannot see with our eyes, nor well vnderstande and conceiue howe the soule worketh by her instruments, neuerthelesse God giueth vs a certaine entrance into some knowledge thereof by the matter and forme which they haue. And therefore it seemeth, that these little bellies of the braine haue such waies from one to another, to this end, that by them, the spirits that are made and imprinted by the sensible and intelligible kindes and images, might passe and bee communicated one with another. Now because they must not onely be well wrought, but also thoroughly clesed of all excrements, God hath created those vessels and instruments, in which this worke is to bee begunne, greater then the others, which are to receiue the spirits alreadie wrought and almost perfected. Therefore the two first are the greatest, hauing the situation before, namely on each side one, and being in fashion like to two halfe moones. The third is vnderneath them right in the midst of the braine. The fourth and last is vpon the bending downe of the nape of the necke. As for the two first ventricles, they are so conioyned the one with the other, that they end in one common pipe or passage, like to two paire of smithes bellows. And it seemeth that God hath made them of that fashion as if

Of the skull.

Three vses of the hard Mother.

Of Pia mater or the godly mother.

Of the braine and office thereof.

The diuision of the braine

Of the Presse
and the Vault
in the head.

Of the Lik-
worme and of
his office.

Of the pas-
sage whereby
the superflui-
ties of the
braine are
voyded.

None can here
attaine to a
perfect know-
ledge of the
essentiall pow-
er of the soule

The mind
cannot per-
fectly know
it selfe.

he meant thereby to shew vs, that the spirit of the said ventricles hauing receiued his forme of the kindes and images propounded vnto it, is carried by this passage into the middle ventricle or bellie. I omit to speake at large of many vessels and instruments, which serue the braine for sundry purposes, amongst the which there is one, which both the Greeke & Latine Philisicians call by a name that signifieth a *Presse*, because the bloud is pressed into it for the nourishing of the braine: and another is called a *Vault*, both in respect of the fashion and of the vse. For it is like a Vault or arch rooffe set vpon three pillars, and is as it were the rooffe and covering of the middle ventricle, that there might be a more free and easie space for the motion of the *Animall* spirit that is made therein: and also that it might more easily sustaine and beare the great quantitie of braine, that leaneth vnto each side of it. I omitte also other instruments, which serue in like manner to strengthen and support the parts thereof. There is also one instrument made as it were of many pieces ioyned together like little wheelles, which is called *Like-worme*, because of the likelihood it hath with those great white wormes that are found in rotten wood. It seemeth that this peece was placed there, to bee as it were the porter, to shuts and open the passage of the spirit that goe into the hinder most ventricle, to the ende they should enter therein measurable, and so auoide the confusion of the memorie that is placed there: which otherwise would happen if they should enter in too sodainely and too much at once. There is likewise a pipe, to euacuate the grosse and thicke excrements of the braine, as well by the rooffe of the mouth, as by the nose: and therefore because it resemblith a little basin, or rather a funnell, it is called by those names.

Moreover, there is a pipe that passeth from the middle ventricle to the last, which is as it were the chariot of the spirit, to passe from one to the other. In all which things, and in many others particularly obserued by Philisitions and Anatomists, in this part of the braine, wee may note a wonderfull workmanship both for the variety of instruments, and for their fitte application to those duties that are assigned them. Wherefore we may well say, that it is in this part of man chiefly, wherein GOD doeth most excellently manifest his diuine nature, and the glory of his maiestie. And this we shall better perceiue, by considering particularly and in order vnto which of the internall senses al these parts of the braine are vessels and instruments, in which the faculties and vertues of the soule are contained and doe shewe themselves. But as was saide in the beginning of our speech, let vs not heere looke for a sound and perfect knowledge of that substantiall power, whereby the soule effecteth so many maruailous workes by the meanes of these senses. For so high a secret being laide vp and hidde in wisdom and truth it selfe, cannot fall within the small capacitie of mans sense and vnderstanding, vntill the light thereof bee purged from that corporall darkenesse wherewith it is couered and compassed about during this life.

Neuerthelesse by a diligent contemplation of that matter, which we haue noted wor-
thie of admiration, we shall finde sufficient wherewith to content our mindes, by causing them to looke to themselves, in respect of that which it hath pleased GOD hereto reueale and manifest two manner of waies. First, because wee may in some sort take a viewe of nature, by searching out therein those things, of which she doeth heere set before vs very euident testimonies: even those things which may bee demonstrated (although grossely) according to the capacitie of our dull vnderstandings. The second way, which is the chiefest and most sure, is by that testimony which himselfe affordeth vs in his word. For let vs not thinke that the minde can pronounce any thing for certaine, but as it is directed by the testimony of GOD, seeing the senses which hee hath giuen vs, come short herein, and are not able to ascend vp so high. For the excellencie of this creature, and of the nature thereof is such and so great, that it cannot perfectly know and comprehend it selfe, especially where it is of greatest dignitie. So that if we desire to haue certaine knowledge, whither should we haue recourse in this defect of our senses, but vnto him that is able to certifie vs truly in this point? And who can tellie the truth of the worke, but the workemaster that made it, and therefore knoweth it better then any other, and all the perfection that is in it? Why then doe wee not yeele to GOD that honour in a thing not to bee comprehended by vs, which wee doe to men of whom wee are well perswaded in things which wee cannot know but by their testimonie? For how manie things doe wee beleue of which wee knowe not the causes, and for which wee haue no other reason shewed vs, but onely the testimonie and authoritie of men,

men, whom we iudge worthy of credite? who notwithstanding may themselves be deceiued, and deceiue others. But G O D cannot be deceiued, nor deceiue those that giue credit to his testimony, which he hath not so hidden from men, but that it is manifested vnto them, yea he hath chosen some amongst them to testifie the same from him to others. And if it hath pleased him to haue such witnesses amongst them, a man may soone see that hee hath chosen them in whom he hath caused his image to shine most excellently, and whom he hath made more like to himselfe, as well by the reuelation of his holy Spirit, in all those excellent graces and vertues wherewith he hath indued them; as also by those holy and heavenly workes which he effecteth by them, whereby hee hath as it were marked them with his seale to giue them authority, and to cause them to be acknowledged of all for his faithfull witnesses and seruants. If then we desire to haue certaine and true witness in any such matter, where can we finde them sooner then amongst the Patriarkes, Prophets and Apostles, with all those Martyrs and other holy personages, whose doctrine and life testifie vnto vs how farre they differ from other men? But aboueall, how highly ought we to esteeme the testimonie of the very Sonne of G O D, who is to bee preferred before all others? Seeing therefore we haue so many faithfull witnesses, let vs keepe vs to their testimonie, waiting for that perfect light, and more cleere and ample knowledge which shall be reuealed vnto vs in that heavenly glory. In the meane time let vs consider how wee are able to comprehend the infinite nature of the Creatour of our soule, seeing we cannot conceiue the nature of the soule, which he hath created: and let vs reiect those dogs and hogs, those Atheists and Epicures, who iudge of God and of the soule of man so far forth onely as they are able to knowe and comprehend by their naturall sence; whereby they see no further into the soule of man then they doe into the soules of beasts, whom themselves resemble: But suppose they had no other testimonie of the celestiall and diuine nature of the soule, but that which it affoordeth vs daily by those faculties and vertues wherewith God hath endued it, and the effectes it sheweth vs, yet ought they to learne to iudge otherwise. Now to morrow it will be thy part *A S E R*, to begin the particular handling of these goodly internall sences, whose vessels and instruments wee haue considered of in this speech: as also thou art to teach vs who be the chiefe ministers of the soule for all her actions.

God cannot
deceiue, nor
be deceiued.

The testimo-
ny of the
Scriptures
most firme.

The end of the third daies worke.

The fourth daies worke.

*Of the seate of voluntary motion and sence: of the office and nature of the common
sence: of imagination and of fantasie, and how light and dangerous fanta-
sie is: of the power which both good and bad spirits haue
to moue it. Chap. 25.*



A S E R. The knowledge of many things is so naturall to men, that being borne with them, it is like to a light attending vpon the mind, as the sight doth vpon the eyes. For the knowledge of numbers, and of order; the Principles and beginning of Artes, the knowledge and distinction of things honest and dishonest, proceede from such a light. And when Saint Paul saith, that the Gentiles, and all that haue not receiued of God the Law of the two Tables as the people of Israel did, haue notwithstanding a *Law written in their hearts that doth accuse or excuse them*, no doubt but by this Law he vnderstandeth that naturall knowledge which men haue both of God, and of good, & euill, which issueth from a higher spring then from the outward sences, and which euery one hath for a schoolemistresse within him selfe, euen they also that would extinguish wholly this light if they could. For although God hath imprinted many similitudes and testimonies of himselfe in all creatures, whereby he manifesteth himselfe vnto vs, yet should we know nothing more then the brute beasts doe, if there were not a light in our minds that causeth vs to see & know the, & to conclude that which we doe: which light is not in beasts, albeit they haue outward sences as well as we.

Rom. 2. 15.

we. But it is commonly said, that there is nothing in the vnderstanding, which hath not first beene in the outward senses: that is to say, that it can know nothing, which is not first discovered and manifested vnto it by them. But we must vnderstand that saying of such things as fall vnder their powers and faculties, which being knowne and noted by the senses, doe awaken and stirre vp the vnderstanding, which after by that vertue it hath in it selfe, proceedeth forward, namely, from signes and effects vnto causes, from accidents to substances, and from particular things to vniuersalities. But let vs consider how.

Of the seate
of voluntary
sense and mo-
tion.

Of the Com-
mon sense &
of his office.

Of Imagina-
tion and of
Fantasie.

Dan. 2. 28. 29

The giddines
of Fantasie.

We must first remember the diuision which before we made of the *animall* facultie & power, and thereupon we note that the sensitive & motiue powers, whereby the soule, vsing the meanes of the sinewes and muscles, giueth voluntary sense and motion to all the body, haue no speciall place or seate in the braine, as the other internall senses haue, but are dispersed throughout the whole substance thereof. Concerning the chiefe power and faculty we were tolde before, how some distinguish betweene *Imagination*, *fantasie*, and the *Common sense*: and how others comprehend them all in one. But be it that wee ioyne or separate them, let vs now consider of the nature and places of each of them. The *Common sense* is so called, because it is the first of all the internall senses of which wee are to speake, as also the Prince and Lord of all the externall senses, who are his messengers and seruants to minister and make relation vnto him of things in common. For it receiueth al the images and shapes that are offered and brought vnto it by them, yea all the kindes and resemblances of materiall things, which they haue receiued onely from without, as a glasse doth: and all this for no other cause but that they should discerne and seuer euery thing according to it owne nature and propertie, and afterward communicate them to the internall senses. For although al the knowledge that is in the minde of man proceedeth not from the outward senses as we shewed in the beginning of our speech, neuerthelesse they are created of God, to the ende they should send to the vnderstanding the similitudes of things without, and be the messengers of the minde, and witnesses of experience: and also to the end they should awaken and stir vp the minde to beholde & marke the things that are without it, that by considering of them, it may iudge of, and correct the faults. We must then obserue, that the externall senses haue no iudgement of that which they outwardly receiue but by meanes of the common sense, vnto which they make relation, and then that iudgeth: so that they ende where that beginneth. In this manner therefore as the *Common sense* of all the internall senses is next vnto the externall, so is it the meanes whereby they communicate one with another. For afterward it carrieth to the other internall senses whatsoever hath beene communicated vnto it by the externall. Now after this sence hath done his duty, *Imagination* and *Fantasie* execute their offices, both which are taken by many for one and the same facultie and vertue of the soule, but yet distinguished from the *Common sense*: others ioyne them both with the *Common sense*, because these three senses, whether they be distinguished or taken all for one, haue their seates, vessels, and instruments in the former part of the braine. Therefore there will be no danger if we vse these two names *Fantasie* and *Imagination* indifferently. For *Fantasie* is deriued from a Greeke word that signifieth as much as *Imagination*: and it is translated by *Cicero* into a Latine word, which is as much as *Vision*. This facultie therefore and vertue of the soule is called *Fantasie*, because the visions, kindes, and images of such things as it receiveth, are diuersly framed therein, according to the formes & shapes that are brought to the *Common sense*. Therefore *Daniel* called the dreame of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the *visions of the head*, which he had vpon his bed, according to the thoughts wherupon he mused & fel on sleepe. For although this was a heauenly dreame, yet God vsed therein the internall senses, which he had giuen to *Nebuchadnezzar*, vnto which hee presented the image of those things hee would haue him to vnderstand and know, as afterward they were expounded vnto him by *Daniel*.

Moreouer this faculty of the fantasie is sudden, and so farre from slayednes, that euén in the time of sleepe it hardly taketh any rest, but is alwaies occupied in dreaming and dotting, yea euén about those things which neuer haue beene, shall be, or can be. For it staieth not in that which is shewed vnto it by the senses that serue it, but taketh what pleaseeth it, and addeth thereunto or diminisheth, changeth & rechangeth, mingletb and vnmingletb, so that it cutteth asunder and seweth vp againe as it listeth. So that there is nothing but the fantasie will imagine and counterfaite, if it haue any matter and foundation to worke vpon, without which it can build nothing, as we may iudge by that which hath bin already shewed, namely that man can neither thinke, imagine, or do any thing else, of which he hath

not some beginning and ground in nature and in the works of GOD, from which after he hath his inventions. But although fantasie can doe nothing without this gap and entrance, yet it is a wonder to see the inventions it hath after some occasion is given it, and what new and monstrous things it forgeth and coyneth, by sundry imaginations arising of those images and similitudes, from whence it hath the first paterne. So that in truth, *fantasie* is a very dangerous thing. For if it be not guided and bridled by reason, it troubleth and mo-
 beth all the sence and vnderstanding, as a tempest doth the sea. For it is easily stirred vp not only by the externall sences, but also by the complexion and disposition of the body. Here-
 of it proceedeth that euen the spirits both good and bad haue great access vnto it, to stirre it either to good or euil, & that by meanes vnknown to vs. For as we haue many meanes to prouoke one anothers imagination and fantasie, which are not in beastes, neither can bee comprehended by the, so these spirituall natures (by reason of the agreement of their na-
 ture) haue one towards an other, which wee neither know nor can comprehend, whereby they haue access to mooue our fantasie diuers wayes. Wherefore as the Angells haue meanes to represent to our mindes the images of good, heavenly, and diuine things, both waking & sleeping, so can euill spirits greatly trouble them by diuers illusions: the prooffe whereof we haue in many, whom bad spirits finde apt and disposed thereunto, and namely in socrers, whose minde they trouble in such sort by sundry strange illusions, that they verily thinke that they haue seene, heard spoken, and done that which the diuell representeth to their fan-
 tasie, yea such things as neither men nor diuels themselves can possibly performe: and yet all that while they stir not out of their bed, or out of some one place. But the diuell, having once power ouer them, doth in such sort print in their fantasie the images of those things he representeth vnto them, and which he would haue them beleue to be true, that they can not thinke otherwise but it is so, that they haue done such things, and that they were awake when indeed they slapt. For as God appeareth to his seruants by heavenly visions, both when they sleepe and when they wake, and printeth in their mindes the images of those things which it pleaseth him to reueale vnto them: so the diuell, who endeoureth to counterfai-
 t all the workes of GOD to deceiue men, hath his diuellish illusions for his vi- sions, whereby hee moueth and troubleth the fantasie and mindes of those, ouer whome he reigneth through their infidelitie and wickednesse. Therefore it is very needefull, that men should recommend themselves to God, to the ende these euill spirits haue no such power ouer them, and that their iudgements may bee sound to discerne the images of those things which hee representeth to their mindes, from all Diabolicall illusions. And surely no maruaile if wicked spirits so oftentimes deceiue men, when as Iuglers haue so ma-
 ny waies to abuse them, shewing them such strange sights, that if they were not wrought by those kinde of men, a great many would take them for miracles. Yea although they bee done after this manner, yet wee wonder thereat, being hardly able by the sharpnesse of our wits to attaine to the knowledge thereof, so that many are perswaded that such things cannot bee done without the power of the deuill. But let vs returne to our mat-
 ter. This imaginative power of the soule, hath moreouer such vertue, that oftentimes the imagination printeth in the body, the images of those things which it doeth vehe-
 mently thinke of and apprehend, the experience whereof is very euident, especially in the longings and imaginations of Women with childe. Many times also wee see some that can hardly goe ouer a bridge without falling, by reason of the apprehension of the dan-
 ger, which they haue conceived in their fantasie and imagination. But which is yet more strange, it falleth out oftentimes, that the fantasies and imaginations of great bellied women are so vehement and violent, that vpon the bodies of the children they goe withall they print the images and shapes of those things vpon which they haue fixed their fancies, and vnto which by reason of their fancie, they are most affectionated. Wee see examples hereof a great many continually. Neither is it altogether without reaso which we vse co-
 monly to say: that fancie breeds the fact which it imagineth. For, we see many fall into those mishaps and inconueniences, which they imprint in their fantasie and imagination. VVee may also obserue here, how wee are prouoked to yawne and gape when wee see others doe so, and driuen into a desire of many things of which wee should not haue dreamed, vlesse wee had bene incited thereunto by the example of others, or by some object pre-
 sented to our senses, & prouoking vs therunto. Yea this imaginative vertue can do much in beastes, as among other things we may see it in this, that they desire rather to make water in a puddle, or in a tiuer, or in some other water, or vpon adunghil or in a stable, the elsewhere.

Fantasie is dangerous.

It is very sub-
 iect to the mo-
 tions of good
 or ill spirits.

How socrers
 are deluded
 by the Diuel.

The Diuell
 counterfai-
 teth the workes
 of God.

Of the force
 of imaginati-
 on.

The strong
 fantacie of
 women with
 childe,

Imagination
 preuaileth
 much in
 beastes.

For the things that are offered to their senses soone moue their fantasie and imagination, which afterward stirreth them vp, either in respect of the agreement that is betwixt those things, namely, water, and vrine, or because of their custome to doe such a thing in such a place, which putteth them in minde and helpeth them to doe it more readily, by reason of the imaginative vertue that is in them.

Good coun-
sell for every
one.

Psal. 119. 37.

Now if imagination hath such vertue in beastes, we may iudge also what it is able to do in the minde of man, which is a great deale more quicke and ready. Therefore we ought to eschew all occasions of euill, that may be presented to our senses, to stirre vp our imagination and fantasie to wicked and dishonest things. For one onely wicked looke, or one dishonest speech, is sufficient to trouble our minds with diuers imaginations & fantasies. Which as it is well knowne to the diuell, so knoweth he also how to giue occasion, and to offer the meanes of stirring all the stuffe in our fantasies. But we keepe such bad watch in this respect that instead of eschewing occasions of euill, we seeke after them, and where we should shut the doore against euill, we set it wide open, that it may enter more easily into vs. Wherein we follow not the example of the Prophet, who prayed vnto the Lord, saying, *Turne away mine eyes that they behold no vanitie*: but we rather take a contrary course to whet our selues forward to all beastlinesse. Seeing therefore *Imagination* and *Fantasie* haue so little hold of themselves, we haue neede of an other facultie and vertue aboue that, to be able to iudge of things imagined and perceiued by sense (of which we haue hitherto spoken) and that is reason, the discourse whereof I referre to thee, *AMANA*, as also of memory, which is the fift and last internall sense of the soule.

Of Reason and Memory: and of their seate, nature and office, of the agreement which all the senses both externall and internall haue one with another, and of their vertue. Chap. 26.

Beasts search
only after cor-
porall things
belonging to
this life.

AMANA. They that haue curiously searched into the nature of beasts, haue found in them, especially in such as were most perfect, as many externall and internall senses as are in man: yea they perceiued, that their braine & all the parts thereof, did not differ much from that of men, whether we respect the substance or the fashion. But all these excellent gifts of nature reach no further in them, then to the vses of this present life, and the necessities thereof. For they haue no reason giuen them to enquire after that which is good, to the end their will might follow and embrace the same. Moreouer their *Good*, consisteth onely in corporall things belonging to the body, which they easily know and discerne as standing in neede of no other reason or vnderstanding to make enquiry after it, the of that bare knowledge & naturall inclination that is giuen them. But the *Good* that belongeth to man, is hidden in the soule and spirit. For this cause bee must of necessity enquire after it, that bee may come to the knowledge thereof, lest he chuse euill in stead of good, for want of knowledge of his proper and true *Good*, and so be deceived by the apperance of a false *Good*, which is not so in truth, but in opinion onely and by error: whereby the greatest part of men are commonly beguiled, preferring the supposed *Goods* of the body, before the true goods of the soule, and temporall things before eternall. Therefore as our eyes stand in neede of light to keepe vs, and to cause vs to see in darkenes, so our soule and spirite hath neede of reason to guide it in the midst of error and ignorance, that it may discerne trueth from lying, the true *Good* from the false, and that which is profitable from the contrary.

Of the seate of
reason and of
his office.

This facultie and vertue of the soule, so necessary in man, and which is able to iudge of things imagined and perceiued by the other senses, (of which we haue spoken before) to know whether they be good or bad, and what is to be embraced or eschewed, is called, the *Iudging or discoursing facultie*, namely, *Reason*, which is the principall part and vertue of the soule, and beareth rule among all the other senses. For this cause he hath his seate by good right assigned him in the midst of the braine, as in the highest & safest fortresse of the whole frame of man, to reigne amidst all the other senses, as Prince and Lord ouer them all. For it is hee that discourseth and iudgeth of truth from falshood, that knoweth the agreement and disagreement of things, that ioyneth together whatsoever is to bee ioyned, and separateth that which ought to bee separated, that distinguisheth things which follow, or are contrary each to other, by comparing one thing with another by considering all circumstances,

circumstances, by referring every thing whither it ought to be referred. It is requisite therefore, that hee should keepe his owne place, and not be shuffled vp and confounded with *Imagination* and *Fantasse*, of which he is the iudge to approoue or condemne that which is good or euill, as also to correct, to stay, and to keepe them in awe. For if reason intermeddle and mingle it selfe with them, it will be so troubled, that it will not be able to iudge as it ought of those things, which they present and bring vnto it, but will be so carried away, as if it were deposed and thrust out of it owne place; and as if maids should rule their Mistresse, and take place before her. The like also hapneth vnto it, when it is carried away with the affections which it ought to rule, moderate, and gouerne. But if it be vp-right and sound, after it hath well considered and debated of the whole matter brought and laide before it by the former senses, it giueth sentence as iudge, and iudgeth finally without appeal. For there is no other iudgement after that. Hereof it is, that it hath a iudiciall seate in the middest, wherein being placed it beareth sutes and causes. Besides, it hath neere vnto it *Memory*, which is in place of a Notary and Secretary, and as it were a Register booke, in which is entred whatsoever is ordayned and decreed by reason. For as we haue neede of such a Iudge as reason is, to conclude and determine finally in the minde, whatsoever may be called into question and doubted of, so it is requisite, that the conclusion & definitiue sentence should be registred in *Memory*, as it were in a roll or booke of accompt, that it may alwayes be ready and found when neede requireth. For what good should we get by that, which imagination, fantasie, and reason conceiue and gather together, if it should all vanish away presently through forgetfulnesse, and no more memory thereof should remaine in man, then if nothing at all had bin done? The like would daily happen to vs, that befell *Nebuchadnezzar*, when God reuealed vnto him by dreame in the vision of an Image, what should become of his Monarchy and Empire and of those that followed him. For he remembered well, as himselfe testifieth, that he had dreamed a dream, whereupon his spirit was troubled, whilest he laboured to vnderstand it: but he was so far from knowing the signification of his dreame, that he remembered not what he had dreamed and seene therein. Where wee see that his imagination and fantasie were so moued by the image and vision represented vnto them in this dreame, that they imprinted in his memory how they had seen a vision, & that it was very strange and wonderfull. Yea reason it selfe iudged, that the vision and image was of another nature; then those that are commonly in the imagination or fantasie, or those which they coynethemselues in sleeping and dreaming, & that it had some diuine signification. And this did reason imprint in the Kings memory, who remembred al these things generally, but when he began to enquire of the matter more specially and particularly, he could not call to minde the kinde and manner of his dreame, but confessed that the thing was gone from him. Afterward, hauing heard and vnderstood *Daniel*, he knew that he spake a truth, & then remembered what he had dreamed and was gone from him, because it was not well imprinted in his memory, but had passed ouer lightly by it. Here then wee see how necessary this secretary and register, whom we call *Memory*, is for the vnderstanding and spirit, not onely to marke lightly such things as passe by it, but also to note and ingraue them, as it were in tables or pillars of stone or brasie. Therefore hath God assigned his seate and lodging in the hindermost part of the braine, to the end, that after such things as are to be committed vnto it, haue passed by all the other senses, they should be committed to it to keepe, as to their secretary. And for this cause that part of the braine is lesse moist, and most solide and firme, for two manifest and apparant reasons. First, because it is the fountaine of the marrow in the back bone, of which those sinewes are deriued that giue the strongest motions to all the members of the body. Therefore also it was requisite, that they should be of a more firme and solide matter then the rest that are taken from the substance of other parts of the braine: which are not to sustaine so great stresse. Secondly, forasmuch as the memory is as it were the Register & Chancery Court of all the other senses, the images of all things brought and committed vnto it by them, are to be imprinted therein, as the image and signe of a ring or seale is imprinted and set in the waxe that is sealed. Therefore it is needefull that the matter of the instrument of *Memory* should be so well tempered, that it be neither too soft nor too hard. For if it be too soft, the images will be soone ingrauen, but they will not stay there any long time, as they that will be quickly blotted out. Contrariwise, if it be ouer hard, it will be a harder matter to imprint them therein. But when it is well tempered, it receiueth the images easily, and keepeth them well. For the *Memory* hath two duties as well as the hand, namely, to receiue

Reason is the iudge of fanly

Of memory & of his office

Of the seate of memory

Causes of good and bad memories

Of the agree-
ment between
all the senses.

& to hold fast. Therefore they that are of a moist brain receive more easily into their memories that which is offered vnto the, & they that have a dry brain, retain & keep better in memory.

But following that which we haue hitherto spoken of all the internall senses, wee are now to obserue and note this, that the knowledge of things which we haue by the outward senses, is as if wee beheld the shadowes of them: and that knowledge which we haue by the common sense, by Imagination and Fantasie, is as if we did looke vpon the images, which represent vnto vs those things whereof they are images more liuely and cleerely then their shadowes can doe. And the knowledge we haue by vnderstanding, of which facultie wee will intreate hereafter, is as if we viewed, not onely the shadowes or images of things, but also their very bodies, which is more. And that knowledge which we haue by reason is as if, besides all this, we saw their effects and vertues: Therefore there is as much difference betweene the knowledge that a man may haue by euery one of these faculties and powers, as there is betwixt the shadowe, and image, and body, and effects or vertues of one and the same thing, to the end that the nature thereof may be thoroughly knowne. For all these senses and vertues of mans mind agree so well together, that as the outward senses serue the common sense, so the common sense serueth Imagination, and imagination fantasie, and fantasie vnderstanding and consideration, and consideration recordation, & recordation conference, & conference reason, & lastly memory serueth them all, as they also serue memory.

Of the effects
of Reason.

The memory
is a spirituall
eye.

Of the effects
of Reason.

Therefore it is not without great wisdom & prouidence of God, that the seate and shop thereof is in the hindermost part of the head, because it must looke to the things that are past. So that we haue in that part as it were a spirituall eye, which is much more excellent and profitable, then if we had bodily eyes there, as we haue before, or else a face before and another behind, as the Poets fained that *Ianus* had. Thus we may learne by our speech what reason is, and the discourse thereof, and how it causeth the nature of man to approach in some sort to that nature which is diuine and heavenly, making man far to excell all other natures in the world. For it goeth from things knowne, to them that are vnkowne, and descendeth from generals to specials, and from them to particulars, and mounteth aloft againe by the same steps from one to another, and compareth one with another. For after that imagination hath received the images and impressions of things offered vnto it by the outward senses, the consideration of Reason followeth, which enquireth of all that may be in the mind, of the plenty or want that is there, and causeth it to returne to it selfe: as if it did behold and consider it selfe, to take knowledge what it hath, or what it hath not, how much it hath, & of what qualitie and nature it is. After this, reason draweth out and concludeth invisible things of visible, of corporall things it concludeth things without bodies, and secret things of plaine and euident matters, and generals of particulars: then it referreth all this to the vnderstanding which is the chiefe vertue and power of the soule, and that which comprehendeth all the faculties thereof, as we will discourse in place conuenient, yea that which finally resteth in the contemplation of the spirit, which is the end of all enquiry of truth, and as it were a settled and assured view of all those things that haue bene culled out by reason, and received and approved by iudgement.

Of vnderstan-
ding and con-
templation.
A double dis-
course of rea-
son in man.

Hereof it is that we say, there is a double discourse of Reason in man, whereof the one consisteth in speculation, hauing *Truth* for the scope and end thereof, and goeth no farther after it hath found the truth. The other consisteth in practise, and hath *Good* for his end, which after it hath found, it stayeth not there, but goeth on to *Will*, which is an other power of the soule of great vertue, as we will declare hereafter, and is given of God to man, that he should loue, desire, and follow that which is good, and hate, eschew, and turne from euill. But these things shall be handled more at large in the sequelle of our speeches.

Of vnderstan-
ding and con-
templation.
A double dis-
course of rea-
son in man.

Now to resume and finish this present matter, as we learne that man by the discourse of reason that is in him, lifreth vp himselfe aboue the outward senses, yea aboue Imagination and fantasie, and knoweth well that hee is inclosed within the body as in a prison, which neuerthelesse cannot altogether hinder him from vnderstanding and contéplating the things he seeth not: so also he useth the helpe of Memory to keepe and retaine in his mind whatsoever he hath knowne by any of the senses, either externall or internall. Therefore is the Memorie compared to a picture. For as a Picture by the sight of the eyes giueth the knowledge of that which is painted therein, so is it with Memory, by the sight of the mind endued with vnderstanding and knowledge: for it doth not onely looke vpon things simply as beastes doe, but considereth of them, and diligently enquireth into them, and hauing found them, it placeth them in the Memory, & there keepeth them. And the better to haue

Memory com-
pared to a Pi-
cture.

have them in Memory, it often thinketh and meditateth of those things, it turneth and collecteth them to and fro, that they may be the better imprinted therein. For this cause some Philosophers attribute vnto man beside Memory, both *recordation* & *remembrance*, which is one recordation vpon another, wherby we call to mind that which was slipped out of it. For it cometh to passe oftentimes, that that which before we haue seen, heard, and known, and euen kept a while in our memory, is escaped vs and so forgotten, that we thinke of it no more then if we had neuer vnderstood or known it, neither should we euer remember it, vnlesse some body did put vs in mind of it, or some euident token made vs to think of it. Some things also there are, which albeit they are not cleane gone from vs, but are somewhat better registred in our memory, yet we cannot readily remember them and bring them forth, without great and long inquiry. Therefore must the minde turne over all the leaues of this Booke or Register of Memory, or at leastwise a great part thereof to finde them out, as if a Chancellour or Secretary should search all his Papers and Registers, and all his Rolles of Chancery, vntill hee had found that which he sought for. And we see among our selues, what notes and obseruations we vse, that they might be as it were a memoriall booke vnto our memories. You see then why some haue attributed to man both recordation & remembrance, thereby to put a difference betweene them and bare memory without any other consideration, which they say is in beastes, who forgetting presently what they perceived by their senses, when they see those things againe, that in some sort putteth them in minde thereof, then they call them to minde as if they had knowne them before. But now that we vnderstand the nature, office, order, and seates of the internall senses of the soule, that all may be more easily perceived, I thinke we ought to shew by some familiar examples, how a man may know, that these internall senses are so distinguished, disposed, and ordayned, and that they haue their seats and instruments in the braine in such sort as wee haue already spoken. Let vs then heare *AR A M* discourse to this purpose.

What remembrance is.

The minde compared to the keeper of Rolles.

That the internall senses are so distinguished, that some of them may be troubled and hindered, and the rest be safe and whole, according as their places and instruments assigned vnto them in the body are sound or perished: and of those that are possessed with Diuells. Chap. 27.

AR A M. Howsoever it pleased God to enrich man with heavenly gifts & graces aboue all visible creatures, yet foreseeing the future pride of mankind, he alwaies & in all things gaue him great matter of humilitie and modestie, to the end that they which know how to profit thereby, should neuer forget the graces received from the goodnes of their Creator, & so neuer become vngateful towards him. And truly we ought to be very careful to keep our selues from pride and vaine boasting of the senses of our minde and spirit, which God hath given vs, how ingenious, excellent, and diuine soeuer they bee: yea, rather humbling our selues before his Maiesty, we are to yeeld him continuall thankses, and pray that it would please him to keepe them alwaies sound and safe, and to augment his gifts and graces in our minds. For he sheweth vs by experience euery day, that hee can trouble our mindes with a small matter, yea the mindes of those that are most witty, prudent, wise, and skilfull, and the most diuine spirits that can be found amongst men. How many doe wee see daily, yea many times of those that are admired of all for their singular wit, great prudence, knowledge, wisdom, vertue, credite, and authority, that loose the vse of their senses and vnderstanding, insomuch that they doe not onely growe foolish, as if they were become little children againe, but also haue lesse direction and gouernement in them, then the poore beastes haue? And how many doe wee see, that become frensie and mad, behating themselves as it were brute and sauage beastes, and continue in that estate vnto the death? The consideration of these things will cause vs to vnderstand better that which we haue heard of the distinction, disposition, order, and seates of the internall senses of the soule, and of their vessels and instruments. We haue then daily great testimonies & very euident signes hereof in frantike and bedlem persons, in such as are oppressed with melancholy, in furious folkes, and in all those that are beside themselves. For there are sundry sorts of them, some being troubled but in one part of the minde onely, hauing the other parts sound: some more troubled then the former, and othersome that haue nothing sound and vntouched. Heereof it is that wee see some, whose imagination and fantasie onely are out of frame, insomuch that they iudge a thing to be that which it is not. Therefore they conceiue

A good admonition to humble vs.

Diuers kinds of mad folkes

strange

The imagina-
tion troubled

Reason trou-
bled.

The memory
lost.

Daniel 2.

How a man
may iudge of
the seates of
the senses.

strange opinions, which they imprint so deepe in their braine, that they are not easily root-
ted out againe. Some imagine and beleue that they haue hornes: others, that they haue a
serpent, or some other beast in their bodies: others, that they are become water pottes or
glasses, and thereupon are afraide lest some body should iustle against them, and breake
them in peeces. There haue beene some that were so verily perswaded in their fancie, that
they were dead, that they could neuer after be brought to eate or drinke any thing, but dy-
ed in that opinion. And yet all these did vnderstand very well and conceiue what was said
vnto them, and remembred it as well afterward. Whereby it appeareth, that they haue rea-
son and memorie more sound then imagination and fancie, as *Galen* and other Phisicians
mention many examples of such, and our selues doe often see some like to those of whome
I speake now. There are others also, that haue their imagination, fancie, yea and their me-
morie also sound, but their reason is so troubled, that they cannot vnderstand nor conceiue
that which is tolde them, nor make any discourse themselves, neither examine or conclude
any thing by reason. *Galen* alleadgeth an example of one, who after hee had cast downe out
of a window certaine glasses and violles, with other vessells of brittle matter, threw downe
a little childe, which was slaine. This man knew well enough that he helde in his hand glas-
ses and other vessells of such matter, and that the childe hee threw downe was a childe, and
he remembred well what he had seene, heard, and done: but he had not his wittes so aduised
nor his reason so stayed, as to discourse, consider, and iudge thus with himselfe, that he could
not cast those vessells downe but he must breake them, considering the matter whereof
they were made, nor the childe, but he must kill it. I omit many other examples I could al-
ledge to this purpose, which many skilfull Phisicians speake of in their bookes, because I
meane not to touch this matter but as it were by the way.

Concerning them that lose their memory, and yet keepe the other parts sound, we haue
many examples of them. For there haue beene plagues sometimes, whereby many haue lost
their memories in such sorte, that they cleane forgot whatsoever they knew before, yea
their owne names, their parents and their friends. And the disease called the *Letbargie* bring-
eth with it forgetfulnesse and want of memorie, as the name it selfe giueth vs to vnderstand
in the Greeke tongue, from whence it is taken. Therefore we see how the internall senses of
the soule may be perished seuerally one without another: whereupon we may well conclude,
that as they may be all sound together, so they may all be perished at one and the same time.
Example hereof is daily seene in many that are frensie and madde, hauing all their senses
troubled, which sometimes they had sound and perfect. Yea there are some that behaue
themselves like dogges and wolues as Phisicians report, because they thinke they are trans-
formed into those kinde of beasts, by reason of the violence of Melancholy, and of that ma-
lady, which is thereupon named by the Gracians *Cynanthropie* and *Lycanthropie*. It pleased
God to punish *Nebuchadnezer* with this kinde of chastisement, to beate downe his glory and
pride, when his wittes were taken from him, in so much that hee did not thinke himselfe to
be a man any more but a beast, & so indeede liued in the fields like to a wildbeast. Now there-
fore wee may know by the sequelle of our speach, and by the examples which wee haue
alleadged, how the internall senses are distinguished one from another, in such sort that e-
very one hath his office apart, as the members that are in mans body. And if any desire to
know mote particularly in what part and place of the braine every particular sense hath his
lodging and seate for to exercise his office in, we may iudge hereof somewhat by experience,
which teacheth vs, that they who haue receiued some blow, or are vexed by sicknesse a-
bout the former ventricles of the braine, haue their common sense, their imagination and
fantasie perished, when the instruments about those parts either suffer or haue suffered vio-
lence. If the same happen to the middle ventricle, the like is seene in the defect of reason: if to
the hindermost ventricle, the memory faileth, as it hath befallen many vpon the receipt of a
blow in that place: yea, which is more then that, experience doeth not only shew this when
blowes and diseases light vpon the head and braine, but it appeareth also in the composi-
tion and making of all that part of the body. For according as the head shall be either well
or ill framed and proportioned either before, in the midst, or in the hinder part thereof, or
in all three together, so shall a man finde greater excellency, moderation, or defect, in the
internall senses, which exercise their offices in the head, as well particularly as generally.
Therefore it is not without reason said in our common speech of him that hath a good spi-
rit, sense, and iudgement, that his head is well made: and contrariwise, that his head is ill
made that wanteth these things. For whatsoever the inhabitant or workeman is that labou-
reth

reth, the lodging in which he dwelleth, or the tooles and instruments which hee vseth, are of great moment to further or hinder him in his worke.

But now that we are in hand with frenetike persons, and haue saide before, that good and ill spirites haue great meanes, and such as wee cannot comprehend, whereby they mooue the imagination and fantasie of men; it shall not be altogether fruitlesse, if we speake somewhat of them that are possessed with spirites. For there are some who thinke not, that the Diuelles in their very substance enter into the bodies or soules, hearts or minds of men. I speake not heere of such as thinke there is neither God, nor Angelles, nor Diuelles, but even of them that beleue all these things: who neuerthelesse thinke, that euill spirits trouble the heartes and mindes of men only by prouocations, temptations, and illusions. Others there are, that referre all the madnesse of Lunatike folkes, to naturall causes, as if they proceeded either from melancholike or cholerike humours, or some such like causes, as frenesie, madnesse, and fury, or some such diseases whereby men are carried beside themselves. True it is, and cannot be denied, that many are thought to be possessed with Diuelles, when in deede they are nothing so. For there are some counterfeite cranks as many haue bene taken with the manner, who vpon some occasion haue by meere knauery fained themselves such. And some also there are that be but melancholy madde, and carried away by some disease of the braine: but because their melancholy and fury is very violent and strange, ignorant people suppose they are possessed with some spirit. Notwithstanding wee may not doubt, but that euill spirits, desirous to hurt men both in their goods, bodies, and soules, vse all the means and occasions they can possibly inuent and find out, to execute their malice, when it pleaseth God to giue them leaue. For they can drive forward and mooue the harts and minds of men, and set them in such a fury, that euen their reason and iudgement will be wholly confounded, and as it were cleane extinguished. Hereupon it cometh: that many being carried headlong with such madnesse, teare, and kill themselves, or their owne wiues, children, or others, whereof we may dayly see many examples. Neuerthelesse we say not, that the naturall light which God hath giuen them is wholly put out in them, much lesse in those that are not so farre gone: but the Diuell doth stirre them forward with such violence, that they are as it were taken perforce from themselves, when they are forsaken of God. Which examples ought to admonish vs to call vpon God incessantly, that hee would gouerne vs by his Sonne *Iesus Christ*, who is come to destroy the workes of the Diuell, that so the light of reason and of iudgement may not be darkened or put out in vs, and that our heartes bee not so possessed and pushed on by Sathan, that wee rush our selues through a diuellish fury against the will of God. And this did our Saviour teach vs to demaunde of him when he saide, *Pray that yee enter not into temptation*: and when hee taught vs to say, *Leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*. For if euill spirits durst set vpon those that were sound both in body and soule, after that manner which I haue spoken of, according to that power that was giuen them, we may not think that they spare such as are sicke: especially those that are already troubled in braine and beside themselves. For the Diuell, as our mortall enemy, continually watcheth for those occasions that are fittest, and most for his aduantage to hurt vs withall. Therefore hee intrudeth himselfe amidst our diseases and miseries, chiefly when there is weakenesse of braine ioyned therewith, vsing against vs those weapons, which he findeth in our owne nature, as also those which his owne malice and rage ministreth vnto him, whereof wee haue a very profitable example in the history of *Iob*. Hee declareth plainly by his speach, that if the feare of God had not kept him back, he had rather haue strangled himselfe, then liued in that miserable estate wherein he was. And no doubt, if God had not helde a strong hande ouer his seruant *Iob*, and bridled the rage and euill will of Sathan that persecuted him, the Diuell had had great power ouer this good man, to haue perswaded him to make away himselfe desperately, as *Achitophel* and *Iudas* did. Now if the Diuell preuailed so farre with *Iob*, by that leaue which God gaue him to afflict and trouble him, wee may well thinke what hee can doe with the wicked and reprobate, whome G O D wholly abandoneth and giueth ouer vnto him. Wee haue a very plaine example in *Saul*, of whome it is written, *that the spirit of the Lord went from him*, and that hee was giuen ouer of the Lord to an euill spirit, which troubled and vexed him, and that in the end he fell into such desperation, that he utterly forsooke God and slew himselfe. We may know also by that which the holy Euangelists haue written of such as were possessed, and were healed by *Iesus Christ* and by his Apostles, what power euill spirits haue ouer them, whilest God suffered them to execute their

Of such as are possessed with Diuelles.

The power of euill spirits.

Math. 26. 41
and 6. 12.

Iob. 7. 15.

1. Sam. 16. 14
15. & 31. 4.

Good instru-
tion for all
men.

their rage and furie. A man may easily iudge, that such persons are not only out of their wits through sicknesse, but that euil spirits possesse them. For he so troubleth their mind and spirit, that they know no more what they doe, then the veriest bedlems that can be. And although he horribly vexeth their bodies, yet they feele not his torments, or if they do feele them, yet they cannot abstaine from vexing themselves. So that it is easily knowne, that the diuell is in them, and that it proceedeth not only of a simple frensie, or melancholy humor, seeing some of them haue done such things as could not possibly be performed by the power of man, whereof some of those are witnesses, whom the holy Scripture rehearseth vnto vs. Wherefore it is out of all question, that euill spirits haue wrought both in them and by them. Therefore we haue good occasion offered vnto vs by all that hath bene hitherto spoken, to humble our selues before God, and to pray vnto him continually, as we saide in the beginning of our speech. For being as we are, we ought still to praise God, who distributeth his graces as it pleaseth him, and that by a most exquisite kind of Iustice. And when we see those that are infirme and beside themselves, some for a certaine time, and by fits, other continually and after diuers manners, let vs not mocke or despise them, but rather haue pitty and compassion ouer them, pray to God in their behalfe, and succour them as much as we can, acknowledging the grace of God towards vs in keeping vs from such inconueniences, and beseeching him to preserue and keepe vs continually. For whatsoeuer befallerh others, should as it were hang before our eyes, as often as it pleaseth him to beat them with such scourges, which we our selues haue no lesse deserued then they that are beaten, yea oftentimes a great deale more. The Lord striketh whom it pleaseth him, that by them others might take instruction. Therefore if we cannot profit by such teaching, nor learne at other mens cost to feare & honor him, to call vpon him and to giue him thanks, it is to bee feared that he will send vs as much, that so we may learne at our owne charges. Yea and then also he is very gracious vnto vs, if he suffer vs to haue our vnderstandings, to knowe how to profite by his rods and chastisements, and giue vs not wholly ouer into the handes of Sathan our aduersary. But enough of this matter. And now that we haue seene the nature and office of the internall senses of the soule, with their seates and instruments, the sequele of our speech requireth (as I thinke) that we should intreate of vnderstanding and wil, which are two faculties and vertues in the highest and most principall part and power of the soule of man, and in regard of which it is properly called by the name of a reasonable soule & life: as we shall presently learne of *ACHITO B.*

*Of the reasonable soule and life, and of vertue: of the vnderstanding and Will,
that are in the soule, and of their dignitie and
excellencie. Chap. 28.*

Psal. 148. 8.

A*CHITO B.* Although beasts without any iudgment & reason follow after that which they conceiue to be agreeable to their nature, and eschew the contrary, according as their naturall inclination driueth them thereunto: yet they passe not those bounds of nature which God hath set the, nor violateth the lawes thereof. Whereby we see, that through a secret sence of nature, they draw alwaies towards God their Creator, in that their nature bendeth still towards that which God hath appointed to be the chiefe *Good*, vnto which they can attaine. And no doubt but God hath given them such inclinations to be as it were rules to direct the to that which is their proper and natural *Good*, which consisteth onely in corporal things belonging to their bodies. Now if he be thus carefull for beasts, we may not thinke that hee hath depriued man of such a benefite, but that hee hath also given him his inclination to leade him to his proper *Good*, and to the truth which in respect thereof is necessary for him. For what likelihood is there, that such a workeman as God is, would create Man, the most excellent creature vnder heauen, in worse estate not onely then beasts, but also then all other bodily creatures, which are nothing in comparison of the excellency which is in him? who notwithstanding following their naturall disposition, *Praise G O D, and fulfill his words,* as the Psalmist sayeth.

As therefore God hath ordayned and prepared a far greater *Good* for men then for beasts, and hath laide vp the same in his soule and spirit, so hath he given them the meanes to enquire and finde it out. But the difficulty that is in finding it out, proceedeth through their owne

owne fault. For the darkenesse of ignorance and error, which sinne hath brought into their mindes, is that which hindereth them, and which had not taken hold of them, if mankinde had continued in the perfection of his first nature. Neuertheles, what defect soeuer there be, yet we see, that in the mind of man there shineth alwaies this natural light that is given vnto him aboue that which beasts haue, I meane *Reason*, which serueth to guide the soule and spirit amidst the darknes of error & ignorance, to the end they may be able to discern truth fro falsehood, & the true *Good* from the false, as we see the light serueth the eyes to keepe vs, & to cause vs to see in darkenes. Therefore we said before, that there was a double discourse of reason in man; whereof the one is *Theoricall* and *Speculatiue*, which hath *Truth* for his end, and hauing found it goeth no farther. The other is *Practicall*, hauing *Good* for his ende, which being found it stayeth not there, but passeth forward to the *Will*, which God hath ioyned vnto it, to the end it should loue, desire and follow after the *Good*, and contrariwise hate eschew and turne away from euill. Therefore when the question ariseth of contemplation, reason hath truth for her vtmost bounds, and when she is come into action, she draweth towards *Good*, and hauing conferred together, that which is true and good, shee pronounceth iudgement. So that reason considereth of things with great deliberation, and being sometimes in doubt which way to take, shee stayeth and returneth as it were to her selfe, and maketh many discourses before shee iudge and conclude. But sinne hath so troubled our spirit, that these naturall rules, which should euermore cause vs to incline to that which is right and good, are greatly depraued and corrupted. Neuerthelesse there remaineth in vs a small remnant of that great *Good*, which testifieth sufficiently vnto vs what losse and damage wee receiued by our fall. Therefore both the internall and externall senses serue vs not onely for the good of the body, and for this life as they do to beasts: but also for the good of the soule, & helpe vs to lift vp the minde higher, to seeke for a better life, & for a greater *Good*, then can be found among all the creatures, and in which alone the mind findeth true felicity, agreeable to such a nature as it selfe is. Hereof it cometh, that it cannot content it selfe with that wherewith beasts are contented, nor stay there where they stay. For after the spirit is somewhat settled vpon that knowledge, which it hath by imagination and fantasie, he lifteth vp himselfe higher by the meanes of reason, namely to the vnderstanding of spirituall and diuine things. For hee knoweth well, that because he is as it were shut vp in an obscure prison, and compassed about with darkenesse, hee is hindered from attaining of the vnderstanding and knowledge of many things whereof he is ignorant, and can neither see nor know that which he would so neerely, cleerely, and perfectly as if he were at greater libertie, nor vse that naturall vigour that he hath, being in this prison of the body. In this sort doth man consider of himselfe and of his nature, and from that knowledge which he hath of the highest and most excellent things in nature, there springeth in him a loue towards them; insomuch that the spirit ascendeth vp and attaineth vnto God, who is the author and Creator of all. For this cause there ariseth contention betwixt reason and fantasie. For imagination and fantasie, being neerer to the corporall senses draw the soule to those things that are bodily: but reason and the spirit pricke it forward, and cause it to lift vp it selfe to more excellent things. For the spirit (which the Philosophers expresse by *Vnderstanding*) mounteth vp vnto those things that cannot be knowne nor comprehended of imagination and fantasie, nor of any other sense. Moreouer it keepeth fantasie bridleed and bringeth it into the right way, which otherwise wandreth farre wide, and entreth into many turnings and windings. Neither doth the spirit wholly yeeld vnto euery present profit, or decline the contrary, but calleth things past to remembrance, coniectureth and foreseeeth things to come, and searcheth out what is true and what false to give iudgement thereafter, and then to follow after or to eschew that which ought to bee followed or fled from. Thus you see what the reasonable soule bringeth to men, which is not in beastes, nor in their soule. Besides, from this vigour and nature of the spirit, speech proceedeth, which being his messenger, is wanting vnto beasts, because they are voide of reason and vnderstanding, in regard whereof speech is given, as we haue already heard. Therefore we vnderstand by the reasonable soule and life, such a soule and life as hath counsell, iudgement and reason, and which was created to this end, that knowing God her Creator, & louing him in respect thereof, she might honour & serue him, and finally by degrees attaine to immortal life and happinesse, which is appointed for her ende. For as nothing is more excellent then reason, wherof God hath made man partaker, so ther is nothing more becomming reaso thē to know loue & honor God, seeing there is nothing greater, more excellent, or that may be compared

Of contemplation and action.

The senses of man serue for the good of his soule.

Contention betwixt the spirit and fantasie.

What is meant by the reasonable soule.

Prooue that
the soule of
beasts is mor-
tal, but of
men immor-
tall.

What is in
plants aboue
stones, and in
beasts aboue
plants, and in
men aboue
beastes.

The end of
mans beeing.

Onely God
knoweth the
soule perfect-
ly.

What actions
men doe,
which beastes
cannot.

How beastes
discourse.

vnto him. Therefore as man differeth from brute beasts in respect of reason, wherewith God hath indued him, so he differeth from them in that he is capable of religion, created & born thereto, which consisteth in the things already touched. But beastes are not capable of any kind of religion, being altogether void thereof: as on the other side, there is no man but he hath some sence of it. Wherby we may gather a good argument, that beastes are not onely void of reason, but also that their soules are mortall, & the soules of men immortal. For the fountaine and fruit of the religion and seruice of God, consisteth not in this mortall life, and therefore it must needs be in some other that followeth. And for this cause reason, which is so great and excellent a gift of God in man, is not bestowed vpon vs for thinges of so small price & so transitory as these are which we vse and inioy in this life, and in which it is wholly busied: much lesse for those whereby the life of beastes is preserued, but in regard of these things the which I haue now declared. Therefore as God hath not giuen such a life to stones as he hath giuen to trees and plants, nor yet sence, imagination and fantasie to trees and plants, as he hath done to beastes: so he hath not graunted reason to beastes, as hee hath to men, and that not without iust cause. For as it is enough for stones in regard of the perfection of their nature, to be heauie and such as they are, & sufficient likewise for trees and plants to haue a Vegetatiue soule, seeing they want not that which beastes haue more then they: so beastes stand not in neede of that which men haue aboue them. For it sufficeth for the preseruatiue & defence of their life and being, that they haue some kind of cogitatio ioynd with imagination and fantasie, although they want reason, which is not necessary for them as it is for men, for the causes already specified: and chiefly because they were not created by means of the knowledge of God & of true religion to come to a better life, then their brutish life is. Therefore as man is created, to the end that the light of the knowledge of God might shine in him, and that God might communicate with him his wisdom and goodnes, so he would that the soule of man should be an euident testimony of himselfe. For this cause it was said in his creation, that God made man after his owne image and likenesse, as we haue already heard. Seeing then there are in the reasonable soule so cleere and excellent testimonies of God, and that by it especially the difference appeareth between man & beastes, as also in the diuers governments of their liues, it behoueth vs to consider thereof very diligently. And albeit this glasse of God can not be so euidently seen, as those that are made of Steele, or of glasse & lead by the hand of man, to represent the image of our bodies, neuertheles the actions & works of the soule do plainly shew, that there is such a power & vertue in vs, which God hath giuen vs more to vse for our benefit, then to know it, and that for the causes already touched by vs. For the true & perfect knowledge thereof belongeth to God onely, who being aboue it, hath created and giuen it, and will cause vs to know it better whē we shall be in that eternall light, in which we shall know those things that are now hidden from vs. In the meane time let vs in this life consider of and distinguish the actions & works of the soule, whereby we are seuered from beastes, and which being very euident testimonies of God in vs, gouerne the life of man, and bring forth all honest sciences and artes. We haue spoken already of the powers and vertues of the soule which by the vse of corporall instruments labour and manifest themselues: but it appeareth euidently, that there is in man another higher power, because we haue many actions and doe many workes, which beastes cannot performe nor imitate. For man hath the knowledge of numbers and can reckon, hee vnderstandeth not onely particular things, but also generall and vniuersall things, hee discourseth, that is, gathereth and concludeth one thing of another, and that very farre, hee inuenteth artes and disposeth them, he iudgeth of his owne reasons and discourses, and marking his owne faults, he correcteth them, he changeth his intents & purposes, he discerneth vertues from vices, & honest things from those that are dishonest: finally he deliberateth by a long discourse of reason. As for beastes they haue not these things common with vs, as they haue the vse of the senses, as of seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, and other such like things, wherein they oftentimes excell vs in many respects. For many of them haue these senses more sharpe then we haue. And although they haue some imagination, fantasie and apprehension of things offered to their bodily senses, yet that holdeth but for the present, and in the place or field where the things are offered vnto them. The like may be sayd of those discourses of reason, which many think are in the perfectest of them. For they haue some kind of discourse in that they can passe from one thing to another. But all their iudgements are but of particular things, neither do they ascend higher. In like maner, they know not things absent, nor passe from thē to others, whether it be from things absent to thē that

are present, or from present things to those that are absent. For they take or leaue incontinently those present and particular things which they know, & make a stop there without any further discourse. So that this intellectuall and reasonable power is proper to man onely, and is the highest and most soueraigne vertue of the soule of man. And although the internal senses are seruiceable vnto it, as they are serued of the externall senses, neuertheless it hath proper actions, vertues and motions, which it can and doeth exercise without the helpe of bodily instruments, when it is separated from the body. And euen while it is in the body, it is sometime rauished, as if it were altogether out of it, as it hath often fallen out to holy men, who haue beene rauished in spirit in the contemplation of celestially and diuine things, and that by the reuelation of the spirit of God: insomuch that Saint Paul testifieth of himselfe, that *He was taken vp into the third heauen and into Paradise, not knowing whether hee were in the bodie or out of the bodie*, but God he knew. We will consider therefore in this chiefe and most soueraigne part of the soule, two faculties and vertues, namely the *Vnderstanding* and the *Will*. For it being so that man is created to attaine to that soueraigne and eternall Good, which GOD hath propounded vnto him, therefore GOD hath giuen him the power and vertue to wish for that Good, to the ende hee might desire to apply and ioyn him selfe vnto it.

This power and vertue is called *Will*. But the soule cannot haue this appetite and desire, if first it vnderstand or know not that Good which it ought to desire and follow after. For this cause hath God giuen vnto it another power and vertue, which wee call *Vnderstanding*. And forasmuch as our spirit stayeth not alwaies in one thought, but discourseth and goeth from one matter to another, it had neede of a receptacle and storehouse, wherein it may lay vp the first thoughts when others come, as if it placed them in a treasure, that they should not be lost, but might be founde out, and called forth when neede should require. But we learned by our former speech, that this office appertaineth to memory, which is as it were the Rolles of a Chancery Court, in which the seales of images framed by the thought, are imprinted; and vpon which the vnderstanding doeth looke as often as it pleaseth. And euen as it serueth to the other internall senses, vnto which it succeedeth in order, so also it serueth the *Vnderstanding* and *Will*.

Concerning the *Vnderstanding*, if we consider it generally, it comprehendeth the whole minde: but beeing taken more specially, we meane a certaine particular office thereof. For it vnderstandeth the things that come from without, as we conceiue them: then it layeth vp that which it hath vnderstood in some little cofer by it selfe for a time, out of which it may take them againe when neede requireth. This repetition and taking againe, which is as it were an inquirie and searching out, is called *Consideration*: and from thence it commeth to *recordation* and *remembrance*, and so conferreth together the things it hath vnderstood, and compareth them one with another: which beeing done, a discourse thereof is had with others, after which discourse it determineth and iudgeth what is true and what false, what good and what euill. Then doth the *Will* choose that which is good, and refuseth the euill. And as we come from the vnderstanding to the will by these degrees, so wee must ascend vp by the same steps, euen from the last to the first, namely from *Will* to *Vnderstanding*. For *Will* doth not follow after or refuse any thing, which the iudgement hath not first determined to be good or euill: and the iudgement decreeth nothing before it hath taken aduice of reason, and reason aduiseeth not before she haue conferred the things one with another, & thoroughly examined them. Neither can this conferring be without consideration; nor consideration without requiring that of Memory which was committed vnto it to keepe, and the memory will keepe nothing safe, but that which it hath first knowne and vnderstood. So that the reasonable soule hath all these things, namely *Vnderstanding*, *Will*, and *Memorie*. And vnder this facultie of vnderstanding, there is simple and particular intelligence, after which *Consideration* followeth, next *Recordation*, then *Conferring*, and discoursing after that, next *Iudgement*, and last of al *Contemplation*, which is as it were the rest of the soule and spirit. Now these things being so excellent and wonderfull, and somewhat obscure withall, deserue to be discoursed of more at large, and to be vttered more clearly. And therefore before we goe to any other matter, we shall doe well to consider of the diuersitie that is found in the operations and discourses of the *Vnderstanding*, according to that gift of light, which is in it and what is the end of all discourses. Prepare therefore thy selfe *ASER* to intreate of this matter.

Act. 10. 3. 10
11. 2. Cor.

12. 2. 3.

Of the Vnder
standing and
of Will.

The memory
compared to
the Rolles of
Chancery.

What degrees
are betwene
Iudgement &
Will.

Of the varietie and contrarietie that is found in the opinions, deliberations, counsailes, discourses and iudgements of men, with the cause thereof: and of the good order and end of all discourses. Chap. 29.

ASER. All things whatsoeuer can be rehearsed, are either of this mutable and temporary nature, or of the other, which is immutable, perpetuall, and aboue that nature. If the question be of the first, either the variety and change is such, that no certaine rule or determination can be given, or else there is a perpetuall tenor and constancy in them according to their inbred inclination, through a stedfast and continuall order of nature, which is alike in all, according to their nature and kindes. If the variety and change bee very vncertain, there can no certain science & knowledge be had of them, nor any determination set down so general, but that there will be alwayes some exception. For touching the first sort, we can haue no sure knowledge of things that are infinit, and that haue infinit alterations. And because particularities, and particular things are infinit in regard of our capacity, there can no entire & certaine knowledge be had of them all in speciall. As for generals, howbeit they also are variable, yet some rules may wel be giuen of them, of which the art followeth afterward: and yet no such certaine rules, but often it falleth out otherwise, as we may see in many artes, & in sundry experiences. For although it be ordinary for women to loue their children, yet there are some that murder them cruelly. So that howsoeuer it be very common to loue them, yet it falleth not out so alwayes. Therefore we may wel say of a woman, if she be a Mother, it is very like that shee loueth her childe, because it is naturall. But wee cannot conclude certainly, that it was alwayes so, seeing we often see the contrarie. There are also oftentimes many signes, which haue such apparant significations, that they seeme to signifie thinges vnto vs certainly enough, wherein neuerthelesse wee are deceiued, as it falleth out often in our suspicions and opinions, which are not grounded vpon certaine and firme arguments, and most euident reasons. Wherefore the knowledge that we may haue of such things cannot properly be called Science, but onely coniecture, opinion, probabilitie or likelihood, because there is great shew of truth, but yet not very certaine.

What knowledge we may haue of variable things.

In what things coniecture taketh place.

Of what things science or knowledge may be had.

In what things wisdom taketh place.

Ephes. i. 16.
17. 18.

The author of Wisdom

Now albeit the nature of things bee mutable, yet if they alwayes keepe one and the same tenour and constancy, which continueth alike alwayes to it selfe, a man may haue a certaine knowledge of them, and that is called science: example whereof wee haue in celestiall bodies and in naturall things, which alwayes keepe one and the selfe same order and nature, both in the elements, and in liuing creatures, in plants also and such like things. For as for the heauens, although they bee mutable creatures, yet they haue also certaine courses and motions, which follow their accustomed order without ceasing. In like manner we see that all these things mentioned euen now, are distinguished in their kindes, and haue their naturall meanes whereby they are maintained and preserued. For it is naturall in man to begette man, and by this meanes mankinde is preserued. The same may bee sayde of other liuing creatures, of plants also and of such other things which neuer faile in keeping their order. Wee haue this light in vs by nature. Wherefore when I see a child or a man I may alwayes say certainly, that no painter hath painted and fashioned him in that sort, and that it is none of his worke: but that hee was begotten and bred of man and a woman that were his parents. For God doth not create men and women, as hee created Adam and Eve in the beginning, and as wee shewed in our first discourse; but by the common order which hee established at that time, and in regard of which hee instituted the holy estate of Marriage, as we will intreate hereafter. But if the question be concerning immutable, perpetuall and supernaturall things, we haue neede of another light, that is greater and more agreeable to their nature, which is giuen to men by diuine inspiration. This light or knowledge is called *Sapience* or *Wisdom*. For this cause Saint Paul writing to the Ephesians saith, *I cease not to giue thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers, that the God of our Lord Iesus Christ the Father of glory, might giue vnto you the spirit of wisdom and reuelation through the knowledge of him: that the eyes of your vnderstanding may be lightened, that ye may know what the hope is of his calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance is in the Saints.* We see here how the Apostle ioyneth together wisdom, reuelation, and illumination of the vnderstanding, the

the author of which he maketh the spirit of God, by whose reuelation and lightening wee obtaine true wisedome, of which the wisedome of the world is not capable. And therefore afterward he calleth this wisedome, *the knowledge that passeth all knowledge*. For although by our natural light we haue some obscure knowledge of God, as we haue already touched it, yet it cannot so farre lighten vs, nor cause vs to ascend so high, except God giue vs this also, of which I speake euen now. Therefore how great soeuer the natural light be which we haue, yet if we follow it any thing far, we are presently compassed with darkenesse, which proceedeth not of the things we are to know, but from our owne mindes, which being pressed with the heauy burden of our body, are hindred and made more slow: or else it is because our mindes are troubled, as if some cloud troubled the sight of our eyes. So that the more light is in our minde, the greater knowledge we haue there, and the lesse doubting. If there be no light at all, or so little that it be no better then none at all, then ignorance spreadeth it selfe as it were darknes in an obscure and troubled night, inso much that there is neither science, nor opinion, nor likelihood, nor doubting. Hereof it is that we commonly say, ignorant persons cast no perils. Thus then as euery one hath more light in the minde, hee beholdeth obscure things more clearely, because his vnderstanding is better, either by the benefit of nature, or by study & exercise, or by a speciall gift of God. Others see nothing at all or very little, no not into those things that are very cleere and manifest, so that they are like to men compassed and couered with darknes at Midday. This befalleth them either through the ignorance that is in their vnderstanding, or by reason of their blockish slouthfulness that neglecteth exercise, or by the iust iudgement of God, who because of their sins hath blinded their mindes, giuen them ouer to Satan, to blind the, who vseth to shut vp the eyes of worldly, carnal & vnfaihtful men, whom he hath in his power. So that if there be any error in the mindes of men, if they approoue and follow after lying in stead of truth, & euil in place of goodnes, this cometh not from the naturall or supernaturall light that God hath giuen them, nor of the knowledge they haue thereby, how great or smal soeuer it be, but of the darknes that is mingled amidst this light, which sin hath made more darke & wholly ouerwhelmed, & the Diuell daily increaseth to the vttermost of his power, because he would gladly haue all light in vs, as well natural as supernatural, cleane extinguished & put out. For as brightnes breedeth not clouds & obscurity, so science & knowledge doth not bring forth ignorance & error. For contraries are not made one of another. Wherefore that cometh to passe in the lightning of our vnderstandings, which we see to happen in the change of light in regard of our eyes. For according to that which is put betwixt, so doth the quality & vertue of the light change in respect of our sight. If it be a very thicke body, which the light can not pearce through, then is it wholly taken from vs, & as it is more or lesse thicke, or thinne and transparent, so doe our eyes receiue more or lesse light. In like manner the lightning of our vnderstanding is wonderfull variable, because of the great diuersitie of things that are set before it in this life, to hinder it sundry wayes, in some more, in some lesse, according to those objects that are offered to euery one, or as men procure to themselves. From hence it is that there are so many diuers opinions, sentences and iudgements amongst men, in all deliberations and in all matters, especially in the controuersie of discerning truth from falsehood, good from bad, & what is to be followed, what is to be fled. Now concerning those things, which chiefly cause this great diuersity, we haue first to consider of the composition, complexion and disposition of mans body, whether it be sound, or whether it be sicke. Also the Age, strength, or weaknesse, the perfection or imperfection thereof, common custome, the present disposition of vading qualities engendred by nourishment, time and place, with those actions and things that may outwardly happen to the bodie. For wee see by experience, that the vnderstanding and spirite with all the parts and offices of the soule receiue great helpe or hinderance, according as the bodie, and all the members thereof are well or ill disposed, and that the manners followe the complexion and disposition of the bodie. For God hath so tempered the nature thereof with that of the soule to make them agree well together, that the one taketh much of the other, either to good or badde purpose, according as they are either well or ill affected. Concerning the soule, wee haue to consider therein all the affections, besides, the nature of the vnderstanding, whether it be slowe and heauie, or quicke and light, and of a readie conceipt and discourse, and whether it be sharpe or dull. Againe, consideration must be had of the teaching and instruction which it hath had, what opinions are already rooted in it, and what perswasions haue forestalled it, as also howe farre the be-

The author
of Wisedome
Ephe. 3. 19.

Much dark-
nes mingled
with our na-
turall light.

The cause of
the diuersity
of knowledge
& ignorance:
in men.

2. Cor. 4. 4.

Causes of the
variety of
mens opini-
ons.

The manners
of men follow
the disposition
of their bo-
dies.

Two kinds of
discourses.

behaviour, custome & authority of others can prevail with it. For all these things greatly trouble the minds of men, and procure not only diuersitie, but also contrariety of opinions, sentences and willes of men, which causeth them to change and rechange so often, insomuch that they doe not only differ & are contrary one to another, but euery one also to himselfe. For we haue daily tryall in our selues, that we change our opinions from houre to houre, & minute to minute, insomuch that whatsoeuer we haue now approued, determined and set downe for a certaine decree, we condemne and reiect it by and by after, and vtterly overthrow it: & contrariwise we approue & ratifie that which we had a little before condemned and refused. Whereupon we haue to note, according to that we heard before in the discourse of reason, which is the proper effect of the vnderstanding, that there are two kinde of it. For there are discourses, wherein reason goeth on by degrees in continual order, one discourse alwaies following another, by considering and examining whatsoeuer appertaineth to the matter in hand, that so a certaine and sound iudgement therof may be rendred afterward. Againe, there is another kinde of discoursing, wherein reason doth not onely run amaine, but withall skippeth hither and thither, as though it tooke here a little & there a little, tasting onely of things very slightly & by the way, as Bees that flie from one floure to another, and leaue others betweene vntouched. Which course whilest reason taketh, it omitteth some step or other which it ought to trace: and that either through ignorance of the right path it ought to follow, or because it thinketh it needlesse to stay about that which it passeth by, or because it delighteth not, or is not disposed so to doe.

Of the ende
of all discourses.

Moreover, we must know, that there is great diuersitie of discourses, according to the varietie of mens vnderstandings. For sharp wits sound to the bottome, that matter which is propounded vnto them: wise and subtil heads, euery by small coniectures farre fetched, conceiue that which they seeke after & attaine thereunto. There are some also of such great spirits, that conceiue many things at once, and as it were in the twinckling of an eye, & at one looke behold all that is pertinent to the matter. Whereby it appeareth, that they haue ready imagination and fantasie, their memory like to an open treasure, a quicke consideration, and a perfect and sound remembrance. For if the imagination and fantasie be slow, or the memorie shut vp, or if consideration cease, or recordation be weake, the discourse wil be backward, and fall out but badly, as it is with children, and those that are very aged, with sicke folkes, and those that haue their mindes troubled. Now the ende of all discoursing in the minde, tendeth either to the inuention or conclusion of the thing that a man seeketh for. And if he attaine not to his ende, it is either because he taketh not the way which he ought to take, as they that know not what way to follow, which cometh to passe by diuerse means: or because his vnderstanding is not good, but full of darkenisse: through some perturbation that troubleth it for a time, as when the affections are much mooued: or by reason of the varietie of cogitations, which trouble and hinder one another.

A comparifon

There are some also which go on without any regard had to that thing they seeke after, as it falleth out with thē that are too much moued, & that haue a very hasty imagination & fantasie. For these men goe beyonde the place, where they might finde the thing which they seeke for: and so leauing the chiefe matter behinde, they fall into vnneccessarie & bye matter, into foolish trifling and strange thinges, without all compasse of reason, and such as belong nothing to the purpose. VVherefore, so soone as the discourse is begunne, fantasie is presently to be bridled and kept in, and the inquisition also of memory, to the end the vnderstanding may commodiously take holde of that which it is to follow, & that no such hasty & light commotion carry it awy, and so cause it to lose all. VVherein we may say, that it falleth out with the vnderstanding, as it doeth with a hound that is in chafe. For if he cannot by sent finde out the game he seeketh, or if after hee hath found it and is in chafe hee fall to hunt riot, or if hee giue in, either for want of courage, or because hee is spent, or because the course is too long, hee shall neuer take the pray for which hee was brought to field, but lose it without recovery: So in these discourses of the mind, whereof we speake, there are others also beside them that are already mentioned, who because they are of a slow spirit, and the matters they search for are farre off and hard to finde, haue not vigour nor force sufficient to attaine vnto them. The selfe same thing also happeneth to some, not so much for want of strength & quicknesse of spirit, as because they are commonly idle and slouthfull, as it is with thē that wil not be attentiuē, & cannot away to occupy their minds whē they should take some paines to learn. There are many of these, whose being more careful for their bodies thē for their soules, & that they may more freely attend to the body and

the desires thereof, are soone perswaded to giue over all care to seeke for, and to provide things necessary for the soule. And if the body be neuer so little out of square, yea the very feare lest they should procure it any griefe, causeth them wholly to abtaine from labouring the minde in the searching out of wisdom and truth, so that they voluntary become ignorant. There are others that haue running heads, who will neuer continue and stay in one thing: and some also that when they should hearken to that which they are about, haue their wits a wool gathering, and as we vse commonly to say, are building of castles in Spaine. But about all wee must herein acknowledge that God distributeth his giftes and graces to men, and bestoweth wit and vnderstanding as it pleaseth him. Now that we haue intreated sufficiently of the vnderstanding, and of the discourses of reason therein, let vs speake of Iudgement which followeth it, and of his office. This then shal be the matter subiect of thy speech, *AMANA*.

Of Iudgement, and of his office, after the discourse of reason: and how Beleefe, Opinion, or doubting follow it: of the difference that is betwene them. Chap. 30.

AMANA. If I iudge aright of the doctrine contained in our former discourses, which handled the nature, powers, faculties and vertues of the soule, I finde that the spirit is as it were the chiefe part therein, in which is the *Minde*, the *Vnderstanding*, and *Memory*. The *Minde* is as it were a white paper, wherein as a man groweth in yeeres & iudgement, so he writeth his cogitations & thoughts, which he hath by learning & by the instruction of wisdom. *Vnderstanding*, is framed by the knowledge of reason, and last of all *Memory* followeth. For there is great difference betwene that which the senses and the vnderstanding are able to do in the time of infancy, and that which is done by them in other ages, wherein there is greater vse of the. And although the seeds of al the operations of the soule, are included within it even from the beginning of the creation thereof, neuerthelesse God hath created it of that nature, that as he hath ioyned it to the body, which hath his degrees of growth in euery part thereof, so the soule hath some agreement therewith in this respect, touching the manifestation of her powers and vertues. If then any man be endued with an excellent spirit, that is quicke and ready to conceiue, and with a memory apt to retaine and hold fast, it is a great meane for him whereby to attaine to the knowledge of the truth. But for the perfection of these two great gifts of nature, it is necessary he should haue a good and sound iudgement proceeding from a sound disputing and discoursing of reason lightened by the spirit of God, and by it purged of error, illusion, and of all vaine opinions, which the nature of man hath of his owne inheritance, and which hindereth him from iudging aright of the truth.

Now the office of *Iudgement* is to like or dislike the discourses of reason, and the conclusions which are made thereby. For it belongeth to iudgement, to iudge whether reason discourse and conclude well as it ought to doe. And therefore it is in the spirit and in the minde, as a rule, or as the skoles in a paire of balance: and whilest reason is a working, it is quiet. But when shee hath concluded and done, iudgement afterwarde examineth and considereth whether there bee any fault in the discoursing, or in the conclusion, or in both, or whether all bee well referred, before it either approoue or mislike any thing. And if it finde any thing that breedeth feare lest it bee deceived, then it beginneth againe to aduise of the matter. Now the greatest cause it hath to feare lest it bee deceived, ariseth of probable reasons, which albeit they bee like to bee true, yet indeede are not true. And because there are some, which haue such great shew of truth, that it is a very hard matter to bee able to discern them from true reasons, and not take them to bee such indeede, therefore the Iudgement may bee often deceived by this meane. For it will not easily slippe aside, but abide constant in that wherein it is once settled, if it bee not ledde and induced to allowe and disallowe of a thing, either by vertue of true and certaine reasons that may moue it, or of such reasons as are so very likely, and carry so greates a shewe of truth, that they cannot bee knowne and discerned for others. Therefore wee may well say, that a good, vpriight and sound iudgement is an excellent gifte of God: neither is there any thinge more necessary to all arts and disciplines, yea in the whole course of mans life, and chiefly for the principall end of our being, which is to know and to serue God. For as *Good* is a thing agreeable to the

The seuerall powers of the soule.

Of the office of iudgement.

A sound iudgement is an excellent gift of God.

Will,

Will, so is *Trueth* agreeable to the *Minde*: whereupon it followeth likewise, that as *Enill* is contrary and an enemy to the will, so is lying in this respect of the minde. Wherefore if iudgement iudgeth that the conclusion made by reason is true and followeth well, it ioyneth it selfe thereunto, receiuing and imbracing it as agreeable to it selfe. This approbation is called *Consent*. But if it iudge the conclusion to be false, it turneth it aside & reiecteth it, and this refusal may be called *dissent*, because it is contrary to consent, when there is no agreement of sentences, but disagreement and contrariety. As touching consent, we may diuide it into two kindes. For one kind therof is firme and stedfast, and another weake and vnstayed. If the

Two kinds of consents.

Agreement betwixt beleefe and science.

What opinion is.

What doubting is.

Of faith in diuine things.

Of the light of faith.

Of the senses of faith.

consent be firme, certaine, and thoroughly resolued, it is called *Beleefe*. But there is difference betwixt that beleef or faith, which concerneth humane matters, and that which is of diuine things. For then doe we giue credite to humane things, when we take them to be so certain, that wee doubt nothing thereof, as namely when wee are so perswaded either by very euident reasons which remooue all doubting from vs, or els, by testimonies which wee take to be most certaine. Wherefore we may say, that there is great agreement betwixt this kinde of beleefe and betweene *Science*, because there is a certaine resolution both in the one and in the other. For *Science* is a kind of knowledge in which the demonstration made vnto vs, compelleth vs to approoue that which is spoken, because we see the reasons so certaine, that wee cannot gainsay them nor thinke otherwise. The like is done in beleefe, which is a kinde of knowledge, that causeth vs without doubting to giue credite vnto that which is tolde vs, because we are overcome by witnesses and authoritie which we approue. For if we doubted any thing, our consent would be yet weak, & so it could not properly be called beleef, but rather *Coniecture* or *Opinion*. For considering that in this there is some kinde of consent, which inclineth to one part rather then to another, therefore it tendeth to disliking, which is wholly against consent. For this cause we call *Opinion*, a knowledge that moueth vs to incline rather on the one side, then on the other, in regard of the appearance and shew of reason that it hath: so that wee are not fully resolued therein. Now albeit this consent, which is called opinion or coniecture, bee not altogether so firme, as that which we call beleefe: neuerthelesse it diffreth from *Doubting*, which is as it were a neuter iudgement, hanging between consent & his contrary, & inclinining neither to the one side nor to the other. As for that beleefe which is of diuine things, there is such a firme consent required therein, as that all doubting must be vtterly excluded. For faith is not perfect, if it does not allow for certaine, whatsoeuer God hath reuealed vnto men by his word, which is a certaine testimony of his will. And although he hath giuen vnto vs the same meanes to instruct vs by in these things, that he hath done in humane things, yet he goeth further. For he doth not onely teach vs by experience, by reasons and demonstrations, which appeare manifestly to our senses both externall and internall, and of which our minde can iudge as well as of humane things, but he requireth chiefly of vs, that we should beleefe his testimony, and those witnesses which he sendeth vnto vs, and that we should content our selues with his authoritie. And because heavenly things surpasse the capacity of our vnderstanding, God maketh them capable by the light of faith, which is a supernaturall and diuine light, whereby we see that in God, which we cannot behold in all the creatures, and which our humane reason cannot naturally comprehend.

Now as much as this light is more certaine then all other naturall light, either externall of the eyes of the body, or internall in respect of the eyes of the soule and minde, so much more certain is our sight and knowledge of that, which we see and know by meanes of that light. For this cause when our vnderstandings are lightened with this light, we beleefe more firmly that which it manifesteth vnto vs, I say not onely then that whereunto we may be perswaded by all the humane reasons which can be alleaged: but also then that which we see with our owne eyes, and heare with our eares, and touch with our hands. For these externall senses, and those internall senses also whose messengers the other are, are not so certaine witnesses to our spirit, as the senses of faith, which are more then humane. For they are beauenly. Wherefore she hath eyes whereby she seeth diuinely and not humanely, which can neuer be deceived as the eyes of the body may. The like we may say of her eares and of her hands. For there is no sense so certaine as all hers are, because she receiueth them diuinely by the spirit. Therefore as she hath not in her any imagination or fantasie that can deceiue her, so she can neuer faile, either in her discourses or in her iudgements whereupon she resolueth: because she is alwaies guided in them by the holy spirit, whom she followeth for her rule in all things, and who assureth her by his testimony, as if she bare the markes and seales imprinted in

in her selfe, and in their mindes and hearts in whome shee dwelleth. Hereof it is that Saint *Paul* so often saith, that God hath sealed vs by his holy Spirit, speaking as it were of a seale imprinted in our hearts and mindes, and as of an earnest and gage which God hath giuen vs, for the best and most certaine assurance that can be. No maruell therefore if the children of God endued with the true faith become so resolute, so firme and constant, that no authoritie, power, wisdom, force, eloquence, no humane reasons, nor any thing that men or diuels can imagine, thinke, say, or doe, is able to make them to change their mindes; whereof we haue most euident examples, especially in the person of all the Martyres, who could neuer by any violence in the world be overcome, but their faith hath euermore gotten the victory and triumphed over all their enemies. And by this we may assuredly know, that it is better grounded then vpon all the reasons and perswasions of men that may be. Therefore it is not without cause that Saint *Paul* calleth it the gift of God, neither is it without great reason commended so much in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*. For being come to that point, that it hath such an illumination, as to accompt all that God reuealeth in his word to bee more certain then any thing that we see with our eyes, or touch with our hands, & hereof to haue a true sence and feeling of the testimony of the holy spirit, then doth it exclude all doubting, which is contrary therunto, and differeth much from that which wee holde onely in opinion, wherein there is as yet no great assurance. So that we may conclude hereupon, that according as faith is more or lesse in vs, we shall neuer conclude ill, nor at any time giue ouer our conclusions. For faith neuer concludeth any thing which God hath not before spoken, whose word and authoritie is vnto it, as indeede it ought to be, in steade of all reason. For seeing it is that wisdom and truth which can neuer faile or lie, it needeth not to doubt in any respect to conclude alwaies therewith, neither hath it cause at anytime afterward to forsake or change the conclusion it hath set downe. Wherefore when our faith is shaken and beginneth to alter, it is a signe and testimony, that it holdeth more of the nature of opinion then of beleefe, and that it hath not yet a iudgement throughly resolved in the conclusion which it hath taken. So that heere we may learne what difference there is betwixt beleefe, opinion, doubting, and infidelitie or incredulitie. For seeing incredulitie is contrary to beleefe, it goeth farther then doubting, which concludeth nothing on either side, as both beleefe and opinion doe, but incredulitie concludeth contrary to them both. For it giueth no consent, as beleefe and opinion doe, but taketh the cleane contrary: and therefore it may well be called different or disagreement, as being opposite to that consent that is in beleefe.

Now to end this speech, and to take away all doubting that may arise of this word Beleefe or Faith, I will only adde this, that we are to know that it is diuersly taken in the holy scriptures. For the name which it hath in the Hebrew tongue, is taken from the word, whereby they expresse veritie or truth, which they also take for constancie and assurance. The word which the Euangelists and Apostles vse according to the Græcians in whose language they wrote, signifieth properly Perswasion. And the name vsed by the Latines, from whom we haue taken our Faith, signifieth that constancie and trueth, which men keepe in their words and promises: whereupon they call it the *Fountaine of Iustice*. Therefore faithfull signifieth as much as true, constant, and firme in that which a man hath spoken and promised, namely, when one hath kept his faith. Hereof it is also that God is so often in the holy Scriptures called Faithfull, in respect of vs, because he neuer falsifieth his faith, but is alwaies firme and constant in all his words and workes. But when the Scripture speaketh of Faith in regard of men towards God, it doth not onely comprehend a beleefe, whereby wee beleue that to be true which wee heare, and which is spoken vnto vs, as when one telleth vs some historie, but it is also a trust, which assureth vs, that God will performe that vnto vs which he hath promised vs. Therefore true faith includeth in it a certaine and vndoubted confidence of heavenly things, and an assured perswasion of the accomplishment of Gods promises towards vs. Now to prosecute our purpose, seeing we haue learned, that the knowledge of the truth, which is the principall object of reason and vnderstanding, is very hard for men to attaine vnto, let vs consider of the meanes whereby we may be certaine and sure of those things which we are to beleue. This discourse *ARAM*, belongeth vnto thee.

Eph. 4. 30.
2. Cor. 1. 22.

Eph. 2. 13.
Heb. 11.

The conclusions of Faith are most true and vchangeable.

Incredulitie contrary to beleefe and opinion.

Of the diuers acceptions of this word, beleefe or Faith

The description of Faith.

of

Of the meanes whereby a man may haue certaine knowledge of those things which hee ought to beleene and take for true : of the naturall and supernaturall light that is in man, and how they beare witnesse of the Image of God in him. Chap. 31

It is good for
a mā to know
his owne ig-
nerance.

ARAM. For a man to know himselfe to be ignorant, is a goodly science and so necessary for men, that without it they cannot bee truly skilfull. For the ignorant person that knoweth not himselfe to be such a one, but supposeth he knoweth that which he doth not in deede, is as vnteachable a beast as can be: because he wil neuer seeke for a master to be instructed by, but if any offer themselves he wil reiect them, and rather himselfe take vpo him to teach them.

Therefore *Socrates* was greatly commended by the ancients, because he said, that he knew but one onely thing, namely, that he was ignorant and knew nothing. True is, that if wee speake of things which may be knowne by the corporall and spirituall senses of men, euen as nature hath giuen them vnto vs, and of things belonging to naturall and morall Philosophy, there are many men to be found whole knowledge therein is so great, that other men in respect of them may seeme to be but poore beasts. But when wee must ascend vp to the knowledge of things revealed vnto vs in Iesus Christ, and in the Gospell, no sense or vnderstanding of man is able to comprehend any thing therein, if the Spirit of God doe not teach him, and dwell in him, to seale and to confirme in his soule the doctrine of those heavenly mysteries, wherein the skilfullest men are no better taught of themselves, then those that are most ignorant. For that abideth alwaies true which *S. Paul* wrote to the *Corinthians*, that the naturall man perceiueth not the things of the spirit of God: for they are foolishnes vnto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.

1 Cor. 2. 14.

Four means
to know cer-
tainly those
things that
are to be be-
lieued.
Of general
experience.

Now I finde foure meanes, whereby men may be made certaine of those things vnto which they ought to giue credite, whereof three of them are naturall and according to naturall Philosophy, the fourth goeth further, and is proper to diuinitie. The first is *generall experience*: the second, the *knowledge of principles*: the third, *naturall iudgement*: of these three we will first speake, and then come to the fourth. Generall experience is that iudgement which all men of sound mindes do giue all after one sort, of those things whereof they haue certaine experience by their corporall senses: as to bee seene in naturall things. For who knoweth not that the fire is hotte? And who would not take him for a senselesse man that should affirme the contrary? Yea, who could affirme it, beeing conuincd of the truth thereof by his owne senses? Likewise who seeth not the difference that is betweene death and life, and what are the effects both of the one and the other? For euery one knoweth these things by a generall experience common to all. Wherefore this knowledge is certaine and where it is so, there needeth no other prooffe or demonstration fetched farther then from such experience. For God hath so created the nature of things, that men must needs confesse it to bee so, as generall experience doth declare it to be. And he that will not beleene it, let him take triall thereof himselfe, and he shal know whether it be so or no. So that who soeuer would stand against this common and generall experience, he should make open war against God and nature, in denying al order which he hath set down therein. Concerning the *knowledge of principles*, we must first know that there is vnderstood by principles, that naturall knowledge that is borne with vs, which is the seede of all Arts, and a beame of the light of God in vs, to the end that by this meanes all Artes necessary for life, should be inuented and put in vse. As for example, euery one knoweth naturallly, that the whole of any thing is more then the halfe, or then a part of it only, and that three are more then two. To be brieft the knowledge of numbers, of measures, and of other such like things is naturall vnto vs, and is not found in the nature of beasts: and therefore they haue neither the inuention nor vse of any Arte, as wee haue already heard. But let vs proceede farther and consider, whether there be no naturall knowledge in men, whereby they vnderstand that there is a diuine nature, wise, iust, true, good, that loueth goodnesse, and hateth and punisheth euill, with which nature the soule of man hath some agreement, and is as it were an image thereof: for which

Of the know-
ledge of prin-
ciples.

Of the naturall knowledge of men. 433

which cause he ought to be made conformable to God, by following after wisdom, truth, iustice, goodnesse, and all vertue, and by shunning the contray vices. In this respect, he that followeth this rule obeyeth God, doing that which is pleasant and right in his eyes: and he that leaueth this rule, disobeyeth and displeaseth him, committing wicked and dishonest things, whereby he becometh woorthy of punishment. In a word, we may referre to those naturall principles, whatsoeuer God hath imprinted in mens hartes and mindes of the law of nature, which serueth all men for naturall diuinitie, the Bookes of which they carry printed in their soules. And yet out of all question, this diuinitie will scarce serue vs but to condemnation, if we goe no farther, because the booke thereof is so blotted in vs, that there is not so much as one small peece or leafe thereof whole and sound, and which is not verie much blurred and torne. Neuerthelesse that which remaineth is a sufficient processe against vs before God, and able to conuince and condemne vs at his iudgement. Of this wee our selues may iudge, in that we see, that there is no nation or people that liue with no religion at all, but they haue one eyther true or false, whereby they labour to appease the wrath of God, and to be vnder his fauour and protection, according to that measure of knowledge, which they haue of him. Whereby they plainly declare, that there is a certaine law within them taken from the Booke of this natural diuinity, which condemneth thē in their hartes, and vrgeth & constraineth them to do that which they do, euen as we feele our selues pressed & cōdemned by the written law which God hath giuen vnto vs. Wherefore if we knew how to profit by them both, they would both serue vs in stead of a Schoolemaster to direct & lead vs vnto Iesus Christ. For both of thē, if we vnderstand them well, testifie sufficiently vnto vs, that we stand in neede of a Mediator, by whom we may haue access to God & be reconciled vnto him, seeing we feele our cōdemnation within our selues & in our own consciences. As for the third meane to make a mā certain of that which he is to account for true, which we said was *naturall Iudgement*, it is the vnderstanding of that order that ought to be in things, & of the consequence of them, whereby to iudge in some sort of the agreement or disagreement they haue one with another, in so much that euery one hath within himselfe as it were a naturall logicke, whereby he is able to iudge at leastwise of common things. It remaineth now that we learne the fourth meane, which passeth al the former, & that is *diuine reuelation*, wherof we haue made mention, & those certaine and infallible testimonies, which we learne of the holy Scriptures, I meane the Bookes of the Prophets & Apostles, with the confirmation & vnderstanding of them by the holy Spirit. For it were not enough for vs to haue the word of God deliuered vnto vs by them, except the holy Ghost had his working both in them & in vs. Wherefore although naturally we more easily & firmly beleue that which our minde is able to see, know & comprehend by the naturall light thereof, then that which goeth beyond it, yet forasmuch as God hath made vs capable of vnderstanding and reason, we ought to giue no lesse credite to al that he hath reuealed vnto vs by his word, yea much more to this, howsoeuer by that light of nature which remaineth in vs we neither see nor know how true and firme it is, and that for the causes before vttered. Hereof it is that in the Epistle to the Hebrewes, faith is called the *substance and ground of things hoped for*, and such an *evident demonstration of things not seene*, that it conuinceth men & causeth them to perceiue and know the truth of them very cleerely. Whereupon wee haue to note, that this naturall light, and that which we call supernaturall, are not (to speake properly) two diuers and different lights, but one and the same, as we should well haue knowne, if our nature had continued in perfection, and in that image of God in which it was created and framed, farre differing from all other creatures. For although there is in them some image of God, yet they haue not vnderstanding to knowe it as it is, neither to knowe God their creatour, who hath imprinted it in them. But it is farre otherwise in man. For God will bee knowne of him, and therefore hee hath so imprinted his image in his nature, that he will haue him to see and know it. For this cause hee hath giuen him a minde and vnderstanding able to receiue this knowledge. For the greatest likenesse and resemblance that a man can haue with God, consisteth in the agreement with him in wisdom and iustice, which cannot bee but in a nature that is capable and partaker of reason and vnderstanding. Nowe because God is good, yea a common and generall Good, hee will not withholde this good in himselfe without communicating it, but maketh all his creatures partakers thereof, especially man, with whome it hath pleased him to communicate this Good of wisdom and iustice, which is the greatest and most excellent good that is in him. Therefore did God together with his image imprint his knowledge

Of the naturall knowledge of God in men.

The vse both of the natural and of the written law.

Of naturall iudgement.

Of the fourth meane of knowledge.

Hebr. 11.

Of the image of God in mā

knowledge in the nature of man. For man could not otherwise know this image and similitude, neither what it is to be like or vnlike to God, if he had no more knowledge of God, who, and what manner a one he is, then other creatures that want this knowledge, because they are not capable of vnderstanding and reason, nor of this image of wisdom and iustice which is in God, and by which man is made like vnto him. Wherefore the first degree of this image and similitude that is in man, appeareth in that power and facultie of vnderstanding which God hath given him, and in that wisdom whereof hee hath made him partaker, and which hath some agreement with the wisdom of God. So that before man sinned, the image of God was such in him, that there was a perfect agreement of all the powers and vertues of the soule betweene God and him. For the diuine light did so shine in his minde, that he had certaine and firme knowledge of GOD, neither was there any resistance against him either in his heart or in his will, but a sound and perpetuall concord and consent. So that there was alwayes betweene the minde and the will an vprightnesse and iustice agreeable with God, neither was the freedom of the wil hindered or drinen forward to euill, because man had not yet made himselfe the subiect and slaue of sinne. As long therefore as man kept this image of God within him, the Lord dwelt therein as in his owne lodging: and by that meanes would haue given to men such perpetuall life and ioy, as should neuer haue bin broken off or extinguished either by sorrow or by death, if hee had suffred himselfe to be alwaies guided by God, and neuer turned aside nor seuered himselfe from him. Therefore Saint Paul speaking of this first image and of the renewing thereof in man, saith, *Put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.* Seeing then it is thus, there is no doubt but that, if man had continued in his integritie, the light which is now supernaturall in him, would haue bin naturall in all that knowledge of God, which is necessary for him to that end whereunto he was created. For hee had neuer bin overwhelmed with darkenesse, which dimmed and hindred this heavenly light that shined in him, and made him the habitation and temple of God, but had seene cleerely the image of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost shining in his soule, in which it was imprinted, the draughts and beames whereof are yet euident inough in him, I meane to them that consider of them as it appertayneth, following the light of the word of God. But forasmuch as the darkenesse which sinne hath brought with it, keepeth man from hauing any sound and perfect knowledge of God, or of heavenly things as he had in his first estate, it is necessarie therefore that he should restore and kindle againe in him, this diuine and perfect life which he hath lost by the benefit of regeneration and spirituall renouation, as if hee created him anew, giuing him a minde to vnderstand his word, and a will to follow and to embrace it, This is that, which I thought we were to note and learne concerning the meanes that bring vs certaine knowledge of such things as we ought to iudge & accompt for true. Let vs now consider, how the spirit of man being enriched in measure with heavenly gifts and graces, doth finally attaine to the end of all inquisition and searching out of truth, which is contemplation, that followeth iudgement, as iudgement followeth reason and the discourse thereof. Therefore doe thou, *ACHITO B.* take vpon thee to discourse of this matter subiect, and so end all speeches of this daies worke concerning vnderstanding, that afterward we may looke particularly into the will, which is the second part and vertue of the highest and most soueraigne power of the soule.

How the vertues and powers of the soule shew themselves by little and little, and by degrees of contemplation, and of the good that is in it: of that true and diuine contemplation which we looke for after this life. Chap. 32.

ACHITO B. I was much troubled oftentimes about the vnderstanding of these two words, *Soule & Spirit*, in seeking to find what difference or agreement they haue one with another: seeing that many times I saw one of them taken for the other, & also opposed as repugnant one to another. In the end I learned of skilful men, that we might vse the word *Soule* to signifie man as he is borne, hauing onely the gifts of a humane soule, namely, the humane senses; and those other powers and vertues both animall and naturall, of which wee haue already spoken. And as for the *Spirit*, that wee must vnderstand thereby, whatsoever heavenly grace and knowledge of the truth is giuen to man by the Spirit of GOD dwelling in him, which guideth and leadeth him to the contemplation of the diuine nature, wherein

The difference betwixt soule & spirit

wherein consisteth his good and felicity. Moreover we may see in sundry places of the Scriptures according to the Hebrew phrase, the word *Soule*, taken not onely for the life of man, and for all things belonging thereto, but also for the whole nature of man: and thus also is the word *Flesh* taken. Therefore when the flesh is opposed and set against the spirit in man, we vnderstand thereby, not the body onely, but also the soule of man, I meane such a one as it was at the beginning, when being left vnto it selfe it followed the corruption of it owne nature. And likewise by the Spirit, we meane that which is regenerated in every part of man, whereby he being withdrawne from the peruerse desires and corrupt affections of his nature, is lift vp to the contemplation of celestiall and eternall things.

But our God vseth in such sort to apply himselfe to the nature and ability of his creatures, that by little and little, and by degrees he dispenseth vnto them those things, which he will bestow vpon them, alwaies keeping that order, which he hath vsed and followed in the creation of the world. For, as *Moses* testifieth, *he first created it of nothing*. Then having created the matter of all natures, he brought it into a worke, and gaue vnto it a forme, and so polishing it by degrees and day by day, at length he set it in that perfection, which he minded to bestow vpon it. We see likewise, that in the continuation of his workes, he beginneth alwaies at the basest and least thing, and so goeth on encreasing, augmenting, and ascending vp vntill he hath placed them in their perfection, whereof we haue daily experience, principally in plants and living creatures. For the generation of plants cometh of their seedes, from which they take their beginning. And when the seed, which is the least part of the whole plant, is put into the ground, it taketh roor therein and then commeth forth, encreasing daily vntill it come to those bounds, that are allotted vnto it by the Creator, which it cannot passe: because it cannot attaine to greater perfection being of that kinde, but then daily falleth to decay, vntill it be wholly consumed and returned to the Elements from whence it was taken. The like is done in the generation of all living creatures, and namely in that of man. For what is his beginning? and what is his conception, natiuitie, childhood, adolescencie, youth, mans estate, and then old age? We see how small his beginning is, and how he groweth step by step, and from age to age vntill he commeth to the flower of his age, and to his full strength, as plants doe: and from thence the neerer he draweth to old age, the more he fadeth and decayeth vntill he come to death, whereby the body returneth to the Elements out of which it is taken. For as God hath given him a beginning, so hath he appointed him limits, vnto which he may ascend vp vntill he come to his highest, and then he is to descend, as the ordinance of God shall leade him. As for the soule, the same cannot befall it in regard of bignesse, seeing it is not corporall as the body is, neither yet in respect of death, seeing it is immortall. For it cannot be resolued as the body may, to returne into the Elements, out of which it is not taken, but it abideth alwaies in that substance and nature which first it had, because it is of a celestiall and diuine nature. But if the question be of the faculties, powers, and vertues thereof, the seedes of which it hath in it selfe, we see by experience how they shew themselves more and more perfect, and how the vse of them is greater in one age then in another. For as long as the infant is in his mothers wombe, no man can perceiue that as yet he vseth any other vertue and facultie of the soule that is in him, then that which heretofore we called the *vegetative* or *nourishing* facultie, by which he is nourished as plants are. After, when he is borne, he continueth a long time like to other living creatures, as though he had onely a *vegetative* and *sensitive* soule as they haue. Then by little and little as he groweth from one age to another, those vertues of the soule whereby he differeth from beasts, appeare every day more and more. And yet he hath no other soule in substance, nor any other senses and mind throughout his whole life, then he had when it first moued: as also he hath no other body. But a man may easily iudge, that this commeth not of the nature of the soule, but of the instruments it hath in the body, which in the infancie of man, hinder it from doing that which it doth by them in other ages. Besides, wee may truly say, that God hath created it of that nature, that as he hath ioined it vnto the body, which hath his degrees of growth, so the soule hath some agreement therewith in this respect, touching the manifestation of her naturall powers and vertues. Neither is it any strange thing if God deale so with it in this matter. In the meane time we see, that although the soule of man seemeth in nothing or very little to differ from that of plants, as long as it is in the mothers wombe, nor from the soule of beasts during the time of his infancie: neuerthelesse afterward it sheweth very well wherein it differeth from them, and that it hath certaine vertues,

Matth. 10. 39

Rom. 13. 11

Esay 40. 5. 6

Luc. 3. 6

Rom. 8. 6

Genes. 1

Howe God

proceedeth

in the creatis

on of his

VVorks.

How the

powers of the

soule manifest

themselves.

How they

haue their

degrees in

growth.

Luke 1. 80.

The difference
betwixt rea-
son and
iudgement
and contem-
plation.

Why some
haue prefer-
red Philoso-
phy before
riches.

which are not in any other soule. For if this were not so both in respect of the age & growth of the body, as also in regard of that property which is in the nature thereof, it would bee alwaies like to that which it is in the beginning, as we see it is with plants and beasts, in whose soule we can perceiue no more change in the ende and when they growe vp, then in their beginning and first birth. According then to that I haue now sayde, wee see by experience, that in the gifts and graces, wherewith GOD daily adorneth and enricheth his children, he doth not communicate all at once vnto them, but by little and little and by degrees, as hee iudgeth it expedient, and as they are capable of reason and vnderstanding. Therefore it is written of *Iohn Baptist*, that the child grewe, and waxed strong in spirit: which is as much to say, as that according as he grew in age, God increased the graces of his holy spirit vpon him wherewith he had indued him euen from his mothers wombe.

And when we haue profited wel in his schoole, so that we are assured of, and instructed in those things, which we ought to follow according to the word of GOD, we easily attaine to that *Good*, which is the end of all inquiry of the truth, namely to contemplation, which followeth iudgement, as iudgement followeth reason and the discourse thereof. For reason discoursing, is as it were the inquisition of the truth that is sought for, and iudgement is as the election that maketh choice of the truth, & of that which it taketh to be most certaine: and Contemplation is as it were a quiet and settled beholding of all those things which were gathered together by reason, and receiued with approbation by iudgement. For there is no more place for disputation, seeing all things are certaine and cleere. Now all pleasure and delight proceedeth from the conuenience & agreement, that is betwixt the thing that pleaseth, and him whom it doth please. And because there is nothing more agreeable to the nature of the spirit and minde of man then truth, bereof it commeth, that notwithstanding all corruption that is in him, there is no man but naturally desireth knowledge and skil, accounting scienceto be excellent and worthy of great praise, and ignorance to be ful of shame, yea, he iudgeth it a very ill thing to be deceived. Wherefore we may not doubt, but that as knowledge is more true and certaine, so doth the spirit receiue greater pleasure: and when it hath found the truth, it delighteth greatly therein. And if for the causes before touched by vs, it cannot finde the truth so certainly as it desireth, yet it taketh singular pleasure in approaching so neere vnto it as it can. For this cause the more certaine the truth is which it knoweth, it is the more agreeable and pleasant vnto it, especially when it knoweth the true spring & first causes therof. Therefore as the minds of men delight more in those things: that resemble them most, of so much the more noble & excellent nature they are, yea more heavenly and diuine, and so will take pleasure in such things as are more excellent and celestiall. Contrariwise, the more earthly, vile, and abiect they shall be, the more will they delight in mortall, base and contemptible things, and despise such as are of greatest value. For this cause many Philosophers haue esteemed more of the study of Philosophy, and the knowledge therof, then of kingdomes and great riches, being prouoked and pricked thereunto, by an vnspcakable pleasure which their spirit took in the knowledge of those things that were reuealed vnto them therein. On the other side, wee see that ambitious men delight more in honours and worldly greatnesse, then they would doe, at leastwise in their owne opinion, in all the skill of the Philosophers. A couetous man pleaseth himselfe a great deale more in telling and beholding his crownes, then in any other thing whatsoever. It is no maruell therefore if ambitious, couetous, and voluptuous men, and such like doe commonly deride those that take delight in learning, and chiefly in the doctrine and contemplation of these celestiall and eternall things, which they set before their eyes, or if they preferre greatly their owne estate and condition, before others that take pleasure in such things. For they are pearles cast before swine, which are not valued as they are worth but onely of such as know them and their value.

Now if heathen Philosophers haue oftentimes willingly abandoned all their goods, that they might wholly addict themselves to the study of their humane Philosophy, and to the contemplation of such things as they could know thereby, notwithstanding that it was alwaies accompanied with some doubting, and that they could neuer attaine to a certaine knowledge either of the beginning or end of things: what ought Christians to do whē the question is of Diuine Philosophie and Wisdome, the treasures of which are opened and offered vnto them in the word of God? For it is without all comparison farre more certaine then any science, and containeth in it other truths, and matters that are a great deale more profound, excellent, and more worthy of contemplation. And they to whom God hath beene

beene so gracious, as to giue some taste and experience of these things, are able to iudge well of them, yea farre better then any others. For it is certaine that euen for a little true knowledge of God, & of the truth of those things which he hath reuealed vnto vs in his doctrine, we receiue singular delight, with great ioy, and sweet consolation. So that every man may perceiue, how much greater the pleasure wil be when the knowledge shal be greater. If then this smal taste, which we may haue in this world of these delicacies & spiritual delights, bringeth vnto vs such singular ioy, we may easily iudge how great it will bee in that most happy contemplation, which we shall haue in heauen with God, when we shall behold him face to face, and know him as we are knowne, whereas here wee see him but as it were in a glasse, & through a cloude. For that is the contemplation of al contemplations, seeing it is the beholding of God, with whom nothing may be compared. Then there shall be no cloude of ignorance, when wee shal haue, not a likely or probable, but a most certaine and true knowledge. For the truth shall be shewed vnto vs most certaine in GOD who is the Authour and Father thereof, in whom we shal thoroughly and perfectly see and know the causes of al things. For our spirits shall be held no longer in such an obscure and darke prison, as here they are constrained to suffer in our mortall bodies. Therefore there shall be no more diuersities, disagreements, or contrarieties of opinions and iudgements, that some should condemne that which others approue, but all shall be of the same iudgement. But seeing wee are fallen into the matter of contemplation, it shall not be vnprofitable, if vpon occasion of that diuision, which is commonly made of the actiue and contemplatiue life, we note, that although the spirit desireth aboue all things the pleasure that is in contemplation, as the proper foode and delight thereof, yet we must alwayes consider, that we are not onely borne for our selues, but also for others, and to this end, that we should all in common serue one another, both generally and specially. For God doth not only command the performance of that seruice, which he requireth of vs towards his owne person according to that which is contained in the first Table of the Lawe, but hee commandeth vs also in the second Table to doe that which he requireth of vs towards other men. Therefore he will not haue vs dwell alwaies in contemplation, but we must put to our hand, and discharge vs of our duty towards euery one, according as he teacheth vs by his word. We are then to learne, that so long as we liue in this world we must not separate the actiue life from the contemplatiue, but alwaies ioine them both together, vntill we come to that blessed life, which shall be altogether contemplatiue, when we shall be deliuered from all the miseries and necessities, and from all the troubles and lets in which we are wrapped & detained in this mortall life. God grant vs his grace to vse all our senses so well, both externall and internall, and all the powers, faculties and vertues of our soule and spirit, of which we haue hitherto spoken, that wee may cause them all to serue to his glory, and that we may attaine to that blessed contemplation, which is prepared for all his elect in his celestiall pallace: and that to this end he would dispose in vs our will, and all the affections of our soule, of the nature of which we will beginne to morrow to discourse. And first, *AS ER*, I thinke thou art to entreat of those appetites that are naturally in man, seeing Desire is the proper subiect of the Will as thou shalt instruct vs more at large.

Of the benefit that cometh by the contemplation of diuine things.

Of the contemplation that is after this life.

When all men shal be of one iudgement.

The actiue life must be ioined with the contemplatiue.

The end of the fourth daies worke.

The fifth Dayes worke.

Of the Appetites that are in all liuing creatures, and namely in man, and of their kindes: and particularly of the Naturall and Sensitiue Appetite. Chap. 33.



SER. As God and all that is in the world, is propounded to the minde of man, that he might know him so farre forth as is needfull for him, so is he also propounded to the will, that he might will, desire, and follow him as farre as his nature is capable thereof. Wherefore if man had not sinned, but had continued in his first estate wherein God created him, this great and eternall Goodnesse had shined in our soules that diuine word together with his holy spirit: which word being the eternall Sonne of

The object of the will is as large as that of the minde

What great
confusion is
in our cor-
rupt nature.

God, would haue alwaies taught and shewed vs the Father, of whom he was begotten before all time, and would haue lightened our minds with the light of all wisdom that we might haue beheld and seene him: and the holy spirit would haue ioyned our hearts and wils vnto the Father and to the Sonne, through a mutual loue replenished with all ioy and gladnes, and through certaine motions agreeable to the diuine nature. By which means there should haue bin in our hearts a great fire of loue towards God, and next to him we should haue loved other good things, according to that order which is shewed vnto vs in his heavenly wisdom and doctrine, and should haue desired them for the loue of him. But now in the estate of naturall corruption in which we are, all this goodly agreement, harmony and concord which ought to be betweene God and man, is wholly peruered and overthrowne. For in place of the true knowledge of God, there is nothing but ignorance and doubting in our mindes: and as for the Will, it searcheth after and desireth other things whereunto it applieth it selfe, and seeketh not after God. Neither doth it keepe any order in those things which it hath for objects, and which it setteth down in stead of the things commanded in his word. So that while it thinketh to attaine to that good whereunto naturally it aspireth, it obtaineth nothing to it selfe but a very great euill.

Of the de-
sires that are
in creatures.

Now when we espake before of the braine, and of the internall senses of the soule, and of the principall part and vertue thereof, we made some mention of the will, which ought to be directed and led by vnderstanding and reason. It remaineth now that wee looke more narrowly into the nature thereof, and of the affections of the soule, of the vitall vertue, of the heart, and of other members, which are the seats and instruments thereof, even as when we entreated of the animal vertues of the soule, we considered of their seats & instruments. First then we must marke what hath bene hitherto spoken, namely, that God hath giuen to all his creatures a naturall inclination, that leadeth every one of them to that which is naturall and agreeable to it selfe. Beasts haue an appetite to follow that good that is fit for them, and therefore also hath God giuen them the knowledge of that good, and senses meete for that purpose, to the ende they might shew vnto them, what is good for their preservation to follow it, and to shun the contrary. VVe haue learned also how God hath giuen both the one and the other to man, and vnto what degree concerning both of them, he hath lifted him aboue all liuing creatures. For as he hath created him to enioy a farre greater and more excellent *Good* then he hath beasts, and hath giuen vnto him a will to wish and desire it, so he hath endued him with a deeper knowledge whereby to know that *Good*: because he could not wish for it and desire it, except he did know it, and hee could not know it, if he had not a minde capable thereof, and endued with greater knowledge then that is, which he hath giuen to beasts. For this cause as they haue a kind of knowledge agreeable to their nature, and to the quality of that *Good*, which being fit for them is the greatest they can attaine vnto: so also hath man a knowledge according to his nature, and to the ende for the which he was created. So that the knowledge that God hath giue him, serueth to stir vp his appetite and desire of that *Good* which he knoweth: and his appetite also serueth his knowledge, so farre forth as man being moued and pricked forward to loue God, reioy-ceth and reposeth himselfe in him, hauing knowne him to be his soueraigne *Good*.

Three kindes
of appetites.

Of the Natu-
ral appetite.

Of hunger
and thirst.

But to the end we may the better vnderstand this whole matter, we must note, that there are three kindes of appetites among the creatures, which are commonly called, the one naturall, the other sensitiue, and the third voluntary. As for the naturall, we may diuide it into two sorts. For there is one generall to all creatures, whether liuing or without life, which is nothing else but a naturall inclination without any action, proceeding from any soule or life: as when we say, that heavy things desire to goe downward, and light things vpward, as we see it in the nature of the Elements, which are without soule and life. But beside this naturall appetite common to all creatures, there is an other that hath action ioyned with the inclination, which neuertheless proceedeth not of any sense. This appetite is proper to the vegetative and nourishing soule and life, whereof plants are partakers. For we see by experience, that they haue a naturall appetite to draw vnto them, and to retaine that which is meete for their nature and foode, and to expell the contrary. For if a plant waxe drie, it desireth to be watered, and draweth and keepeth humor and moisture necessary for it selfe. VVe see the like in mens bodies. For when the members want nourishment, they sucke the veines, and the veines drawe vnto them blood. And as the members desire their food, so they desire to be vnburthened when they haue too much. The appetite which wee call hunger and thirst, may bee referred to this kinde of naturall appetite, if this bee excepted

Of the naturall and sensitie Appetites. 439

ted, that we cannot say it is without sense and feeling. For beside the desire of eating and drinking, there is withall a sense of this attraction, whereby the members suck the veines, and the veines the bloud: and this sense is not without griefe and displeasure. So that every living creature is stirred vp to seeke for his foode, and to take his refection. Whereupon wee may diuide this naturall appetite also into two kindes, whereof the one shall be proper to plants that haue no sense, and the other belong to living Creatures that haue this feeling, of which I made mention euen now, and which differeth from that sense that is proper to the outward senses already spoken of. The reason whereof is, because it is properly such a kinde of feeling, as those creatures haue, which keepe a meane betweene plants and living creatures, being partakers of both their natures, and yet are neither simply plants, nor perfect living creatures, as it hath beene already shewed. As therefore wee heard in our former discourse, speaking of the growing vp of mans body, and of the manifestation by little and little of the powers of the soule, namely, that as long as the childe is in the mothers wombe, he is like to plants; so also hee hath then great agreement with these middle sorts of creatures in regard of this kind of appetite, and of the manner of nourishing whereby it is fedde. For the seede, whereof he is begotten and conceived, is nourished and groweth vp as plants doe, vntill such time as the Infant that is fashioned, haue sense and feeling, much like to that sense of the foresaid creatures, which are partakers of the nature both of plants and of living creatures. For as yet hee hath no vse of his externall senses, vntill such time as hee bee borne. Now the seate of this kinde of naturall appetite, is chiefly in the liuer and in the stomacke, and generally in all the members that serue for nourishment. For these members haue that appetite that is ioyned with this kinde of sense, of which I spake euen now. And as for the appetite of the other members, which serue not for the nourishing of the whole body, but onely for themselves, it is more like to that appetite that is in plants. For they feele neither hunger nor thirst as other members doe. And thus much for the naturall appetite and the kinds thereof. Concerning this sensitie appetite, it is that which accompanieth the sense, and belongeth onely to living creatures. There are two sorts of this. For either it is made with touching, or without touching. Pleasure and griefe belong properly to the first kinde, and the instruments and seates thereof are in the sinewes, or els in that small sinewy skinne, which giueth the sense. For those things delight the sinewes which agree with their nature, and looke what is contrary vnto them, the same affecteth them with griefe, which tendeth to their destruction, as delight procureth their preservation. So that heate, colde, drinesse, and moisture, reioyce, helpe and comfort the sinewes, or else grieue, hurt, and indamage them, according as they are either well or ill applied vnto them. Therefore the sinewes were created, to the end they might be instruments of sense and motion, and that they should receiue pleasure and paine. Now all these sorts of appetites, are not in the wil & power of man, neither proceede they from his imagination. For whether he will or no, he shall be subiect to hunger & thirst, and shall in the same maner feele and perceiue things as they are applyed vnto him, if he be so disposed in body as he ought to be. True it is, he may well abstaine from eating & drinking, & from touching whatsoeuer he pleaseth, but this abstinence in the meane time wil not take from him that appetite which he hath, but will increase it the more. For it cannot hinder, but that all the members will stil desire their nourishment, and the body wil alwaies haue this sense and feeling. And as for the sense of touching, it wil alwaies feele that which it toucheth, and euen such as it is when it shall be touched. But there are appetites of another kinde, which are bred without any touch at all, and follow the thought and imagination of a man. These are properly called affections, and haue their seate in the heart. Therefore they must be distinguished from others that hauing sense of delectation and of griefe, are placed in the stomacke, or in the sinewes, or in the rest of the body. Now by the affections we meane properly those motions of the heart, which follow knowledge, and either seeke after or reiect, that which is offered vnto them: so that according to the order of nature, knowledge goeth before these motions. Hereof it is, that we commonly say, that a man must know before he loue, that no man desireth that which he knoweth not. But before we enter into a deeper and more particular consideration of the affections of the soule and of the heart, we must note this, that all knowledge is given of God to this end, to desire that Good which it knoweth, and in desiring to follow the same, vntill it hath ioyned and knit it vnto it selfe, as neere as is possible. For in this manner Good will bee good vnto it, and not otherwise. To this ende sensuall knowledge is given for sensuall goods, and

Two kindes
of Appetite.

Of the seate
of the naturall
appetite.

Of the sensitie
appetite
and kindes
thereof.

The vse of
the sinewes.

Of the affections.

The end of
knowledge.

440 Of the naturall and sensitiue Appetites.

The best
things in
beasts are
sensuall.

Beasts haue
no Will.

spirituall knowledge for those goods that are spirituall. And as the knowledge both of the one and the other is given to desire it, so also it is given that it might, turne aside and flee from euill, which is contrary to good, to the end that the Will might not ioyne it selfe thereunto, by which meanes euill would indeede become euill vnto it, and could not otherwise be auoided. For as good could not be good vnto vs, but onely so farre forth as wee did apply it and ioyne our selues thereunto, so fareth it also with euill. And because God hath not created beastes to enioy any other good then corporall goods, and such as belong to their brutish life, which goeth not beyond this temporall life, therefore he hath not giuen them the knowledge or appetite of any other good. So that as they haue no other knowledge but that which is sensuall, so they haue no other appetite but sensuall, which is guided onely by naturall inclination, wherein they haue nature onely for their Mistresse, which pricketh forward both their outward and inward senses without any direction at all of Vnderstanding and of reason. Therefore this sensuall appetite common to all liuing creatures, cannot properly be called Will. For as wee cannot call by the name of Vnderstanding and Reason, that naturall inclination which is given to beastes for their direction, seeing men onely are endued with Vnderstanding and Reason, so is it with Will, the name whereof agreeth not to that sensuall appetite, except we would call it sensuall Will, in respect of the resemblance of Will, which it hath, wherein it differeth much from the Will in man: as the sequelle of our speech requireth that wee should now learne, to the ende wee may know the third kind of appetite which we set down in the beginning of this discourse, namely the voluntarie appetite, which is proper and peculiar to man, and the subiect of his Will. Thou shalt tell vs therefore, *AMANA*, what Will is properly, what her actions are, what libertie and freedome shee hath, and what power Reason may haue ouer her.

Of Will, and of the diuers significations and vses of these words, Reason and Will: of the actions, freedome, and nature thereof: of the power which Reason may haue ouer her. Chap. 34.

Math. 5.

From whence
the desires of
all creatures
ought to be
deriud.

A*MANA*. The loue of GOD towards men hath alwaies beene and is such, that albeit he hath iust occasion to hate vs as sinners, yet that hindereth him not fro louing vs alwaies as men. For hee considereth man otherwise in the nature and substance with which he created him, and as he is his worke, then in that order and confusion, which after entred vnto his nature by the worke of Sathan in him. For this cause wee see that hee causeth his Sonne to shine as well vpon the euill as vpon the good, sendeth raine to the one as well as to the other, powreth many benefits vpon all in generall. But besides this loue, whereof every one receiueth fruit, there is another more special towards his elect, whom hee loueth not onely as hee loued vs all in *Adam*, the stocke of mankind, and as his creatures created after his Image, but loueth them also as regenerated and newe creatures in Iesus Christ his Sonne, the latter and iust *Adam*, GOD and man, and the stocke of Spirituall men framed againe by him to the image and similitude of God. Therefore wee must vnderstand, that GOD hath and doth loue men in regard of the good hee hath put into them, (which is wrought chiefly through the benefit of spirituall regeneration) the remnant of which Good hee still loueth. And in louing that, hee loueth himselfe, because he is the soueraigne and onely good, which is worthy to be loued in respect of it selfe. Whereby we may see, what is the true fountaine of all loue, and of all the desires, appetites and wils of all creatures. For they must all be drawne out of one & the same spring and fountaine, namely, the loue and will of God, and that good which he loueth and willeth. And the greater the Good is, the more it ought to be loued, so that every Will should desire to ioyne it selfe theunto, to follow after it, & to haue the fruition thereof. And because there can be no Good greater then God, therefore no other can be loued but that. So that whilest he loueth himselfe, he loueth all the good that may be, because there is none but in him & from him. Therefore this followeth necessarily, that as all good things proceed from him, so they must be all referred to him, & returne thither as to the Wel-head, even as al waters returne into the Sea from whence they came first of all. Having then learned of our former discourse, that God hath giuen to man vnderstanding to know good, & wil to desire and

& follow it, it is his duty alwaies to referre al the good things he hath, vnto him that is soueraigne and eternall Good, and to account nothing good, as in truth it cannot be, but him that ought to be so accounted, and to looke at him as the last and most blessed end.

We vnderstand then properly by VWill, that facultie and vertue of the soule, whereby we desire that which is good, and eschew euill by the direction and guiding of reason. Therefore there are two actions of will, wherof the first is that inclination to good by which it imbraceth the same, and the second is the turning aside from euill. And when it is idle and inclineth to neither side, it is depriued of both these actions. Now although we said before, that reason held the souerainty amongst the powers, vertues and offices of the soule, yet wee must know, that reason reigneth not ouer will as Lady and Princesse, but onely as Mistresse to teach and shew it, what it ought to follow & what to flie from. For the will hath no light of it selfe, but is lightned by the minde, that is to say, by reason and iudgement, which are ioyned with it, not to gouerne and turne it from one side to another by commandement and authority, either by force or violence, as a Prince or Magistrate, but as a counsellor or director, to admonish and to conduct it. And so the will desireth or refuseth nothing, which reason hath not first shewed that it is to bee desired or disdained. Therefore the act of VWill proceedeth indeede from VWill, but it is iudged of and counsell'd by reason: so that it is as it were begotten by reason, and brought forth by VWill. But that wee deceiue not our selues in these names of reason and Will, wee are to knowe, that both of them are taken diuersly, as the names of Minde and Vnderstanding are. For sometime they are taken for that vertue of vnderstanding which is in the soule, & somtime for the action thereof and the thing which it doth vnderstand: as when we say that wee haue the vnderstanding of something. So reason is sometime taken for the minde that giueth direction and counsaile, and for the will which obeyeth it, and restraineth the affections: and in this sence, it comprehendeth both the Vnderstanding and the will. But sometime it is taken onely for that part, which vnderstandeth and hath knowledge to conduct and guide, as now wee must so take it, in making it the Mistresse and counsaillor of the will. Besides, reason is also taken oftentimes for the arguments and discourses of reason, as when we say of a man, Hee hath good reason in that: or else, He hath proued his saying by good & pregnant reasons, that is to say, by good arguments. And if we take reason so, it signifieth not onely that power & vertue of discoursing which is in the soule and in the mind, but also the act and effect thereof. The like may be said of this word Will. For it is commonly taken not so much for that power & vertue which the soule hath to VWill, as for the Will it selfe, which is the action and effect thereof: as when one speaking of tyrants saith, that their VWill is all their reason. For then wee meane, that they take not reason for their counsailler, neither follow the aduice thereof, but onely their VWill, and that which pleaseth them. So then we vse this word VWill for that which proceedeth from it: and so likewise it is often taken in the holy Scriptures, when they speake of the VWill of God, whereby we doe not vnderstand that power of VWill that is in him, but that which he willet & commandeth vs. And therefore we craue that *his Will may be done*, and not that which we will. But speaking now of the Will of man, wee take it not in this sence. But we vse it for the power and vertue of Willing that is in the soule, which power is aboue the sensitiue appetite, whereof we haue already spoken. For wee see by experience that there are certaine degrees of appetites, & that the appetite of the senses is subiect to the Will, as I hope we shall intreat more at large in the sequele of our speech. Wherefore the Will is the highest and most soueraigne vertue of desiring, far aboue all other appetites, and that which worketh with libertie, after the mind hath shewed vnto it what it ought to follow, and what to eschew, what to make choise of, and what to refuse. The actions thereof are to VWill, and not to VWill: and the meane or middle thing which shee hath betwene them twayne, is to suspend her action, vntill shee decline eyther on the one side or on the other. And as concerning the naturall disposition of the Will: it is to wil that good which is truly good, or that which seemeth to bee so: and to shunne euill, eyther that which is euill indeede, or that which it thinketh to bee so. Nowe if shee choose and follow euill for good, it followeth not therefore, but that shee would alwayes follow the good, as that which properly appertayneth vnto her, and reiect euill as her enemy. But the reason why shee maketh choise of euill for good, is because shee is deceiued, taking one for another, which commeth to passe through the ignorance and corruption that is in the nature of man. For albeit shee can will and not will that thing which is propounded vnto her, yet shee cannot simply will and not will one and the same thing all at

What Will is,
and how it
worketh.

How reason
is set ouer the
Will.

Diners accep-
tions of the
Words, Rea-
son and Will.

Psal. 115.

Math. 6.

The Will is
the chiefeft
appetite.

The Will ay-
meth alwaies
at Good.

one time, nor yet make choise of clean contraries. For she can desire nothing but only vnder some shew of good, nor refuse any thing but vnder some shew of euill. Wherefore it may well be that it will not desire that which shall be shewed vnder some appearance of good, but it cannot hate or reiect it. Likewise it may peradventure abstain from reiecting or flying from that, which shall be presented before it with shew of euill and not of good; but it cannot desire, loue, and pursue the same.

The Will is
free and vn-
constrained.

Of the image
of God in the
Will.

Good is al-
waies the ob-
iect of the
Will.

Diuers de-
grees in the
actions of
Will.

Whereupon it followeth, that our Will is at libertie and free, and cannot be constrained: yea God the Creatour and Lord thereof would haue it so, otherwise it should not bee a Will. It is very true, that it followeth reason alwayes, because the Will hath no light of it selfe, but onely so farre forth as it receiueth the same from reason, which guideth and directeth it. And therefore it neuer applyeth it selfe to any thing whatsoever, but hath reason alwayes for a guide, whom it followeth. Neuerthelesse it is not so subiect therevnto, as that it may compel it to follow all the reasons that are propounded vnto it by reason, or tie it to any of them, but that alwayes she hath her libertie to make choise of which reason shee please, out of all those that are set before her. And so it is alwayes a Will, although it change sometime, beeing perswaded by reasons to will when it was vnwilling, or disswaded from Will to be vnwilling. But in the meane time she willeth whatsoever shee will, and that as long as it pleaseth her to remaine in one opinion. For not onely no creature whatsoever is able to take from her that which GOD her Creatour hath given her, but shee cannot depriue her selfe thereof, no more then shee may not bee that which shee is. For as God will haue this image shine in the minde of man by vnderstanding and wisdom, of which hee hath made it partaker, so hee will haue his image also to shine in the Will by that freedome and libertie which hee hath given vnto it. As therefore hee cannot bee constrained, but worketh and doeth what pleaseth him with all libertie, as beeing a Soueraigne that hath no superiour; so hee hath appointed, that the Will which he hath given to men and Angelles, should bee alwaies franke and free, and not bee subiect to violence or constraint: to the ende hee might haue them children, not slaues, because hee requireth of them a voluntarie obedience, and such a seruice as is not forced or constrained, but agreeable to his owne nature. For as he doth nothing himselfe by constraint, so hee will not constrain those by whome hee will bee obeyed: neyther delighteth hee in any seruice that is not voluntary and proceeding from a good heart, and from a sincere and pure affection towards him. Therefore seeing God hath so loued vs, and done vs so great honour, as to create vs after his owne image, and likenesse, wee are vile and ingratefull wretches, if we doe not acknowledge the same, and cause our Will to bee seruiceable to him that hath bestowed it freely vpon vs: as wee ought also to performe the like seruice vnto him with our minde and reason, wherewith he hath endued vs for the ruling and direction of the Will. But when our Will taketh any other obiekt beside obedience to God, it proceedeth from the same cause that blindeth our minde and reason, namely, sinne, which reigneth in vs through the corruption of our nature, as we have already touched it. Neuertheles that which I said is alwaies true, that the Will hath Good in such sort for her obiekt, that she cannot truly loue & without dissembling will that which is euill, if it hath no shewe or reason of some good. But notwithstanding shee hath free liberty, yet is shee so ordeyned of God, that shee cannot will that which is euill, but onely that which is good, whether it be good in truth, or in opinion onely. For if shee were not created and ordained of GOD to desire and followe after good, there would bee no cause why shee should loue or desire vertue more then vice, or loue GOD rather then hate him. But wee must consider diuers degrees in the actions of Will, and in the freedome thereof. For some there are whose heart and Will, agree so together, that there is no dissimulation, neither any commandement of the Will either towards it selfe or towards any other, but it heartily desireth or refuseth that, which it seeketh after or escheweth. As we may say of an ambitious man, that hee doeth truly and with all his heart desire honour and glory, as also a covetous man doth riches. But there are other actions of the will, wherein shee commandeth her selfe, or else the inferiour powers that are subiect vnto her: as wee see in a man infected with the drop sicke, who beeing very dry and thirstie, desireth greatly to drinke. But this appetite that commeth from the senses of the body, is restrained by the wil that hath power over it, which knowing what hurt would issue thereof to the sicke party, commandeth this appetite, and appointeth that hee shall not drinke. The reason why shee will haue it so, is, to the ende that the patient might auoide greater euill then

then that which he requireth, knowing well, that to drinke would hurt him more then helpe him, because the thirstinesse would not be taken from him, but increased. Wherefore although the sensuall appetite putteth the patient in minde to desire drinke, yet Will following the Iudgement of Reason, opposeth it selfe against this appetite, and commandeth it selfe to abstaine, and also the outward members, as namely the mouth not to drinke, and the handes not to giue it any drinke. Now if it so fall out, that the will giue place to the appetite, it is alwaies with her consent, and that because she agreeth rather vnto the sensuall appetite then vnto Reason. Which agreement proceedeth of her impaciency and incontiniencie, because she hath not patience to stay for the better, but rusheth vpon that pleasure, which at that present seemeth best vnto her and neere at hand. Therefore it is alwaies requisite that the grace of God should gouerne our minde and will, to perswade them euer more to counsell and to embrace the best: otherwise we shall make choice of the worst, and of euill rather then of good. Which we shall easily vnderstand, if we consider what good things the wisest and most vertuous men, guided onely by the light of nature, are able to propound to themselves, and to follow: and what difference in that point there is betwixt them, and those God doth guide and gouerne by his spirit. The discourse then of this matter belongeth to thee, *A R A M.*

How the Will
commandeth
the appetite.

Of those good things, which both men, guided onely by the light of nature, are able to propound to themselves, and to follow, and they also that are guided by the spirit of God: of the power and libertie of the Will in her actions, both externall and internall. Chap. 35.

A R A M. Among the heathen Philosophers there haue alwaies beene some great personages endued with excellent doctrine, who seemed to haue beene ledde with a burning affection towards good and vertuous things: this no man can deny. But if we compare them that haue had none but naturall light, with them who beleeuing the word of life, haue receiued that light, which the spirit of GOD hath kindled in their hearts & minds, we shall finde very great difference betwixt them. For they that follow the light of nature, take not an infinite, spirituall and eternall good, which is God, for the obiekt of that good which they desire, but a finite, carnall & temporary good; and that also no farther then their reason and sense iudge it good for mankind, or for the society of men or for themselves, and those whom they loue. The like respect they haue in eschewing euill, which they iudge contrary to such a good. And yet there are very few that goe so far, who giue not themselves to vertue, rather for their owne profit and glory, then for the loue they beare to vertue, or to the benefite of the common society of men. And surely, I thinke that if glory had not more moued so many excellent men, as haue bin heretofore among the Grecians, Latines, and other heathen people and nations, then their loue to vertue, and to things profitable for the common wealth, they would not willingly haue incurred so great dangers to effect so many valiant deeds as Histories specifie of them: neither would they haue set vertue at so high a price, if no glory or profit should haue redounded to them in following her, or at least wise in seeming to seeke after her. If any haue bin found to haue done otherwise, as we reade of some, it is to be attributed to a speciall grace that God hath bestowed vpon them in their ignorance, more then to others. But yet all this would be nothing, or very little, seeing the good which the will propoundeth to it selfe, and pursueth in this sort, is not the true and so-ueraigne good, which of it selfe is able to make men blessed.

We are then to know, that the wisest and most vertuous men, guided onely by the light of naturall reason, doe not propound to themselves, nor seeke after any other good then that, which consisteth in ciuill honestie, in worldly honour and glory, in this bodily life, and in the commodities thereof, and in those delights and pleasures, which their humane sense and reason desire, according as some delight either in the knowledge of thinges, or in ciuill and morall vertues, or in honours, or in riches and in such like things. Yea the best that euer were among the Heathen, and the wisest of this world that are like vnto them, neuer went farther, neyther indeede coulde. For seeing they know not GOD truly, they can neither loue him nor seek after him, eyther because they are not throughly perswaded that there is a God, or if they be sure of that, yet they stand doubtful

The difference
betwixt the
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that meere na-
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the heavenly
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How we must
eare our felus
both in prof-
perity & ad-
uersitie.

Of the frailty
of mans
estate.

what he is, whether he haue care of men or no, and whether he heare and helpe them when they call vpon him. And if they be in aduersitie, then they loue him much lesse. For if they thinke that their miseries come from their owne nature, or at all aduenture, they suppose they are not bound vnto him, neither ought to loue him, seeing he hath provided no better for their affaires. And if they thinke, that himselfe doth send them because of their sins, they are so farre from louing him, that contrariwise they hate him, and storme against him: as it is most manifest by infinite blasphemies contained in the books of Heathen Poets, Historiographers, and Philosophers, as well against God, as against his providence, iudgements and all his workes, when they fell not out to their liking. Now if their Vnderstanding was so blinded in the knowledge of God, their Will was much turned out of the way. For it is alwaies like to a ship caried hither & thither by diuers tempests, which seeketh still some ha- uen to arriue at, but can find none. So the Will seeking after the good which it desireth, run- neth and skippeth from one to another without order, & can find no rest, except that hea- uenly light shine into the minde, which may teach it the true good & frame it to the seeking and embracing thereof. Therefore when this light is in the Spirit of man, it first presenteth to the wil that infinite good, namely God, in whom alone she may satisfie herselfe, & then all other good things that depend of that, all which she desireth, every one in his order. Thus shal God haue the first place, and the next his creatures, all which we ought to loue so farre forth as he hath created them, and so consequently are good. And if wee place God in the highest degree of loue, as the soueraigne good, with whose loue we ought to be as it were wholly swallowed vp, we will loue nothing but in him & by him, and for his sake: and con- sequently we will desire nothing but according to his Will, because we can will or desire no- thing but that which we shall loue, & we shal loue nothing, but that which we ought to loue, neither with any other affection nor to any other end. Which is the proper effect of the spi- rit of God in them that are regenerated and guided by him. And thus when the darknesse of our mind is driven out by light from heaven, which is brought vnto it by Iesus Christ, and the Will inflamed by the holy Ghost, then doe our hearts reioyce in the goodnes of God and our conscience resteth therein; then do we loue him, and begin to obey him not desiring a- ny other thing. Therefore we beseech him to guide & gouerne vs, to reforme vs daily more and more after his owne image and similitude, to the end we may be made conformable to him both in minde & will, and become true Temples for him to dwell in. And whatsoeuer he sendeth vs, whether it be prosperitie or aduersity, we take and receiue all as from his hand giuing him thanks in prosperity, & not abusing or extolling our felues against him: and cal- ling vpon him in aduersitie without murmuring or despising his Maiesty, which wee adore alwaies, whether we vnderstand & comprehend his iudgements, or no. Likewise we are led by him to loue all good things, according to that order which is shewed vnto vs by his hea- uenly wisdom, namely, other men made after the image of God as we are, & those vertues, life and things that are agreeable vnto him, desiring them for the loue of God, and knowing that we serue him in the lawfull vse of all these things, yeelding praises & thanks vnto him, as to the author & creator of the. Neuerthelesse it commeth to passe that we see oftentimes a very great confusion in the maners and works, even of the holiest and best men that may be: but that is when God withdraweth from them his spirit and grace, although it be neuer so little a while, or when he doth manifest & shew forth his vertue and power in them. For without God we can doe nothing, and through him nothing is impossible vnto vs. It is ve- ry certaine, that there remaineth alwaies naturall infirmity & corruption in man, and that the mind, reason and memory may be troubled by the affections of the heart, which resem- bleth a fry furnace, & is like to a thick smoke ascending out of a great fire which would dim the eies & make them as it were blind. And when the light of the minde is thus darkened, reason cannot discourse so wel, nor iudgement iudge so vprightly, nor memory retain so firme- ly, or bring forth so readily that which it hath kept, as if none of the were thus hindred with darkenes, which compasseth about the light that ought to guid them. Now if there be such a let & impediment in regard of the mind, the Will is much more troubled by this fire of af- fections that heateth and kindleth it, whereby it is made a great deale more vntoward to follow the counsel & aduise of reason, then reason is wel affected to admonish and counsel it in that which is to be followed, or to be fled. And when these two principall parts & powers of the soule are thus troubled and moued, it is no maruel if man forget God & himselfe, and if with all his soule and body he turne aside from that which he ought to follow after. As contrariwise there is no doubt, but that as long as the celestiall and eternall father disperfeth

his

his diuine light into our mindes by his sonne, who is his eternall word and wisdom, preparing them by his holy Spirit to receiue the same, and by this meanes also kindleth the heart and Will with the heat thereof, disposing and framing them to follow this light, no doubt I say, but there will ensue a good agreement and great conformity of the minde and heart, of the Reason and Will, and of all the affections, yea of all the senses and members of man. But let vs returne to the sequel of our speech, which hath an especiall respect vnto the Will, we haue then to consider more narrowly of the power and freedome of the Will, both in her internall and externall actions. For the first, if the question be of deliberating about any thing, it is in the choise of the Will to propound the same to the minde, to aduise and consult thereupon, or otherwise not to propound the same vnto it. After whilest the matter is in deliberation, she may command either to prosecute the same, or to deferre it to some other time, or to giue it ouer quite, and to turne the minde to some other thing; as it were a Prince among his Councell. And if the consultation be finished, and sentence given by iudgement, yet may the Will stay it selfe from desiring and following after that which is counselled, and iudged to be good by reason. So that the whole consultation lieth in the liberty and choise of Will. For men are not drawne by an immutable violence of nature as beasts are, but reason enquireth what way is to be taken or left, and wayeth and examineth what good or euill is in euery thing. Therefore Will may go about againe with that which was once deliberated of, to the end the first conclusion be not approued & staied in, but that greater inquiry may be made, to find out, if it may be, some better or more profitable thing. And thus, when many things are shewed and set before her, she may choole what pleaseth her, although it be not that which was best approued by iudgement, and which reason vpon very euident arguments counselled her to follow. For if there be another side that hath some shew of good, albeit neuer so small, shee turneth to that if she please: so that vpon only coniecture, or opinion of good, shee will lay hold vpon that, & reiect the other side in which peraduenture the true good is to be found. The chiefe cause whereof is in the corruption of our nature, and in those impediments of good discouraging, & of vpriight iudging whereof we haue already heard, and which hinder reason and iudgement diuers and sundry waies. And this also taketh place in respect of will, which likewise hath great occasions offered to beguile & deceiue it selfe, because all the affaires of men are intermingled with good and euill things. Therefore it is very hard to be able to discerne and separate them well one from another. For men being compounded of diuers natures, namely of a body and of a soule, they propound also a diuersity of good and euill things vnto themselves: and because they know corporall and terrestriall things better then spirituall and eternall things, therefore they preferre them oftentimes before the other. Which is the cause why there are so many that loue this life a great deale better, & those outward good things belonging thereunto, then they doe eternall life, and those goods, which are able to leade men thither, and giue them full fruition thereof when they come thither. Therefore in so great diuersity of good and euill things, it is no maruel if there came nothing into deliberation, wherein reason findeth not some good or euill, which in the end it counselleth vs to follow or to auoid, according to the circumstances of times, places, persons, qualities and other such like things. It commeth to passe also oftentimes, that Will refuseth all counsel & exhortation to do that only which shee pleaseth, thereby to shew that shee is Lady and Mistresse and subiect to none. And being mounted vp to that pride, shee accounteth this Lordship which shee taketh to her selfe to be a great good, and so maketh knowne her power and magnificence, as it were a tyrannicall Prince, making choise in the meane time of a false kinde of good, which is no way good, but a very great euill. And thus much concerning the liberty of the Will in her internall actions: which freedome also appeareth plainly enough in the outward actions. For after shee hath liked of a thing, shee may put it in execution, or stay execution: yea after shee hath begun, shee may giue it cleane ouer, or doe not so much, or so speedily as shee might. And although it falleth out oftentimes, that men are so hindered fro executing their Will, yea are forced and compelled to doe the cleane contrary, yet their Will, if we consider the matter well, is neither hindered, forced or constrained. For that keepeth it not from willing still that which it pleaseth: but the violence offered outwardly staieth the effectes and execution thereof. Hereof it is that we commonly say, that a mans Will is taken for his deede, although it be not put in execution. Now to conclude our speech, wee know that the Will hath hinderances to let her from choosing those good things which shee ought to follow, and refusing those euilles shee ought to eschewe and auoide.

For

Of the power of the will in all actions.

Of the power of the will in all actions.

Of the power of the will in all actions.

Why men preferre earthly things before heavenly

Will sometime reiecteth all counsell

What freedome the will hath in outward actions.

The neere
coniunction
of reason &
VWill.

Euill spirits
haue power
ouer the
VWill.

For Reason being appointed as Mistresse, to guide and direct Will by her iudgement, the selfe same things that moue Reason and Iudgement, doe moue Will also, as if the one touched the other, or as if there were a certaine knitting and ioyning of them together, not vnlike to the linkes of a chaine, of which if yee moue or touch one, the like is done to the others that are neere vnto it by reason of the coniunction they haue one with another. We ought also to know, that although the Will often choose euill in stead of good, yet it ceaseth not therefore euer to desire good naturally, which is most fit & agreeable to the nature thereof: but it is deceiued in that it hath no skill to discerne betweene true and false goods, and to distinguish the greater from the lesse. And as we haue heard, that euill spirits may trouble and moue the fantasie and minde, so no doubt they can doe the like towards the heart and will, to inducethem to euill, and to driue them to doe greater things then weake nature would doe of it selfe, if it were not holpen by them, euen to cause them to commit such crimes as nature abhorreth. Therefore wee must without ceasing watch and pray that we enter not into temptation, and if we be tempted, that wee faile not, neither be overcome. And this we may assuredly beleue we shall obtaine, if through regeneration by the Spirit of God our minde be taught, and our will guyded by his light. Now then hauing spoken enough of Vnderstanding and of VWill, which are the principall powers of the soule, let vs come to the affections thereof: and first it shall be good for vs to consider of the distinction that ought to be made betwixt all these faculties of the soule, and betweene their seates and instruments, which they haue in the body. But wee shall learne these things of thee, *ACHITOB.*

Of the distinction that ought to be betweene the Vnderstanding and Knowledge, and the Will and Affections in the soule, and betweene the seates and instruments which they haue in the body: of the agreement that is betweene the heart and the braine. Chap. 36.

The difference
of mans obe-
dience to God
from that of
other crea-
tures.

Difference
betwixt know-
ledge and af-
fections

ACHITOB. The heauens and the earth and all the elements, the stones, plants, beastes and all the other creatures that want reason and vnderstanding, obey God in their kind, but yet they know him not: and the obedience which they yeeld vnto him proceedeth not of any knowledge they haue of his will, or of iudgement in them to discerne good from euill, but onely so farre forth as they are drawne by their naturall inclination in those things that concerne their nature. But Angels and men, in whom God would haue his Image to shine in euery part of them, and after all sorts, were created by him of that nature, that he would be knowne of them, and that they should follow his Will, not without Vnderstanding and iudgement thereof, nor without agreement of their wils with his. Therefore hee hath given them a nature that is partaker of Vnderstanding, and prescribed vnto them rules of iudgement and of certaine knowledge, which are vnto them as it were lawes ordained by a soueraigne Prince for the ruling of his subiects. And to the end that these lawes should not be in vaine, he hath placed in man a Will to execute them, & an affection of ioy, that is brought to him by means of the good which he receiueth or expecteth, when he obeyeth these lawes that command nothing but iust things. So that he would haue the nature of man to leade a ioyfull life, and by this meanes be preserved, that hee might solace himselfe in the knowledge of God his Creator, and in obeying him, settle & rest himselfe in him. As contrariwise, it pleased him to place there an affection of sadness, to take vengeance of rebellion against his lawes, and of the transgression of them, to the end there might be a flame of anger and griefe to destroy that nature, when it doth not conforme it selfe to the rule of his diuine wisdom and will. Hereby we know by experience what difference is betweene a ioyfull life, and that which is sad and full of griefe, and how ioy preferueth and maintaineth the one, and sorrow consumeth and extinguisheth the other.

But to the end we may fully vnderstand these things, and bee able to iudge aright of the diuers powers, vertues and offices of the soule, we must diligently consider, that as GOD hath distinguished the Vnderstanding from the Will and affections, and the *Animal* vertue and life from the *Vital*, so also hee hath given them diuers Seates and Instruments in the bodie. There is likewise great difference betwixt Vnderstanding and Knowledge, and the Will and Affections, as we see it by experience in common life. For it falleth out often, that

after

after we know a man, we either loue him or hate him. And if at the first we loued him well, yet after he is known vnto vs, we may fall to hate him: or if we first hated him, afterward vpon better knowledge we may receiue him into our loue. Now although these affections of loue and of hatred be thus mutable in vs, yet the selfe same knowledge remaineth alwayes with vs. For if we did not still know him, we could neither loue nor hate him: because as a man cannot loue without knowing the thing loued, so hee cannot hate that which is vnknowne. Therefore it is no difficult matter to iudge, that the Vnderstanding differeth from the Will and affections, and that they are distinct offices, and seuerall properties and vertues of the soule: which haue also their diuers Seates and instruments. For the internall senses are ioyned with that power which the soule hath to know: and the heart with the power of the Will and Affections. Heereof it is, that wee see many endued with great knowledge of honest and vertuous thinges, but they haue no good affection to follow after them and to put them in practise: so that their heart agreeth not with their braine, nor their will and affections with their vnderstanding and reason. Contrariwise, there are others that haue not so great knowledge of goodnesse and of their dutie, and yet they haue a good affection and will to doe well, but for want of vnderstanding what is right and iust, they obserue and keepe it not according to that measure of desire which is in them. Where wee see againe how and in what sort there is no good agreement betweene the braine and the heart, and betweene those powers and vertues of the soule, which wee haue already named. So that wee may compare the former sort of men to one that hath eyes to guide him, but no legges or feete to goe vpon, or if hee haue any, yet hee will not set them on worke. As for the other sort, they are like to blinde men that long to goe and to walke, and haue legges to carry them, but they cannot goe whither they would, because they haue neyther eyes nor sight to direct them, nor guides to leade them. Now by the consideration of these two sortes of men, wee may conclude and iudge with our selues, what they are, that want all these things mentioned by vs, because they haue neither founde knowledge of the truth and of that which is good, nor Will and desire to haue any, nor any affection to followe that which is good: whome I would compare to them that are blinde, and withall haue both hands and feete lame at one time. But this matter may yet bee vnderstoode better, if wee make this our speech to agree with that which Saint Paul writeth to the Romanes, where he sayeth, *That the wrath of God is revealed from heauen against all vngodlinesse, and vnrightheousnesse of men, which withhold the truth in vnrightheousnesse.* For wee may vnderstand by truth, those true and naturall impressions of the knowledge of God, and of his Lawe, and of the good and honest things which are in men as beames of the Diuine wisdom, shining in that part of the soule whereby hee knoweth. But because the Will and the affections of the heart agree not with this knowledge, and there are no diuine motions, nor celestially flames to stir vp and to kindle the heart with the loue of GOD, and to procure it to follow after that knowledge, therefore men are detained in vnrightheousnesse, and yeelde not vnto God that honour and obedience that they owe vnto him. VVherein they shew themselves vnthankfull and vnrightheous. And therefore the Apostle expounding himselfe sayeth by and by after, *That when they knewe God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankfull, but became vaine in their imagination, and their heart void of vnderstanding was full of darkenesse.* VVhereby hee declareth, that their ingratitude and naughty heart was the cause why they abused that vnderstanding and knowledge which they had receiued of God, and afterward also hee deprived them of these excellent gifts of his grace, which hee attributeth to the heart for certaine reasons which we are to note. For we may see in many places of the Scripture, and in their writings and exhortations that follow the doctrine and stile thereof, that the heart is often taken for the seat of the minde, of the vnderstanding and of reason, as well as for the affections of the soule. Neuertherlesse the Philosophers and they that follow them in such discourses, attribute these soueraigne powers of the soule onely to the braine, which they make the seate of them, as we haue sufficiently shewed heretofore: and as for the affections of the soule, they assigne the seate of them to the heart. Now one body hath not two, but one soule. Therefore although it haue many faculties, powers, vertues, and offices, yet they are all comprehended vnder those two and depend of them, euen as in one body there are many members appointed to diuers operations. Now because reason ought to be the Gouvernesse and mistresse of the affections, it is necessary they should agree together. For as reason guideth before, the affections will followe after. Therefore wee may al-

Of the discord between the heart and the braine.

A comparisō

rom. i. 18.

verse 21.

How the scripture taketh the word heart.

alwayes iudge of reason by the affections which it ought to gouerne, as of the gouernment of a good Prince by the estate of his subiects, and of a good father of a family by those of his household. Moreover, seeing the affections proceede from the heart, there is a seat of that loue which we ought to beare as well towards God, as towards men, which comprehendeth the whole law of God and all iustice. For he that loueth God, is not onely afraide to offend and displease him, but desireth also to serue and please him: and he that loueth his neighbour, doeth not onely abstaine from procuring him any dishonour or losse, and labourerth also to advance his honour and profit. Therefore if the minde be lightened and inflamed with diuine light, and the reason also that ruleth therein, then the heart will waxe hote, and burne with the loue of God and of his neighbour. Which if it fall out so, the heart will not be slacke in shewing forth those heavenly motions that are within it, and giuing matter to the soule to glorifie God, and to the tongue and mouth, which will speake out of the abundance thereof. Likewise there will be an accord and consent betweene it, and the voice and tongue, which then will vtter nothing but the truth. And this is the cause of that which we are taught before, namely, that God by his providence and wise counsaile hath ioyned neere vnto the heart the chiefe instrument of the voice, which is the lunge: as the other instruments that are higher, are lodged neere to the braine, and chiefly the tongue, as the Oratours and Embassadors of Kings are placed next vnto them. Wherefore if mans nature had not bene corrupted through sinne, but had continued perfect and sound, there would alwayes haue bin a goodly concord and consent betweene the heart and the brain, the voice and the tongue, the reason and the affections. Next, we must note, that seeing the heart is the first member of the whole body that receiueth life, and then giueth the same to others, as also the last that leaueth life, and seeing it is the shop of all the vitall spirits, without which neither the braine nor the rest of the members can haue life, or performe their duties; it is not without cause, that this member is taken to be as it were the seate not onely of the affections, but also of reason. Therefore it is taken in the Scripture one while for the minde, as when *Moses* saith to the people of Israel, *Yet the Lord hath not giuen you a heart to know*: and another while it is taken for the affections, as when our Sauiour Christ saith, *Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, and with all thy minde*. For we see heere how he putteth a difference betweene the heart and the minde. Sometime they are put indifferently one for another, or one for both, especially the heart, as when the Lord saide to *Salomon*, *Behold I haue giuen thee a wise and an vnderstanding heart*, the heart is taken for the senses and minde, as it appeareth very evidently. For the same cause Saint *Paul* continuing his speach of Gods punishment aboue mentioned, against the vngodlines and vnrighteousnesse of men, he addeth to that before recited, this saying: *Wherefore also God gaue them vp to their hearts lusts, vnto vncleannesse, to defile their owne bodies betweene themselves, which turned the truth of God vnto a lie*. In which place wee see how the Apostle maketh the heart to be the Seate of the appetites and of the affections, and how he calleth the vnruely and disordered affections of the heart by the name of lustes; for so he expoundeth himselfe by and by after, calling them *Vile affections*, vnto which God gaue them vp. Whereupon we wil note this, that the naturall affections of the heart, which pricke it forward to the desire of pleasure, and which minister pleasure vnto it, should bee no sinne at all vnto men, but a benefit giuen them of God in the perfection of their nature, were it not that by reason of the corruption which hath taken holde of it, such desires and affections can not containe themselves within the limites of their sound nature, but there is alwayes some excesse euen in the perfectest, and that being sinne, is properly called euill concupiscence, because it continually prouoketh vs to euill, and causeth vs to goe beyond the bounds which God had set to our affections. Whereof it is come to passe, that that which should be a benefit vnto men in naturall pleasures, is become hurtfull to them. Now forasmuch as the order of our discourses hath brought vs to the tractate of affections which haue their seat in the heart, before we goe any further, we must say somewhat of the nature of this part of the body, as we haue done of the braine, to the end we may the better know the seat and instruments of the vitall power and vertue of the soule, and of the will and affections, as those which belong to the animall power and vertue, haue bin declared vnto vs. Let vs then heare *ASER* handle this matter.

Mat. 22. 40.

Of the agreement that ought to be betweene the minde and the heart.

V Why the hart is taken sometime for the seat of reason.

Deut. 29. 4.

Mat. 22. 3.

1. King. 3. 12.

Rom. 1. 24. 35

Pleasure of it owne nature a gift of God.

Of the nature and composition of the heart: and of the midriffe: of the tunicles or skinnie coverings of the breast, and of the Pericardion, or cawle about the heart: of the motion, office, and vse of the lungs, of the heart, and of the arteries. Chap. 37.

ASE R. It is not without good & iust cause, that God hath ordained that reason should lodge in the highest part of the frame of man, and that the will and affections should lodge lower, namely in the heart. For by this order hee would admonish and tell vs, what part and power of the soule ought to beare greatest sway therein, and that vnderstanding and wisdom, which teach vs the true rules according to which we must square our whole life, ought to reigne and haue the first place, seeing the principall cause wherefore God hath created vs, is to know him, to the end that knowing him we should loue and honour him as we ought: and as for the affections, they are to be guided and gouerned by wisdom & vnderstanding. Wherefore if this order appointed by God be confounded and turned topsie turuy in vs, he causeth vs to feeble and know it well enough. For although sinne bee the cause, yet the impression of that diuine image, which God hath set in the nature of man, cannot be so wholly defaced in vs, but there will alwaies remaine very euident and wonderfull testimonies thereof. And therefore presently after we haue ouerthrowne this order, and that the will listeth her selfe vp against reason, euen then doth reason condemne that fault of hers, and compelleth the heart to take vengeance thereof, and to punish in it selfe her disobedience and rebellion, with great torments and griefes: insomuch that either it must consume away and perish, or else returne to his due order and place; and the wil must know, that she hath a mistres, not onely to teach her, but also to correct her when she shall doe amisse, and peruert her order.

But let vs speake of that, which more particularly concerneth so wonderfull a part of the body, namely, the heart. First wee must remember how we diuided before the internal parts of the frame and building of man into three bellies and lodgings, of which the first, I meane the braine, was shewed vnto vs with all his parts. Now we will come to the second, which is in the middest betweene the other two, namely, in the breast, which containeth the vessels and instruments of the vitall facultie and vertue, and those are the heart, the arteries, the lungs, the rough artery, with the appurtenances thereof. Hereof it is that the name of the heart is oftentimes taken in the holy Scriptures for the middest, or for the inward and secret part of a thing, as when it speaketh of the heart of the earth and of the sea, and of the heauens. Now, as we haue heard how reason hath his throne and iudiciall seate in the braine, what ministers and what secretary he hath neere about him, and in what chambers & lodgings they are placed, and also what ministers and officers are ioyned with him for the execution of his iudgements and decrees, namely, the will and the affections: so also we must consider what manner of lodgings and habitations are assigned to these latter sort in the heart. And although these officers and ministers are not alwaies obedient to reason, but rise vp against it oftentimes, and doe cleane contrary to that which it iudgeth and appointeth to be done, yet by that order which God sette downe, they were to obey, and agree well amongst the selues, as he sheweth it by the disposition of their lodgings. We haue heard before that the heart and the lungs are lodged within the breast, as in a strong hold, and are compassed round about therewith for their safeguard and defence. But we must note, that there is a partition called *Diaphragma* by the Græcians, which separateth the instruments of the vitall parts, from the nourishing parts that are in the third belly and lodging of the body, of which we will speake hereafter in his order. This partition is aboue in respect of the naturall instruments appointed for nourishment, and beneath in regard of the spiritual instruments that serue the vitall parts. And because it is a great round muscle of the breast about the end of the neather part thereof, it hath two vses, of which the first and greatest is to be an instrument of breathing: the second is to helpe, to purge and expell the excrements of the body. Next to that there is a tunicle or skin which is very thin & slender, much like to a Spiders web, and is spread ouer the whole capacity of the breast, out of which two others proceed that diuide it throughout, to the end there might be two distinct places of receipt, that if a man had some great wound in one part thereof, whereby the office of respiration

The end of mans creation

Of the nature of the heart

Of the second belly of the body.

Ezech 27. 4.
Jonas 2. 4.
Mat. 12. 40.

Of the midriff and of his vse.

Of the skin of the breast and of their vse.

Of the cawle
of the heart.

Of the fashio
of the heart.

Of the water
in the cawle
of the heart.

Of the office
of the heart.

Of the lungs
and of their
use.

How the lungs
cover the
heart.

How the hart
agreeth with
the heauens.
Of the arte-
ries and their
office.

and breathing which it hath, should vtterly perish, yet the other part that is vnhurt, might at leastwise retain the one halfe. These skinnes serue also to couer and binde together all the vesselles and instruments contained within the breast: and the former of them, which hemmeth in the ribbes, serueth chiefly to defend the lungs on that side where it is ioyned to the bones of the ribbes, to the ende they should not touch the bare bones, when they execute their office, namely, when wee breathe. Concerning the heart, it hath for his next dwelling house a membrane or skinne called by the Græcians *Pericardion*, which signifieth as much as if in our language we should say in a worde, a *compasse heart*. And therefore this skinne is made of the same fashion the heart is, namely, very large and ample beneath, but afterward it narroweth by little and little, so that it endeth pointwise, being in proportion like to a pine apple or to a pyramide, which is the figure of a flame of fire. Wherby it seemeth that God hath made the heart of this fashion to admonish vs, that it is the place of that naturall fire which is in the body, and appointed to giue it so much naturall heate as is necessary for the life thereof. This skinne which is also called the little closet of the heart, is of such capacity, that it is seuered from the same on euery side as much as is requisite, that his motion might no wayes be impeached. Some thinke, that there is some water within this vessel, or some moisture like to a dew to water the heart, that it should not drie vp through the great heat that commeth of continuall motion, in which it is without ceasing. Now because this humour cannot be seene but onely in dead bodies, there be that thinke it is made there onely after death, through the exhalation and gathering together of the spirites, which are there dissolued. And indeede it seemeth to be a hard matter to know this by Anatomy, because it is not commonly practised but vpon dead bodies. And although a man would try the experiment vpon quicke and liuing bodies, yet they would bee alwaies dead before he should come to that part, or at leastwise there would be such a change and alteration, that it would be very hard for a man to giue a right iudgement. Neuerthelesse this might be knowne by cutting vp that part in some beast or other. For there is alwaies some moisture found there euen before it be stark dead, although indeed it cannot liue long after that part is opened. But let vs returne to that which we begun to speak of the heart, which being the roote and fountaine of naturall heate, disperseth it abroad by the arteries into the whole body, and giueth life to euery part thereof. For albeit the instruments of respiration serue the voice, yet they were created principally for the hearts sake, that the naturall heat which is in it, might be refreshed, increased and fed by them. For this cause hath the Diuine providence made the lungs to be as it were the forge and shop of respiration, to this ende, that the ayre without might be sent euen to the heart, for the causes and ends before spoken of. For the aire that is to be brought to the heart, is first prepared in the lungs, to the end it might moderate the heat of the heart & spirites, and not enter in thither, either too hot, or too cold, or in too great abundance, whereby it might be damnified or quite choaked vp. Therefore hath God made the flesh and substance of the lungs very light, soft and spungie, more then any other part of the body, so that it holdeth much of the nature of the aire, and that for two notable causes. For first, seeing the lungs haue not their motion of themselves, neither are fastened to the body to receiue the motion from it, it was needfull to haue them of such matter, that they might be easily mooued and follow the motion of the breast. Next, they will receiue the aire more easily without any violence, if at any time it enter in vehemently and in great quantitie. To conclude this point, they are so seated in regard of the heart, that they wrap it and cloth it both on the right side and on the left, and serue to defend it against all the neighbour bones neere about it.

But here we are to note the agreement and mutuall relation, which the heart hath with the heauens, in that as the first motion of the whole world beginneth by the heauens, of which all the other motions that are in nature doe depend, so the heart is that member in mans body, which first receiueh life and motion, and which is the well spring and fountaine thereof: whereupon also it is the first that liueth, and the last that dieth. And because God hath created it to put into it the vitall facultie and vertue from whence the life of liuing creatures proceedeth, hee hath also appointed the arteries, who receiuing their originall from the heart, are afterward distributed and spread throughout all the members of the body, as the sinewes and veines are, to giue vnto them aire and vitall spirites necessary for life, euen as the blood is likewise distributed by means of the veines that come from the liuer, to nourish them withall, and as sence and motion are caried by the sinewes that are deriued from the braine and marrowe of the backe bone, as wee haue already shewed. Therefore

ore as the aire hath his motion, and the windes their course, even such as GOD hath appointed them in the whole body of this great world: so we see that the aire and vitall spirits are in mans body, which is the little world, as windes that haue their course and passages therein, to be carried vnto all the members, and to bee distributed and communicated vnto them by meanes of the arteries. Hereof it is that they heaue and beate in those places where arteries are appointed to be, so that by their peace and quietnesse, Physicians iudge of the vertue and strength of the heart, and consequently of the whole body, of health & sickness, of life and death, and of the whole position thereof. Therefore the heart hath a double motion to serue for this vse, which I speake, because it hath yet a third motion, and that of another nature, of which we will speake hereafter. But as for this first double motion which is here mentioned, it is so called because the one is made when the heart giueth out, and the other when it shrinketh in. For when it extendeth it selfe forth, then it is refreshed and cooled thereby, and when it gathereth inward and restraineth it selfe, then doth it expell and driue out those fuliginous and smokie excrements, which otherwise would stifle it. This twofold motion is naturall, proceeding from the proper nature of the heart, and not voluntary as that of the muscles, which is gouerned by the motion of the braine and sinewes that come from it. For the heart hath his filaments or small threedes, apt and conuenient for that purpose. Now this motion serueth not onely for the vses already spoken of, but also for the nourishing of the vitall spirit, I meane, to draw the blood wherewith it is nourished, and also to prepare foode for the lungs, thereby to returne such mutuall helpe vnto them as it receiue from them. For as the lungs serue to send breath vnto it, thereby to cool it and to further it in the execution of that office which it hath, so the heart serueth to nourish and feede the lungs. Whereby we haue a goodly aduertisement concerning that naturall agreement that ought to be in vs, and of that reciprocall helpe which wee owe one to another, and how wee ought to acknowledge the good turnes that are done vnto vs, and doe the like againe to them, according to that ability which every one shall haue so to doe. For if we deale not in that sort, it will be all one with vs in humane society, as if one should separate in our body the heart from the lungs, that the one might not doe his duty towards the other: which questionlesse would cause the death and overthrowe of the whole body.

Moreover, we must note, that betweene these two motions of the heart now spoken of, there is some small space, in which there is a little rest, and then doth the heart restrain it selfe and drawe from all sides round about the aire which is drawne in by the lungs, which it enioyeth and bath vfe of. And for this cause the Heart, whose flesh is hard and can hardly suffer, hath three kinds of filaments called *Fibres*, which serue for all these motions. Thus you see the heart that is Lord of mans life, how hee hangeth as it were in his coffer, and withdraweth himselfe into his chamber or closet, being in a manner separated from the rest of the body to which he giueth life, but onely that he is ioyned thereunto by veines, arteries, and sinewes, which he vseth as pipes, some to receiue the benefits that come vnto him from others, and some to distribute his good things by. Wherin we haue a faire resemblance of that mutuall communicating which ought to be among men. For although the heart be as the fountaine of life, which it imparteth to all the rest of the members and parts of the body, yet can it not liue alone, without those necessarie helps of the other members vnto which it is seruiceable. Now we are to consider the substance, situation, and counterpoize thereof, with the nature and vse of the vitall spirit: which shall be the matter subiect of thy discourse, *A M A M A*.

Of the substance, situation, and counterpoize of the heart: of the nature and vse of the vitall Spirit, and of the forge, vessels, and instruments thereof: of the sundry doores and pipes of the heart, and of their vses. Chap. 38.

A M A N A. All men, how ignorant and brutish soeuer they be, cary about with them in their harts a great testimony, that they haue both a God and a Iudge, who approoueth that which is good, and punisheth the euill. For although they neuer heard one word of his word, yet they cannot be ignorant of this, which they sensibly feele and know by experience in themselves, that nothing but euill can befall them for euill; howsoeuer it bee long a

How the vitall spirits agree with the aire and windes.

Of the double motion of the heart, and the vses thereof.

An admonition to naturall loue.

comming, and that they cannot feele the euill which their sinne hath brought vpon them, but they will repent them for committing it, and wish it had neuer bin done. This is naturall diuinitie, which no body can be ignorant of. Wherunto S. Iohn leading vs, saith very well, *1 Iohn 3. 20.* *our heart condemne vs, God is greater then our heart, & knoweth all things.* And we see that repentance ordinarily followeth sin, and that a sinner cannot but feele some heauinesse & griefe. Yea nature it selfe teacheth vs, when we are displeased for some thing wherof we repent vs, to strike our breast, because the heart is within it, as also to hang downe our eyes for shame. But the vexation, sadnesse & sorrow, which after the fault committed, a man is stricken with, because of the hurt that taketh holde of him, and the punishment he expecteth or endureth already, serueth not but for a continuall torment vnto him, as if he were in a hel, except hee change his mind, amend his fault & returne to God againe, and so betake himselfe againe to that place and order of his, which God had assigned him. Beholde what good instructions we haue in our selues, which ought to pricke vs forward to goodnesse, and drawe vs backe from wickednesse: especially our heart beareth vs certaine testimony of that which is acceptable in the sight of God.

Of the substance of the heart.
The situation of the heart.

Of the counterpoise of the heart.
A good lesson for every one.

Deuter. 5.
Ezech. 25.

Of the two void places in the heart, and of their vse.

What the vitall spirit is.

Of the great artery.

Now as wee haue heard, that the forme thereof is aptest for the motion it hath, so the substance & matter whereof it is made, is a kinde of flesh that hath none like it in all the other parts of the body. For it is needfull it should bee so thick and fast, that it may the better discharge that office and duty that is laid vpon the heart. On the other side, it is so seated in the breast, that the foundation and foote thereof is directly in the midst of it: but the narrow end of it bendeth somewhat towards the left side. Which is done in regard of two great commodities, wherof the one is, that it should not rush against the bones of the breast: the other that it should heate the left side the more, seeing the right side is holpen by the heate of the liuer, which is on that side. And although the left part of the heart bee very bigge, and hard, & consequently more heauy then the right, which is more subtile, thin and soft, and therefore lighter, neuerthelesse God hath giuen it such a counterpoize, that both sides are of equall waight: so that although there bee no ligament or band to tie it vnto the other parts that are neere about it, yet without inclining or bending any one way more then other, it hangeth in the midst of the vessell and skin that compasseth it round about. For the left part, which of it owne nature is heauiest, containeth in it a lighter matter, namely, the vital spirite; and the right side that is not so heauy hath in it a more heauy matter, which is the blood. Whereby we see how the providence of God hath so wel framed the counterpoise, that both parts are equall, like to an even and iust paire of ballance. From whence also wee may take a good lesson concerning the vprightnes that ought to be in our heart and will, and in all our affections, & with what heart we ought to follow the ordinances of God, and that way which he sheweth vs in his word, how we should continue & abide stedfast therein, and *turne neither to the right hand nor the left*, as we are often commanded in the holy Scriptures. Moreover, forasmuch as the skin that compasseth the heart, hath the bones of the breast on the one side, & the lungs on the other, it was requisit that it should be of a matter so wel tempered, that it might receive no harme by the hardnes of the bones & on the other side should not be so hard as to be able to hurt the lungs, which are of as soft & tender a flesh as any is in all the body. Which teacheth vs sufficiently, that the providence of God hath forgotten nothing in any respect. But wee must further know, that there are two capacities or hollow places in the heart distinguished one from another by a partition, the one being on the right side, the other on the left. That place on the right side serueth to receive the blood that cometh from the liuer to the heart by veines; both for the nourishing of it selfe & of the lungs and for the generation of the vitall spirits, whose forge and shop is in the other void place on the left side, where the heart doth exercise his chiefe office, which is to ingender the vitall spirits of the finest & thinnest blood, which resolueth it selfe there, as if it came of the sweat that proceeds out of the right capacity. Now the vital spirit is as it were a most bright & liuely flame, like to the celestiall nature, which carrieth heat & life to the whole body, and is the instrument of the chiefe actions & works therof. In this left hollow place there is a great artery, which is as it were the stock of all the arteries in the body, which a litle from the heart diuideth it selfe into two branches, wherof the one ascendeth vpward, to carry the vital spirit into the vpper parts of the body: the other, which is somewhat bigger, descendeth downward. By meanes of these arteries, which are as it were the pipes of the heart, the greatest benefit of all is communicated to all parts of the body.

Now because the arteries & veines haue need one of anothers help, they meet one another, and

and are so linked & ioyned together, that the arteries are seldome alone without the veines. For the arteries being ioyned vnto the veines doe giue them aire and spirit, which through the vitall heate stirreth the blood, and helpeth to bring it to perfection, and to preserue it. In like manner the arteries sucke some small quantity of blood out of the veines, whereby the vital spirit is carried, sprinkled, and increased. Wherein we haue againe a notable example and goodly patterne of that mutuall communicating, that ought to bee among men, without which neyther nature nor humane society can bee preserued: the like also hereof we see betweene the heart and the lungs, in which there are pipes that passe from the one to the other for their mutuall helping & succouring one of another. For the Arteriall veine, that proceedeth out of the right side of the heart, carrieth blood to the lungs to nourish it: and the veiny arterie, which commeth out of the left side of the heart, carrieth aire vnto it from the lungs to refresh it. For after it is brought to the lungs by the arterie or wind-pipe, the lungs communicate the same vnto the heart. Likewise by that same veiny artery, the ouer heated ayre and fumes are carried from the heart: and serueth besides to carrie the spirit and the arteriall blood vnto the lungs to heate them. Therefore this arterie is not altogether so thicke as the rest are, nor so thinne as the veines, to the end it may easily enlarge or straiten it selfe, or giue and receiue the ayre, & that through hardnes it hinder not the motion of the lungs, as also that the foggie blood may not euaporate & sweate through. For this cause it is called the veiny artery, because it holdeth of the nature both of an artery and of a veine, and hath this office belonging properly vnto it, to carry the ayre and the spirit.

An example
of mutuall
succour.

Of the veiny
artery.

There are also in the heart other small peeces, which Anatomists distinguish from it, as the two little eares, the right and the left, which are as it were little doores, as there is also in all the pipes thereof, which are so small, that vnneth may they be discerned by the eyes. These doores and pipes that are in them serue partly to this end, that when the heart sucketh such blood as is necessary for it selfe, the veine wherewith it draweth should not breake, through any ouergreat, vehement, and sodaine attraction: and partly, that the ayre might enter in more gently and better wrought, according as neede requireth. For this cause also it is, why the heart doeth not draw the ayre immediately from the mouth, both because if this space were not betweene, it could not draw so much as it wanteth, and so would bee choaked, as also because it should receiue it in too colde, wherupon it would be greatly hurt. Therefore it hath pipes, passages, and instruments, not onely to bring this ayre vnto it, as it is brought to the lungs, but also to dispence and prepare it as it is most conuenient for it, as we haue learned already by our speach of the rough artery, and of other instruments of the voyce and respiration. Out of which wee are to note two goodly points of the providence and wisdom, whereby he doth admonish vs of that moderation, which we ought to keepe in all things, and how we ought to bebaue our selues, not onely in one worke, but also in all things that we take in hand. For concerning the first, God hath provided alwaies throughout the whole worke of mans body in such sort, that there should be no violent thing, but hath so well framed, disposed and linked altogether, that no one part or member should receiue hurt of another, but all might helpe and support each other. Therefore if there bee any burthen to carry from one to another, God hath so distributed it by litle and litle, and by such conuenient meanes, that no part is pressed: teaching vs thereby, that he loueth moderation and hateth violence in all things: for which cause he dispenseth all & distributeth drop by drop, as it were by distillation. And to the end he may conioyne in one, things of a contrary nature, he alwayes placeth betweene two contraries things of a middle disposition which are most apt to tie them together and to keepe them. Besides, wee see how he hath ordered all the parts of the body so wel, that one onely member and instrument serueth oftentimes for many offices and vses, as we haue already touched it. The first is, that we ought to looke so well vnto all things, that wee neither forget nor omit any thing that shall bee requisite and necessary. The other, that we should imploy our selues about euery thing that we can and may do, according to those gifts and graces, which wee haue receiued of God, and that we should vse all things to euery such purpose as they will serue, and so auoid all vaine and superfluous charges. For (as it is commonly said) nothing is to be done by many things that can be performed by fewer: otherwise there will be more hinderance then helpe, and greater losse then profit. For this cause as God hath not given to the body one member lesse then there ought to bee, so he hath not given it one more. For if there were either more or lesse, it would not onely be monstrous, but there would bee eyther some want or some let and hinderance. And when as one member is able to satisfie two offices, he hath not created

Of the doores
and pipes of
the heart.

Good instru-
ctions for all
men.

Moderation
is to be kept
in all things.

Superfluity to
be auoided in
all things.

Good coun-
sell for Prin-
ces.

many to do it, if either profit or necessity required not the helpe of many. Whereupon gover-
nours of Commonwealths ought to learne, that their people are not to be burthened with
vnprofitable and vnecessary offices and persons. If therefore men would learne those les-
sons that God giueth them in their owne bodyes, and in the members thereof, they would
alwaies keepe a meane in all things, following this heavenly example, and neuer offend ei-
ther with too little or too much. But notwithstanding wee haue all Nature to be our Mi-
stresse, so that she keepe a schoole within vs, and teach vs these things her selfe, yet wee pro-
fit little thereby. Now leauing this speech, seeing we haue taken a viewe of the nature of the
body, and of the naturall motion thereof, which is commonly called the Pulse, and what
vse it hath in this corporall life, as also of other things concerning this matter, it shall bee
good for vs now to speake of another motion that is in the nature of the soule, which ser-
ueth not only for this life, but also for the spirituall, in respect of which especially it is giuen
vnto it, an image and representation whereof wee haue had in this motion of which wee
haue already spoken. It belongeth to thee *ARAM*, to discourse vpon this matter.

*Of the second motion of the Heart, which belongeth to the affections of the Soule,
and of those that goe before or follow after iudgement: of the agreement
that is betweene the temperature of the body, and the affecti-
ons of the Soule. Chap. 39*

Man was crea-
ted not onely
to be, but also
to be well.

ARAM. As God is not only an eternal & infinit essence, but also infinitely good & hap-
py, so hath he not rested in giuing vnto his creatures life and being, as it were imparting
to them some part of his being, but it hath pleased him also to make them partakers of that
Good which is essentiall in him, and of his blessednesse and felicitie, according as every one
was capable thereof in his kinde. For he will not onely haue them to be, but also to be well.
For this cause we see, that although men desire much to be, and therefore are greatly afraid
of death, as of an enemy that seeketh to vndoe them, yet many times it falleth out so that
they desire death, to the end they might be no more, because they thinke it a greater good
or at leastwise a lesse euill to be no more, then to be miserable and vnhappy. And by this we
may know, that man was not created of God onely to bee, neither was that his principall
end, but also to be blessed. For this cause as God hath giuen to the creatures an inclination
to preserue themselves in their life, to the end they might be, so he hath put into them, a na-
turall appetite and desire of that which is good, to the end they might be well, and that good
might befall them, but man specially is thus affected: which desire of good is also ioyned
with an eschewing of euill. For in the pursuite of good, his contrary, which is euill, must of
necessitie be fled from. And of this naturall inclination to good proceede all those affecti-
ons of the soule that draw it hither and thither to seeke for it: but because of her bad iudge-
ment, proceeding of the darkenesse of ignorance which is in the minde, she chooseth often-
times the cleane contrary to that which she desireth, as we haue already touched.

What the af-
fections are.

We call then properly by the name of affections, the motions and acts of that naturall
power of the soule, which consisteth in following after good, and eschewing of euill. For re-
ceiuing of God in our first creation to be and to be well, we haue still some naturall seedes
of the perfection of these two great gifts, which teach vs naturally, that it is a good thing for
one to preserue himselfe and his being, as also to be well and happy in his being: but this is
onely generally. For when we are to come from these generalities vnto particulars, there are
wonderfull errors and disorders throughout the whole course of mans life. Now among
the motions of the soule, some go before iudgement, others follow after: although often-
times they are so sodaine and headstrong withall, that it appeareth plainly they haue shaken
off the bridle, and neuer expected and stayed for any iudgement. Notwithstanding it is true,
that the heart is not moued before there hath beene some iudgement to determine, whe-
ther that which is then offered vnto it be good or euill. But because the motions of our spirit
and minde are very light and sodaine, and neede not so long time, as otherwise is requisite
for vs if we will take good heed to our matters, hereof it is that they seeme to vs many times
to preuent and go before iudgement giuen, when indeed they follow it. And as for those
naturall motions, which in truth go before it, they are such as are bred and borne of the dis-
position of the body, as the desire to eate in hunger, and to drinke in thirst, and sorrow in
time

Two kinds of
affections.

What affecti-
ons go before
iudgement.

time of sickness, or the motion of a melancholike humour, or ioy proceeding from good and pure blood in the heart. But the other motions follow the aduice of iudgement, and as that is mooued and changed diuersly by such meanes as haue already beene declared, so the affections alter, and increase or decrease, or otherwise vanish cleane away and come to nothing. Whereof it followeth, that they are appeased by the same meanes by which they are mooued, according as they are applied vnto them. But although it behooueth that the affections should bee pricked forward by iudgement, yet it followeth not thereupon, that they cannot be stirred vp, except this mature and ripe iudgement be alwaies there, which ordaineth things to be done after the discourse of reason. For it is enough for them if they haue another iudgement, that obserueth not such an exact and diligent examination, but onely that which fantasie offereth without any other discoursing. And this iudgement thus mooued by fantasie, is most vsuall and ordinary, and that which most guideth and ruleth the affections of men. Therefore it is a sodaine and tumultuous iudgement, of which a man may truly say, *A short sentence of a fottishe Iudge.* Thus fantasie beeing very turbulent and skittish, and drawing to it selfe confusedly some shew and apparance of opinion and iudgement, wherby it deemeth that which is offered vnto it to be either good or bad, is the cause that wee lye in the middest of marueilous troubles in respect of our affections of feare, of desire, of sorrow, of ioy, and that one while we weepe, and sodainly wee laugh againe. And because it hath great power over the body, as we haue already declared, these perturbations doe manifestly incline that way. We see also by experience, that there is great agreement betwene the qualities and temperature of the body, and the affections of the soule: in so much that as the bodies of men are compounded of the qualities of heate, colde, moisture, and drinesse, so among the affections some are hot, others colde; some moist, others dry, and some mingled of these diuers qualities. So that euery one is most subiect to those affections that come neere to the nature, temperature, and complexion of his body. As for example, the affection of ioy is hote and moist, and therefore they that are hot and moist, as children, young men, sound and healthy folkes, and idle persons, are more easily inclined to that affection. Contrariwise, sorrow is a cold and dry affection, and therefore they that are colde and drie are most giuen to that affection; and such are old folkes and they that are of a melancholy humour, which is earthy, cold and dry. For the like reason, they that haue a soft and tender heart, receiue more easily the impression of ioy & griefe, as waxe taketh the print of a seale: and they that haue a hard and hot heart, quickly receiue ioy and keepe it a long time. And on the other side, they that haue hard and cold hearts, receiue sorrow and griefe very soone, and retaine it long, as appeareth in melancholy and melancholike persons. And as the affections follow the temperature and complexion of the body, so they for their parts haue great vertue and power over the body. Therefore wee see, that ioy is as it were a medicine to the body: and foode to the naturall heate and moisture, in which two qualities life chiefly consisteth, as wee haue already heard. For it greatly preserueth and increaseth them: forasmuch as it strengtheneth the animall and naturall vertues, stirreth vp the spirits, helpeth digestion, and generally profiteth the habite and disposition of the whole body. For the heart thereby sendeth with the blood, much naturall heate, and more spirits vnto all parts of the body. By meanes whereof the members are watred and moistened by the humiditie contained in the fountaine of blood: whereupon it followeth, that all the parts increase in bignesse and waxe fat. For this cause Phisicians alwayes exhort sicke persons to bee as merry as they may, and to auoide sorrow and sadnesse, which beeing colde and dry is contrary to life, and so consumeth men. For it drieth vp the whole body, because the heart thereby is closed vp and restrained: so that no great quantitie of spirits can bee made there, and those few that are there, cannot easily bee distributed and dispersed with the blood throughout the members. Whereupon the vitall vertue and her companions beeing weakened, the liuely colour of the face waxeth wanne and pale, and in a manner vanisheth cleane away: and so consequently the whole body becommeth leane and consumeth, as if it tooke no nourishment, yea death oftentimes followeth thereupon. This agreement therefore, which is (as we see) betwene the temperature and complexion of the body, & the affections of the soule, ought to teach vs to be very temperate in our eating and drinking, and in all other things belonging to our life. For as wee are either temperate or intemperate, so wil the qualities be whereof our bodies are compounded: and so consequently according to the temperancie or intemperancie that is in vs, the affections of the soule also will bee more moderate or immoderate, and the perturbations which they shall bring

Agreement be-
tweene the
temperature
of the body &
the affections
of the soule.

The affections
can doe much
with the bo-
dy.

Ioy good for
the body, and
Griefe hurt-
full to it.

with

How the agreement between the body and the soule may be discerned.

Naturall qualities breede diseases.

Men are more careful for the health of their bodies then of their soules

with them, will be greater or lesse, and more easie or vneasie to bee pronoked or appeased. Whereby we might know what great agreement God hath made betweene the bodie and the soule. For notwithstanding their natures differ much one from another, yet seeing they must be linked together, it is necessary they should haue some agreement betweene them, to the end they may be conioyned and vnited in one. It is true, that by the reasons of humane Philosophie, we know well how the coniunction of corporal things and of their qualities, what contrariety so euer it is betweene them, may be effected and wrought. But as we cannot see or know our soule, or any spirituall nature, as we know our bodies and bodily natures, so can we not iudge so easily of the meanes whereby the body agreeth with the soule, and corporall natures with spirituall, but onely as experience and the effects giue vs some sight thereof. For we see by experience from whence the good or ill disposition of the body, and health and sicknesse proceede, namely, from the good or ill temperature of the qualities thereof. We see also, that according to the nourishment which the body taketh, and that sobriety or gluttony it vseth in eating and drinking, and according to the abstinencie or the effects it bringeth forth in all things, it is either better or worse affected and disposed. We see likewise the changes and alterations that befall it, according to the ages and exercises it hath. Wherefore although we had nothing else to looke vnto, but to maintaine and preserue our health, yet ought we to desire to be sober, moderate, and very temperate in all things, seeing moderation beareth so great sway in all the parts of mans life. But it ought to be more precious in our eyes, when we see that the temperance or intemperance that may be in our bodies, extendeth it selfe vnto the estate of our soule, and that it can do much either in the helping and maintaining, or in the hurting and troubling thereof. For we know already by experience, that which is of a cholericke nature, is more subiect to those diseases that are bredde of a cholericke humour, then a flegmatike person that is of a contrary temperature, and that a flegmatike body is most subiect to diseases proceeding of flegme. The like may be said of al the other qualities & complexions. If then euery one encline more to such diseases, as may proceede from those naturall qualities which abound most in his body, it is an easie matter to iudge, what is like to fall vpon him if they exceede, whereby they are encreased much more. And if that humour which naturally exceedeth most in a man (and of which his temperature and complexion hath his name) cause him to incline most to those diseases that may be bred thereof, a man may iudge into what disposition of body he may fall through excelsse of other qualities, which are more repugnant to his nature & complexion, if there be no such counterpoize and equalitie, that one contrary may serue as a remedy against another. But having considered of these things, we must goe forward and prosecute our speech of the affections of the soule, which are as it were health & sicknes therein according as they shal be either well or ill moderated, and see what conueniencie there is betweene corporall and spirituall phisicke. Finish therefore this dayes worke, *ACHITO B*, with some discourse vpon this point, which may serue to instruct vs in the matter of the affections of the soule, of which to morrow we are to intreate particularly and in order.

Of the Health and diseases of the soule: of the agreement betweene corporall and Spirituall Phisicke: how necessarie the knowledge of the nature of the body and of the soule, is for euery one. Chap. 40.

ACHITO B. It is alwayes in his power who hath giuen vs being, namely God the spring and fountaine of all essences, to preserue and keepe vs therein, and to take it also from vs when it pleaseth him. But forasmuch as he delighteth not in destroying the works which himselfe hath wrought, he hath giuen vnto his creatures certaine meanes to preserue themselves in that nature wherin hee created them. And that they might haue those meanes neere at hand, he hath placed them even in their owne nature. For they haue by nature an inclination, that moueth and vrgeth to keepe and defend theselues as much as they can possible, from euery thing that may corrupt their nature, that is contrary vnto it, or that wil bring to an end that beeing, which they haue receiued of God. But that which herein is most to be lamented in man, is his ouer great care and curiositie in searching out remedies meete for the maintenance and preseruatiō of his body, the least grieue and ill disposition whereof seemeth vnto him to be very burthensome: but as for thinking either vpon those meanes, whereby God hath appointed him to attaine, to an eternall and blessed life, or vpon the diseases

Diseases of the soule, which in stead of life will bring death vnto it, and farre more dangerous, Subborne, and vneasie to be cured then those of the body, hee dreameth little thereof, his care is very small, he esteemes them not great, and therefore is very slouthfull in seeking remedy for them.

We are to know then, that the affections of the soule are as it were health and sicknesse therein, according as they are eyther temperate or intemperate. For as there is no euill disposition or sicknesse in the bodie, but contrariwise good health, if there be not some excess in the qualities of which it is compounded, which may destroy that equality that is requisite for the keeping of it sound: so is it with the faculties, powers, qualities and affections of the soule, which according to her nature hath her health & diseases. Wherefore when the harmony, conueniency and temperature of her powers and affections, is such as her nature requireth, then is she well disposed and in health: as contrariwise she is ill affected and diseased when in place of temperance and mediocrity, there is intemperance and excess. Now according to that which wee heard in the speech of the conueniency betweene the temperature and complection of the body, and the affections of the soule, we see that a man of a cholerike nature is a great deale more easily stirred vp to anger, then an other that is of a flegmatike or melancholy nature. For facing the cholerike humour is by nature hot & burning, like to fire, that man in whom this humour reigneth is sooner inflamed with anger and wrath, then another that is of a contrary nature. For fire will more speedily kindle in a matter that commeth neerer to it owne nature, and of which it may more easily take hold, then in another that is more contrary to it. It is otherwise with flegmatike or melancholike men, according as the humours which rule in them, dispose and incline them more to be carried with one affection rather then with another. Therefore we see that they which are of a cholerike complection as they are of a more hot and dry nature: so their affections are more sodaine, burning and violent, like to fire. Flegmatike and melancholie persons as they are colder, so they are not so easily moued, but are more slow and heavy, and haue also other inclinations and other affections. And as they that are commonly said to be sanguine, are of the best temperature, so their affections are for the most part more cheerefull and more temperate. And as there are diuers mixtions of bodily qualities, so there are sundrie sorts of temperatures and complexions of the body, and consequently of soules in regarde of their faculties and affections. Therefore also there is great agreement betweene corporall and spirituall Physicke. For this cause the Physicians both of the bodies and soules of men are to follow almost one and the same methode, and obserue a like order in their arte and practise, every one according to the subiect propounded vnto them: inasomuch that look what the one doth vnto the body, the other is to deale so with the soule, such things being applied as best agree with their seuerall natures. VVherein they may further each others worke greatly, obseruing that end at which both of the aime, which to the one is the health of the body, and to the other the cure of the soule, considering that the one may helpe the other, as hath bene already touched. For if the body be not temperant, hardly will the soule be: and if the soule be intemperate, the body desireth not to be temperant. Therefore also we see, that not onely Physicians for the body appoint men diets, both for the preservation of their bodily health, and also for the recovery and restoring thereof againe, but also spirituall Physicians doe the like in regard of the soules health, so far forth as bodily sobriety will serue greatly to that purpose. For this cause not onely ordinary sobriety and moderation, which ought to be kept throughout the whole life of man, is so greatly recommended vnto vs in the holy scriptures, but fasts also, which beeing more strict abstinences, are very profitable, yea necessary oftentimes according to times, places and persons. For they serue to tame and humble the flesh, that it may be the better kept in, and lesse hinder the spirite, which thereby is the better inabled to attend to euery good worke, and to the contemplation of the diuine and celestially things. Therefore the people of God and holy men fasted often, whereof we haue many testimonies in the scriptures. And as it is necessary that bodily Physicians should know well the temperatures and complexions of mens bodies, and their natures, their health and diseases also with their conuenient and apt remedies, so is it needefull, that spirituall Physicians should know the nature of soules, of their faculties, powers and affections, and the natures of vertues, which are their health, and of vices, which are their diseases, together with those medicines and remedies that are necessary for the preservation and increase of vertues, and for the diminution and abolishing of vices. For without this knowledge, neither of them can be good Physicians; but it may bee feared, least they

The affectiōs breed the health or sickness of the soule.

How the soule receiveth from the body in regard of the diuers temperatures thereof.

Agreement betweene corporal and spirituall Physicke.

Luke 21. 34.
Rom. 13. 13.
Ephes. 5. 18.
Act. 13. 2.

Iudg 20. 16.
Psal. 69. 10.
Esth 4. 16.

take

make the diseases worse, or in steed of curing the sicke persons, kill them outright.

The know-
ledge of Phi-
sicke necessa-
ry for all.

Sinne is the
cause of all
disorder, dif-
ferences and of
death.

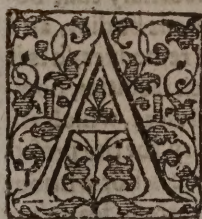
But wee must yet draw more instruction out of this matter here offered vnto vs. For whatsoeuer hath beene hitherto spoken concerning the agreement betweene the tempera-
ture of the body, and the affections of the soule, or concerning the health and diseases of
them both, or the knowledge, that is requisite in Phisicians to follow a good method in
their art and practise for the healing of their patients, I say the vnderstanding of
all these things is not onely necessary for the Phisicians both of soules and bodies, but euen
for euery one of vs particularly. For if wee were all skillfull in the art of corporall Phisicke,
I meane not such skill as is needefull for them that make publike profession thereof to all,
but onely so much as is necessary for the preservation of our owne health, I doubt not but
we might easily auoid many infirmities and diseases, whereinto wee fall daily for want of
good diet, good gouernement, and the vse of those meanes, which might either retaine vs in
health, or restore it quickly vnto vs, when it is somewhat altered or impeached. More-
ouer we should haue this aduantage besides, if we fell into any disease: that we should know
the better how to keepe and gouerne our selues more moderately and wisely, and obey the
Phisicians counsell the better, because we should haue greater knowledge of that which we
ought to doe, and of the danger whereinto we might fall, or which we might easily auoide.
Wee may say as much of the soules phisicke, the knowledge whereof is a great deale more
necessary for vs, not onely because the soule is more noble and precious then the body, but
also because it is a harder matter to know the nature and diseases of the soule, then of the bo-
dy. And if we prooue so happy as to be able to comprehend any thing, wee shall know daily
better and better what things are in vs of God, and what is his order, as also what there is of
Satans, & what is that disorder & confusion, which by meanes of sin he hath brought into all
things. For as sin is cause of that exces, which is in the qualities of which our bodies are made
& consequently of the diseases that proceede fro thence, which afterward bring death to the
body; so is it in respect of the soule, & of the excesse that is in the affections therof & in al the
other parts of it, contrary to that nature in which God created the same. And as sin is the cause
of disorder & confusion in both of them, so it is the cause that one helpeth to spoile another
wheras there should be a pleasant harmony & concord, not only of the bodily qualities among
themselves & so likewise of the qualities of the soule among themselves, but also of the qualities
both of soule & body one with another. For GOD hath put, not only into our soules, but in
to our bodies also the seedes of all the vertues, & the pricks & meanes to incite and to lead vs
vnto the, in such maner & form as shal be declared hereafter. Although we may learne some
what by that which we haue heard already of the coueniencie that is betweene the body &
the soule, betweene the temperature of the one and the affections of the other. For if the
one bee answerable and correspondent to the other, no doubt but God so disposeth of the
temperatures and complexions of the body, as he hath disposed of the nature of the affecti-
ons in the soule, seeing the one is to serue the other through that mutual agreement, which
they ought to haue one with another. Now to morrow we will prosecute our speach begun
concerning the affections of the soule, to the ende that wee may fully vnderstand this
goodly and large matter, which may procure to the soule and body, both life and death.
And first, mee thinkes wee are to enter into the consideration of foure things, which are
in the will and in the power to desire, that is in the soule, namely, naturall inclinations,
actions, habites, and affections. This shall be then, *ASER*, the subiect of thy discourse.

The end of the fift dayes worke.

The sixt dayes worke.

*Of foure things to bee considered in the Will, and in the of power of desiring in the
soule: and first, of the naturall inclinations: of selfe-love and the
vnrulinesse thereof. Chap. 41.*

Three things
to be conside-
red in the fa-
culty of know-
ledge.



ASER. All the actions of the soule are bred of the powers and faculties
therof: and therefore by the benefit of nature, which is the gift of God, she
hath receiued power for all things, which shee ought to doe. Now con-
cerning the facultie of knowing in the soule, and in the vnderstanding
part thereof, of which we haue intreated heretofore, we find three things
worthy of diligent consideration, namely, naturall principles, actions, &
habites gotten by long custome. Wee may remember those sundry de-
grees

Of naturall Inclinations and affections. 459

grees, which we said were in the knowledge of the minde, and how by this faculty it doth not onely know simple and particular things as beastes doe, but also compoundeth and ioyneth them together: how it compareth one with another, separateth them and discourseth vpon them: finally how it iudgeth, and either approueth or refuseth them. All which things are actions of the minde, proceeding from those notices, and naturall principles of knowledge that are therein. Now if these actions be sodeine, and passe lightly, so that the mind doth not stay in them, nor acquaint it selfe with them, the bare & simple name of action belongeth to them. But if the minde doth one and the same thing often, museth much vpon it, calleth it often to memorie, and accustometh it selfe thereunto, so that it is in a manner imprinted in it, and thereby the minde becommeth prompt and ready in regard of the long continuance therein, then doe these actions take the name of habite, which is bred by the often repeating and reiterating of the same things. Whereby the mind is made more fit and apt to performe those exercises, vnto which they haue addicted themselves, and wherethey haue continued. So that such a habite is as it were a light in the spirit and in the soule, whereby the actions thereof are governed.

How habites
are bred in
the minde.

In like manner we finde in the Will, and in that power of desiring, which is in the soule, foure things to be considered, namely, naturall inclinations, actions, habites, and affections which intermingle themselves in every one of the other. All these things are good of their owne nature, euen as nature it selfe, being considered as God hath created her. But as nature was corrupted through sinne, so is it with these things by reason of that disorder which the nature of sinne hath brought vnto them. But let vs first speake of naturall inclinations, and then we will prosecute the rest. As therefore the minde hath his natural principles of knowledge, so the will hath her natural inclinations and affections, which of their own nature are good, as they are taken from that first nature created of God: neither would they at any time be wicked, if there were no excelsse in them proceeding from nature corrupted, which afterwarde breedeth in vs such inclinations and affections as are altogether euill and damnable. We loue our selues naturally, our wiues, our children, our kinsfolkes, and our friends, yea wee are by nature so inclined to this loue, that if it were not in vs wee should not onely not be men, but not deserue so much as to be accounted and taken for beastes, no not for the wildest, most sauage and venemous beasts that can be. For we see by experience what great inclination and affection there is in every one of them towards their little ones. Therefore when S. Paul maketh a beadrill of the vices and sinnes of such men as are most vicious and execrable, and as it were monsters of nature, he saith expressly, *that they are without naturall affection*: which indeede cannot be cleane rooted out of any nature living, vnlesse it be altogether monstrous and vnnaturall: For it is an affection which is as it were a beame of the loue that God beareth towards all his creatures, and which he causeth to shine in them, so that it is not possible, that they which are capable of any affection of loue, should not loue their owne blood and their like, especially men. Wherefore if this loue and this affection were well ruled and ordered, it is so farre from being vicious, that contrariwise the spirit of God condemneth as monsters those men that want it. And therefore God doth not forbid and condemne his loue and affection in his Law, so farre forth as it is ruled thereby, but he approueth it, and appointeth it to be the rule of our loue towards our neighbour, when he saith, *Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe*. But when this loue & affection is disordered in vs, it is not only vicious, but also as it were the original & fountaine of all other vices & sins, whereas if it were well ordered & ruled according to the wil and law of God, it would be as it were the originall and wel-spring of all vertues. For wee should not loue our selues but in God and through him, nor consequently our wiues, nor our children, nor our friends, nor any other creature whatsoever: whereas clean contrariwise, we set God aside, and seek nothing but our selues & the things of the world. Therefore this loue & affection being now so vnruely through sin, is so violent in vs, that it withdraweth vs from the loue of God and of his creatures, to loue the diuel & his wicked workes, because it seemeth to vs, that he is a greater friend vnto vs then God. For whereas the holy Spirit doth resist & set himselfe against our euill affections, & will haue vs to bridle them, Satan on the contrary part letteth them loose, & not onely giueth vs ouer to follow our peruerse & vicious affections with full sway & liberty, but also prouoketh & thrusteth vs forward with great vehemencie. Whereby we may iudge what loue and affection a man may carry towards creatures in those things wherein they may be contrary vnto him, and with what fury and rage he may be led against them that resist his disordered affections, seeing he carieth such an affection toward God his

Foure things
to be considered
in the will
and desires.

Of naturall
inclinations
& affections.

Rom. 1. 30.
2. Tim. 3. 3.

Leuit. 19. 18.
Math. 5. 43.

Of the vntu-
linesse of our
naturall affec-
tions.

460 Of naturall Inclinations and affections.

1. Tim. 3. 3.

Rom. 1.

Of true loue
towards a
mans self, and
towards his.

Gen. 22.

Natural incli-
nations are
seedes of ver-
tues or vices.

The originall
of all diseases

Creator. Therefore S. Paul speaking of wicked men that should be in the latter times, sayeth first, *That they should be selfe louers*: and having set down this disordered loue as the roote, after he commeth to the branches & fruits of such a tree, saying, *That they shall be couetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, disobedient to parents, without thankfull, unholy, without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, sinterperate, fierce, despisers of them that are good, traitors, heady, bie minded, louers of pleasures more then louers of God, hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof.* And in the Epistle to the Romanes hee expreesly mentioneth haters of God. Thus wee see what the loue of men is towards themselves being left in the corruption of their nature, in respect of that which ought to be, if it were not vnruely and disordered. For man should loue himself as the gift of God, as also his life & being which God hath given him, and that blessed estate for the enioying of which he hath his being, and that Good wherein it consisteth, & wherby he may attaine vnto it, and should loue no other thing, nor otherwise. But the great excesse that is in the loue of our selues, causeth it to bee cleane contrary, both to that loue which ought naturally to bee in vs, and also to our loue towards God, so that it ouerthroweth & confoundeth all heauenly order, and the whole course of mans life. Neuertheles, when it so falleth out that this loue & affection is moderate in vs, although indeede it be neuer so as it ought to be according to the rule of Gods wil, yet are they acceptable in his sight, as our other natural affectiōs & friendships are, which we beare towards them that belong to vs: provided alwaies that they be ruled and guided by faith and true loue, and kindled with the flames of the holy Ghost, as they were in *Zacharie* and *Elizabeth* towards their son *Iohn*, and in so many other holy men, as haue loued both themselves and theirs according to God, wherof we haue a notable example in *Abraham*. For out of all question if ever father loued his children, he loued his son *Isaac*. But he shewed evidently by the effect, that he did not onely loue him with the loue of flesh & blood, as commonly wee loue our children, but he loued him also in God, towards whom yet his loue was far greater, seeing he was very ready to offer him vp in sacrifice vnto him, when hee so commanded it. But although this natural loue & affection be not so pure in vs as in these holy men, but that still there is mingled with it some thing of our own, because of sin, which we haue by inheritance, yet is it alwaies acceptable to God, so that he be first and chiefly loued. For through his mercy he beareth with our infirmitie which euermore accompanieth our desires and wills. As for those that are guided onely by the light of nature, and are no regenerated by the spirit of God, albeit these naturall affections are too vncleane in them, yet they doe not somuch displease him, as inhumanity and cruelty doe, that are cleane contrary to the other, & which doe vtterly dispossesse men of loue and charity. We may consider the same things in all the other naturall inclinations. For we see that some are by nature inclined to ciuill iustice, some to liberality, & others to such like vertues. Now if these inclinations be wel guided, they are goodly seeds of vertues, but if they be not wel ordered and ruled, they corrupt and degenerate, yea they turne into the vices that are contrarie to those vertues. For iustice which is neuer without moderation can be turned into ouer great rigour, or into cruelty, as we see it in many, who being naturally inclined to severity, which many times is very necessary in iustice, becomes so rigorous and extreame, that their severity, which ought to be vertue, is turned into cruelty. The like may be said of other inclinations and affections. Now that which befallerh these inclinations, is procured also vnto them by the humors and qualities of the body, which haue a certaine agreement with the affections. For a sanguine man, in whose nature blood beareth greatest sway amongst the other humours and qualities, will naturally be more inclined to loue, to ioy, to liberality, and to such other affections as are most agreeable to his nature. But if this complexion be not moderated and well guided, it will easily passe measure in every affection, so that it will fall into foolish and vnlawfull loues, into excessine and vnmeasurable ioyes, and into prodigality in steede of following liberality. The same may be said of all the other temperatures and complexions for their part, in that they may be seeds and prouocations, either to vertues or to vices, according to that correspondencie, which is between the bodies & the soule, and the temperature of the one with the affections of the other. Therefore we may well conclude, that as diseases ingender in the body of the humours that are in it, according to their change, mingling & corruption: so it fallerh out in the nature of the soule & in the affections therof. For as good natural humors become euil by corruption that seazeth vpon them, & turne that health which before they afforded into diseases, so the inclinations and naturall affections of our soule, which of their own nature are good & the seeds of vertues, are turned into vices & into their seeds, through that

that corruption which sinne bringeth vnto them. Behold then what wee haue to consider of those naturall inclinations that are in the Will and in the desiring power of the soule, and of the actions thereof, namely to will and not to wil, and to suspend and stay her action, and to command ouer the power of the appetites, of all which we haue largely intreated in our discourse of the Will. Wherefore we will come to the Habites, of which thou shalt now discourse, *A M A N A.*

Of the Habite of the soule in the matter of the affections, and of what force it is: of the causes why the affections are given to the soule with the vse of them: of the fountaine of vertues and vices. Chap. 42.

A M A N A. If a man will learne an occupation, hee prooues not a workeman the first day, but learneth by little and little, and beginneth to labour therein: afterward by long continuance and custome he groweth more ready in his arte, and practiseth it with greater facilitie and ease. A painter waxeth expert in his science by often painting, and his hand wherewith he labourerh by long continuance becommeth more steady, more ready and able, so that he can handle his penicill with greater ease, & is far more expert therein then he was in the beginning. We may note the like in the soule, and in the chiefe powers & actions thereof. For there are some of them, which incontinently follow the nature of the faculties of the soule, when they haue their iust times, & are come, as a man would say, vnto their ripenesse, as we may see by experience in the corporall senses. For not long after the childe is borne he seeth and heareth, the reason whereof is because the senses of seeing and hearing are by nature absolute and perfect. Therefore in such actions there needeth no exercise to cause them to performe that which they doe well, but onely a good vigour and strength, because in them nature is a great Mistres that hath all efficacy. But there are far more excellent actions, as science, arte, prudence, fidelity, & such like, which had need of vse and exercise to cause them to doe readily and well. This vse bringeth custome, which hath in it a faculty to worke, and a disposition tending therunto. And then such actions take the name of Habite, which is bred by the reiterating.

Thus the actions of the Wil and power of desire in the soule, of which we haue spoken before, when they are often reiterated, so that they grow to bee firme and stedfast, are called habits, because the Wil is so accustomed therunto, that it becommeth more constant either in desiring one certaine thing, or in eschewing the same. Therefore as the affections are more or lesse forward, more seldome or often vsed, more weake or strong, so they are called eyther inclinations or actions, or habits. But we are to note, that habits extend not themselves only to those things which we doe, but also to those which we suffer and abide, which displease vs & are contrary to our nature. For custome diminisheth & moderateth by little and little the sense of that griefe & pain which they bring vs, wherof we haue trial in all diseases, which commonly seem not so grieuous & intolerable after we haue bin long accustomed vnto the, as in the beginning of the. And although pouerty be a heavy burthen, neuer thelesse custome maketh it familiar vnto vs, & familiarity causeth vs to think it lighter. Wherefore we ought not to maruel, if our God doth vsually send affliction to his children to acquaint the therewith, as also to the ende they might obtaine the vertue of patience, which is learned by often suffering: insomuch that there remaineth a habite in men, which beeing nothing els but a common custome, causeth them mildly to beare and sustaine all euent. Whereas there are some that like furious and desperate men are carried away with great impatience, eyther because they neuer suffered much before, or if they did suffer, yet they neuer accustomed themselves to beate their afflictions patiently. Moreover we know by experience, that although the way of vertue at our first entring thereinto, seeme vnto vs very difficult to tread in, yet afterward we finde it very easie, when we haue walked in it a certaine time. For there is no honest trade of life in which we finde not great difficulty. And the more excellent it is, so much the more troublesome and tedious it will seeme to our flesh, whereas the path of pleasure will seeme to be very delectable and easie, because it is a great deale more naturall to our corrupt nature. But how hard focuer it be to our flesh to follow after a vertuous, honest, and sober life, yet custome will make it easie to querpasse, as likewise to forsake that which is contrary vnto it. Therefore it hath not without iust cause bene giuen out long since by wise and skilfull men, that it is very good and profitable to bee accustomed

What a habite is.

Of the force of custome.

Sweat is Gentleman vsues to vertue.

The cause
and profit
of
an habite.

VVhat affe-
ction is, and
from whence
vertue and
vice first
spring.

The foun-
taine of Mo-
rall Philo-
sophy.

VVhy the
affections
are giuen to
the soule.

med to good things, especially from ones infancy : that it skilleth much how every one hath bath beene brought vp from his youth : that nothing is of greater force then custome, eyther to good or to euill, as that which seemeth to bee an other nature. Now vpon this speech of Habites wee are to note further, that as all other naturall things in the soule are giuen vnto it for the good thereof, so is this habite, which is no other thing but a custome rooted therein. For except continuance of time did confirme this power of the soule, I meane, that it ought not onely to doe a thing, but to doe it well and as it ought to be done, that is, to get a facultie therein through vse and exercise, to the ende it may doe the same thing afterward more freely and readily, and bee more willing to occupy it selfe about the same thing, and that after the same manner, I say, except this be so, many inconueniences will ensue thereupon. The first is, that it should labour altogether in vaine. The second, that it should alwaies come rude and vnskillfull, as it were a newe prentice, to the exercising of these excellent actions and workes. VVhereof this would follow, that ha-ving profited nothing with the time, it would not doe any thing perfectly. And this wee ought not onely to vnderstand of those things we doe willingly, but euen of that which wee suffer and endure maugre our willes: wherewith of all other things wee had neede to bee best acquainted. For seeing we are compassed about daily with so many miseries, seeing we must suffer and vndergoe so many sharpe and vnworthy assaults, how much greater will our miserie be, if long custome and an habite in suffering should affoord vs no ease and refreshing? But let vs come now to that which particularly concerneth the affections of the soule, that wee may be fully instructed in the nature and sundry kindes of them. First, wee will note, that we vnderstand by affection that naturall power in the soule, which openeth it selfe towards *Good*, and withdraweth it selfe from euill, as wee haue already declared, before. Now when the actions of an affection are growne to bee habites, then are they called either vertues or vices, according as they are well or ill done. And from hence proceede good or ill manners, of which morall Philosophy tooke that name, because it in- treateth of them. For that sheweth what vertue and vice is, how many kindes there are of them, and what difference there is not onely betweene vertues and vices, but also be- tweene the sundry sorts of them, as wee haue discoursed at large in our first Academicall as- sembly. But let vs vnderstand this, that the knowledge of the soule and of the powers of it, about which we now labour, is the right spring-head and fountaine of that Morall Phi- losophy and doctrine. This knowledge therefore is very profitable and necessary, to the end that by it wee may know the originall and beginning of all vertues and vices, of their whole generation, and their sundry kindes. For if wee bee well instructed in all the parts and powers of the soule, we know the causes of these actions : wee know how the minde iudgeth, how the wil chooseth & commandeth as we haue already spoken. And thus we see, that there are most sure and certaine principles of knowledge, which shine in the mind as it were a light, which are the rules whereby the soule squareth out her actions, and which discern betweene trueth and falsehood, good and euill, to the ende that all the ac- tions thereof might agree with those rules, which are the beames of heauenly wisdom in our selues. For it is an order which God hath so ordained and established. And forasmuch as the soule was to dwell in the body, God gaue vnto it this naturall power of the affections, that it might be wakened and stirred vp by them as it were with prickles, thereby to be kept from idlenes, and from being lulled asleepe and oppressed with the heavines of the body, and so neglect all care of good things, and of that which is very expedient & profitable for it selfe. For this cause the soule hath her affections, of which some serue for spurs to prick her bi- ther and thither, and as often as neede requireth others serue for a bridle to keepe her backe and to stay her from rushing vnto euill, and from following those things that are hurtful for her. And indeed we stand in need of such spurs and bridles: but herein we erre greatly in that we know not how to keepe a moderation betweene these twaine. For because wee make these spurs too sharpe, and pricke the horse too much which wee haue to guide, the bri- dle on the other side is too grieuous vnto him, so that he listeth vp and girdeth forward over furiously. And this commeth to passe because we doe not content our selues with that which is requisite for the succouring of our naturall necessities, but we adde thereunto infi- nite superfluities. For vpon some light necessitie that might soone be dispatched, we tor- ment our selues a great deale more then need is, because we perswade our selues that our ne- cessities are greater then they be, & so seeke after more remedies & help then is requisite. Of this we haue daily experience in that care which we take for things necessary for this life, which

which is the cause that we burne continually with insatiable couetousnesse, which is such a marvellous spur vnto vs, that we take very little rest for it. For if we would bee contented with enough, it would not put vs to that torment, which we daily suffer. But nothing sufficeth vs: and therefore the affections are in our soule, as the windes vpon the sea. For some windes are very small, and mooue the water but a little: others are more vehement, & raise vp certaine waues: and some againe are so tempestuous, and make such horrible storms and gulses, whereby the Sea is so mooued, that sea and land and fish and all seeme to bee turned topsie turuie.

The affections compared to the windes.

The like may bee sayde of the motions of the soule. For some are so light, that they seeme to be nothing else but smal beginnings of moouing. There are others stronger, which mooue it somewhat more. And some also are so violent, that they altogether trouble the soule, euen in such a vehement manner, that they drive her from the seate of iudgement. Therefore these two first kindes of motions are properly called affections, and the other that are so violent are termed *Commotions* and *Perturbations*. For they bring a kind of blindness with them, which is the cause that iudgement and reason see neuer a whit. Whereupon it followeth, seeing neither Reason nor iudgement beare any more rule, that the Soule is as if shee had no more power ouer her selfe, but were subiect to the iurisdiction of some other. The Grecians terme such affections with a word that signifieth as much as it wee should say passions.

Of commotions and perturbations.

And in deede we commonly say, that a man is passionate, when he is tormented by such violent affections. For as the whole body suffereth when it is mooued, or thrust too and fro, and stricken on euery side: so is it with the Soule being violently mooued euery way. And as the moouing is more or lesse moderate, so she suffereth more or lesse: and if the motion be very violent, confusion followeth thereupon. Now for the sequelle of this speech, let vs consider how the affections are more or lesse moderate, according to the disposition of the iudgement: and what is the spring and originall of so many sundry affections, as wee see in men. It belongeth then to thee *ARAM*, to handle this matter.

That according to the disposition of the iudgement, the affections are more or lesse moderate or immoderate: of the cause of all the motions of the soule and heart: of the varietie of affections: of the generation, nature, and kindes of them. Chap. 43.

ARAM. Whatsoeuer we doe or wish for, we doe or desire it for some *Good*, whether that which we iudge to be good be so in truth, or in opinion only. And therein we resemble God our Creator, who is not onely good, but also goodnesse it selfe, euen the perfection of all *Good*. Wherefore if we desire to know what is the true *Good*, we must vnderstand, that there is but one onely true *Good*, euen the same, by participation of which we are first made good, and then of good, most happy. For we cannot be happy and blessed, which is the end wee all looke for, but we must first become good. For as there is no true felicitie and blessednes but in *Good*, being the source and fountaine, yea the perfection of all happines and contentation, so also there is no felicity nor blessednes but in *goodnes*, which is as proper to God as his very diuinitie: because that as he cannot be God except he bee good, so he cannot bee good with that goodnesse that is in him, but he must be God. And as he is the essence of all essences, so he is the essential *Good*, and the essential *Goodnes* of all *Goods* & of all *Goodnesses*. But although our nature doth of it selfe alwaies tend to that which is *Good*, as we haue shewed in the handling of the chiefe powers of the soule, Vnderstanding and Will, neuerthelesse wee differ much, nay we are clean contrary to GOD, when we come to the election of *Good*, because of the bad iudgement we haue, by reason of the darknesse of ignorance wherewith our mindes are blinded.

Hereof it commeth, that the more the iudgement is corrupted, infected and deeper plunged in the flesh, the more euill and carnall are the affections, the more in number and the more violent: yea such as doe not onely trouble and peruert the internall senses of the soule, but the externall senses also of the body. This we may obserue in them that are caried away with loue, who thinke oftentimes, and are verily perswaded, that they see and heare those things, which indeede are nothing so. Contrariwise, the purer the iudgement is, and the

How far the Iudgement can preuaile ouer the affections

The originall
of violent
motions in
the soule.

A similitude
shewing the
perillous mo-
tions of the
soule.

The effects
of a prudent
wise man,

Of the variety
of affections.

The cause of
all motions
in the soule.

Two kinds of
punishments.

higher it is lifted vp from the flesh and from the earth, the fewer and lighter are the affections which trouble and molest it. For the more it taketh greater heede and marketh what trueth or what falsehood, what good or what euill there is in all things. VVhereupon it commeth to passe, that the iudgement is not so often nor so easily moued. And when it is moued, it is not so violent nor headie, but more mature and moderate. For all great, violent, and turbulent motions proceede of ignorance and inconsideratenesse, or through a false perwasion, which maketh vs to thinke, that the *Good* or *Euill* is greater then indeed it is. And this commeth for want of experience, which beeing as it were a darke cloude and mist before the eyes of our minde, doe greatly trouble it: insomuch that wee ayme not at that certaine *Good*, after which wee ought to seeke, but contrariwise wee propounde to our selues many sortes of *Goods*, with many and sundry endes and meanes to attaine vnto them, which we change and rechange from houre to houre, very inconstantly according to places, times and occasions, whereby it is euident that there is no stayednesse in vs. Besides all this, there is another great mischiefe, namely that we haue not that prudence which beastes haue by naturall instinct onely without reason or iudgement, whereby to know how wee may keep our selues from those tempests, which our affections may moue in vs. For when beastes perceiue any tempest comming, they sodainly withdraw themselves, and seeke for meanes to auoyde it. And they that sayle one the Sea, foreseeing the tempestuous stormes which threaten them, prouide thereafter in goodtime, least they should bee carried away thence with. For otherwise they bring themselves within the compasse of this danger, that afterward they cannot be Masters of their Shippe neither arriue at their desired haven, but rather hazard the breaking of their Shippe against some rocke, or of sticking fast in some sande, or of being swallowed vp and overwhelmed with some whirlwindes and tempests. The like may bee said of the motions of the soule made by affections. For there are not so many sorts of windes, whirlwindes, or tempests in the Sea, as there is varietie of motions that come from the affections in our hearts. Therefore wee ought to bee very carefull that when wee see and perceiue any beginnings in our soules, wee straightwaies giue not our selues ouer into the power and swinge of our affections. But wee are so farre from looking to this, that wee throwe our selues into the midst of the tempest, that it may carry vs, not whither wee would, but whither that will. For seeing wee enterprise our affaires, not by the appointment and decree of an vpriight iudgement directed by reason, but at the iudgement and lust of our corrupt and crooked nature, wee are so much moued as our nature hath power. For naturall actions are not bounded by our will, but extend themselves as farre as the power and vertue thereof is able to permit. But it is cleane contrary with a prudent and wise man. For hee is not deceiued in the election and choise of that which is good, because hee chooseth with good iudgement, and propoundeth not to himselfe many vncertaine *Goods*, but one onely, which is the true and certaine *Good*. Likewise hee chooseth not many wayes and meanes to come vnto it, but a few that are well sifted out, and infallible: besides, he is not gouerned by his affaires and affections, but gouerneth them, neither giueth himselfe ouer into their power, but abideth alwaies in his own: insomuch that if any affection heginne to moue by vertue of his naturall inclinations, hee presently stayeth it, compelling it to giue place and to obey, right iudgement. Thus much generally of the nature of affections: now it remaineth, that wee should say something of the number and variety of them. Surely it is very difficult yea impossible to set downe a certaine number of an infinite thing: although indeede the number of the affections is not infinit by nature, but onely in regard of vs, that cannot comprehend them all. But we will reckon vp the chiefest of them, which are the fountaine of the rest.

Heere then wee haue first to note, that all motions of the soule are in regard of some good which they seeke, or of some euill which they would auoide, because it is contrary to that good. Therefore euery motion of it selfe tendeth alwayes to that which is good, or withdraweth it selfe from euill, or else setteth it selfe against it, as we haue already heard in the handling of Will. Now euery good, and euery euill, is eyther present, or to come, or past, eyther possible or impossible. And as we take the absence of euill for a good, so wee iudge the absence of good to bee an euill. For this cause the Diuines make two kinds of paine or punishment, whereof the first is the paine of losse and dammage, and the other is the paine of sense and feeling. By the first they vnderstand that paine which a man hath because hee wanteth some good that hee should and would haue. For men

account

account it damage, to lose that profite, which they ought to haue. By the second they vnderstand that paine which is felt, not only when some good is wanting, which a man should or would haue, but when some euill is present, that is contrary to this good, which men fee by effect. Therefore they say that the paine of the losse and damage, is the priuation of the ioyes of Paradise. For although there were no torments of hell for the wicked, but onely a priuation of that eternall life and happinesse, for the which man was created of GOD, yet were this no small punishment to be depriued thereof. But there is a great deale more, when the wicked are not onely depriued of a blessed life, but besides that are detained in perpetuall torments, as a malefactor that doeth not onely want good company, but is withall kept in perpetuall prison and torture. But let vs proceede with our matter.

Of the generation, nature & kinds of the affections.

When any good is propounded, so soone as euer the soule and minde knoweth it, it is well liked of. And this liking or delight is as it were a little pleasant winde of motion in the heart, which beginneth to arise and to follow after this good. Now when this pleasure and liking is confirmed and waxeth strong, it is turned into loue. And the motion of that present Good, which wee haue already gotten is called ioy: and the motion of some Good to come is called Desire, which is inclosed within the bounds of loue. If the matter bee of some euill, it is called offence, because the soule is offended thereby: and therefore shee is displeased therewith and disliketh it, whereas shee is well pleased with Good. If this displeasure or dislike be confirmed, it is turned into hatred. And as griefe is for some present euill, so is feare of some euill to come. The motion against a present euill, is anger, enuy, indignation: and against an euill to come, is confidence and boldnesse. Now all these affections haue others vnder them. For fauour, reuerence, and mercy are comprised vnder loue, delight vnder ioy, hope vnder desire, and desire vnder griefe. As for pride, it is a monster compounded of diuers affections, as of ioy, of desire, and of boldnesse. And as the affections are quickly bred one of another, so some of them are bridled & restrained by others. For the first, enuy, hatred and anger spring of loue. For they are motions of the heart that loueth, against him that hateth or hurteth her who is deere or beloved. And desire riseth of reuenge, and the ioy that commeth thereby, procedes from anger and malace. If a man loue any thing, hee wisheth it would come, and hopeth also that hee shall enioy it: and contrariwise, hee feareth that it will not come to passe. If it come to passe, he reioyceth. If it come not to passe when he thinketh it will, or when he expecteth it, he is grieved. In like manner, great ioy is lessened through griefe, and enuy through mercy, or through feare. And one griefe altereth another, when it is greater: and feare maketh griefe to be forgotten, and causeth the lame to runne. To bee short, these sundry motions of affections are like to stormy waues and billowes, which beeing driuen one of another, doe either augment, or diminish, or wholly oppresse one another. VVherefore the like happeneth in the motion of our affections, that commeth to passe in a sedition and ciuill dissension, in which no man considereth who is the worthier person to obey and follow him, but who is the stronger and most mightie. So in the sight of the affections there is no respect had to that which is most iust, but onely to that which is strongest and most violent, and which hath gotten such power ouer the soule that it hath wholly subdued her to it selfe which thing we ought to stand in great feare of. But whatsoeuer affections are in vs, there is alwaies some griefe or some ioy ioyned with them. Therefore following our matter, it shall be good for vs to consider particularly of the nature of these two contrary motions, of which, ioy serueth greatly for the preseruatiō of life, but griefe drieth vp and consumeth the heart, euen vnto the death of it, as we shall now learne of *ACHITOB*.

How the affections are bred or bridled one of another.

Good similitudes.

That Ioy, or Griefe are alwaies ioyned to the affections: and what Ioy and Griefe are properly, Chap. 44.

ACHITOB, The knowledge of the Affections of the heart and soule is very necessary for euery onery one, because they are very euil and dangerous diseases in the soule, but yet being known they may be cured more easily. This cause hath moued vs, after we haue spoken of the heart and of the naturall motion thereof, & of the vse it hath in this life of the body, to enter into the consideration of a second motion it hath, which serueth not onely for this corporall life, but also for that spirituall life, in regard of which it was chiefly giuen, and of which wee said, that there was as it were an image and representation thereof in the first motion. Now we shall better vnderstand this by the subiect of this discourse

The first motion of the heart is an image of the propounded second.

ded vnto vs, being handled particularly as we intend to doe. For as by the first naturall motion of the heart, it receiueth such refreshing as is necessary for the sending of life vnto the whole body, and for the maintenance and preservation of the same, as also for the expelling and driving out of all such things as might hurt and stifle it: even so is it in this second motion, as farre as wee can conceiue of the nature of it. For seeing God hath appointed ioy as a meanes to preserve life, hee hath likewise put this affection in the heart, whereby it is as it were enlarged to receiue within it selfe, and to imbrace all *Good* that is offered vnto it: as also it restraineth and shutteth it selfe vp through griefe which is contrary thereunto.

Griefe or Ioy
in all the af-
fections.

Moreover we shall finde, that there is no affection in vs, which is not intermingled with some griefe or else with some ioy. For seeing the heart is the proper seate and instrument of all the affections, when it is as it were stricken and beaten with some vnpleasant thing that is offered vnto it, then doth it retire, close vp it selfe & feele griefe, as if it had receiued a wound, then doth it flie from the thing it liketh not. Yea the heart doth alwaies either enlarge or shut vp it selfe according to those affections that are within it, the causes of which are in it owne nature, GOD hauing so disposed and willed the same, for the reasons which we haue haue already touched. For if the heart be ioyful, the ioy that it hath, doth bring so great pleasure vnto it, that thereby it is opened and enlarged, as if it would receiue, imbrace, and lay hold vpon that thing which reioyceth it, and bringeth vnto it that pleasure, which it hath in this ioy. Now because there is ioy in loue and hope, the blood & spirits are gently & mildly dispersed by their moouings, by reason of the reioycing at the *Good* that is present, or that is expected, as if it were already present. And forasmuch as such motions are made by the

Ioy appeareth
in the face.

enlarging of the heart, wherby we imbrace the thing offered vnto vs, the face also appeareth smiling, cheerefull, and ruddy. For a man may easily iudge, that the obiekt presented to the heart, mooueth that power wherby it is stirred vp, because that before the heart doth moue it selfe, it must know the thing that offereth occasion vnto it to be mooued, either with ioy or griefe, or some such like affection. For as we haue learned already, the outward senses doe first perceiue the things that are offered vnto them, and then they present them vnto the common sense, which presently by a singular providence of God sendeth them to all the other senses, and to all those powers that are in the sundry parts of the soule and body. This done, if there be matter of ioy, the heart being stricken with that which is acceptable vnto it, enlargeth it selfe, and being thus gently enlarged, as it were to embrace the same, it disperseth much naturall heate with the blood, besides great quantity of spirits, of which it sendeth a good portion to the face, if the ioy bee so great that it mooueth a man to hearty laughter. For the face it selfe is in some sort blowen vp and enlarged: the forehead is made cleere and smoothe, the eyes glister and shine, the cheekes become ruddy, and the lippes gather in themselves. In a word, the heart doth so enlarge it selfe, that it is represented in the face, as it were in a glasse, or in an image framed to expresse the ioy and gladnesse which it hath.

The effects of
laughter in
the face.

Moreover, experience teacheth vs sufficiently, what difference there is betweene a cheerefull and a sad countenance. Therefore when we loue one, we embrace him as if we would ioine him to our selues, & put him into our bosome & heart, as some deere and very pretious thing. Which we see chiefly in mothers, when they hold their little infants betweene their armes, and embrace them with great affection of the heart. For this cause Saint *Paul* being desirous to let the Corinthians vnderstand what good will hee bare them, how louing, ready & cheerefull his affection was towards them, what ioy he receiued thereby, as him selfe speaking plainly doth with his mouth giue full testimony of his hart, writeth thus vnto them, *O Corinthians, our mouth is open vnto you: our heart is made large: you are not kept strait in vs.* And then complaining of them that their heart was not so bent towards him, he saith: *But yee are kept strait in your owne bowels.* And here wee may note, that by this word

2. Cor. 6. 11.
11.

what is meant
by bowels in
the Scripture.

Bowels is meant generally all the internall members and parts of man, especially the heart, and those that are next vnto it. Now because the heart is the seate of the affections, and the other members neere vnto it serue for his vse, therefore the bowels are taken in the holy Scriptures for all the motions of the heart, & for all the affections of men that proceed from it, but chiefly for loue; also for ioy, pitie and compassion, which haue their beginning from loue, whose nature is to open the hart: which in steade of opening shutteth vp it selfe against those that are not loued, or that a man hateth. Therefore as loue or hatred is great or small, hot or cold, so doth the heart open or close it selfe. Hereof it is said in the history of the two women that stood before *Salomons* iudgement seat about their two children, whereof the

1. King 3. 26.

one was dead and the other alive, that the bowels of the true mother were mooved towards her childe.

And Saint Paul exhorting the Colossians to charity and compassion, saith, *Now therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved put on the bowels of mercy (that is to say of tender affection) kindnesse, humblenesse of minde, meekenesse, long suffering: forbearing one another, forgiving one another, if any man have a quarrell to another: even as Christ forgave you, so doe ye. And above all these things put on loue, which is the bond of perfectnesse: and let the peace of God (namely that which God hath established among his) rule in your hearts, to the which ye are called in one body, and be gracious, or amiable.* VVe see heere what vertues accompany these bowels of mercie, of which he spake in the beginning, as in deed all these vertues and heavenly gifts are so knit together, that they cannot be separated one from another. And Saint John speaking of that liberalitie and loue, which ought to be among Christians, sayth, *Whosoever hath this worlds good, and seeth his brother have neede, and shutteth up his bowels from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in him? Then he addeth, Let vs not loue in word, neither in tongue onely, but in worke and in truth.* And to this purpose Esaias saith, *If thou powre out thy soule to be hungry, and refresh the troubled soule, then shall thy light spring out of darkenesse, and thy darkenesse shall be as the noone-day.* All which places agree very well to that which we have touched concerning the motion of the heart, whereby it is either opened or closed vp, as the affections are disposed that moue it. But let vs consider more narrowly the nature of these affections of ioy and sorrow, and what difference is betweene them, seeing we have taken them for the ground of our speach. For the first, let vs know, that ioy is properly a motion or an affection of the heart, whereby it taketh pleasure and stayeth it selfe in that Good, which is offered vnto it: or if we had rather thus, it is a motion of the soule, proceeding from the iudgement of some Good, which is already present, or certainly neere at hand. And therefore when the heart is enlarged therewith, not onely laughter is bred, but all the body also leapech when the ioy is so great that the breast cannot containe nor keepe in the heart. But when the ioy is moderate, it purgeth the blood by heate, it confirmeth health, and bringeth with it a lively and vigorous heate, which is very wholsome and acceptable to the heart. True it is, that the heart and will often deceiue themselves in the choice and election of that which is Good: whether it be that following reason and iudgment, corrupted, which should shew what is Good, they embrace their error: or whether it bee that VVill being corrupted of it selfe through sinne, letteth loose the bridle against the iudgement of reason, and so suffereth her selfe to bee carried headlong by her euill affections, in following some false shewe of good. VVhereupon it commonly commeth to passe, that in steade of ioy which the heart should receiue of Good, vnto which the will tendeth naturally, it receiveth great sorrow and griefe after knowledge taken of the fault. This is the cause why wee are so often admonished by the spirit of God, to renounce our owne sence, reason, prudence, and wisdom, to submit our selues wholly to the counsaile and wisdom of God, and to iudge of good and of euill, of the true and false Goods according to his iudgement, and not according to our own: as also to renounce our owne desires to follow his will. As for griefe or sorrow, wee may iudge of this affection by the contrary, which is ioy, namely, that it is a motion and an affection of the heart, whereby it is restrained and pressed either with some present euill, or with some that is in a manner present: which displeaseth the heart as if it had receiued some grievous wound. Therefore it trembleth and languisheth, as a sicke body, who drying vp with griefe by little & little, in the end dieth, except he haue some remedy against his sickness. For the like happeneth to the heart of man through griefe as long as it is within it, in so much that it neuer forsaketh it, vntill it hath quiet dried vp and consumed the same. And therefore as there is pleasure and rest in ioy, so in sorrow there is a dolour & torment. For it ingendreth melancholy, & melancholy ingendreth it, & increaseth it more, so that we ofte see melancholy me very sadde, although no harme hath befallen the, neither can they giue any reason of their heavines. Moreover, this blacke melancholy humour is of this nature that it will make the spirit & mind darkish, whereby it groweth to be blockish, & the heart loseth all his cheerefulness. And because the braine is cooled thereby, it waxeth very heavy & drowsie. Now when griefe is in great measure, it bringeth withall a kinde of loathing & tediousnes, which causeth a man to hate & to be weary of all things, euen of the light & of a mans selfe so that he shal take pleasure in nothing but in his melancholy, in feeding himselfe therewithall, in plunging himselfe deeper into it, & refusing all ioy & consolation. To conclude, some grow so far as to hate themselves, & so fall to despaire, yea many kil & destroy themselves. And

1. King. 3. 26.

Col. 3. 12.

13. 14.

The true works of a Christian.

1. John 3. 17, 18.

Isay. 58. 10.

VVhat ioy is.

How the hart chuse h euill for good.

VVhat sorrow is.

Of Melancholy.

The effect of sorrow.

A commen-
dable vse of
teares.

Rom. 12. 15.

as the heart by enlarging it selfe with ioy appeareth in the countenance, so doth it also in sorrow and griefe. For as in sorrow the heart drieth vp and gathereth it selfe in, so it causeth the face, which is the image of it, to retire and draw backe, yea it deprieth the face of all colour, & causeth it to fall away. Briefly, it marreth all health, and hath for continuall companions, sighs, plaints, groanes, teares, and weeping, and oftentimes gnashing of teeth, as it is written of the damned, because of that sorrow & indignation in which they are, by reason of the torments which they suffer. It is true that the most of these things serue as a remedy against sorrow. For howsoever griefe shutteth vp the heart as we haue said, yet by groning, sighing and weeping the heart doth in some sort open it selfe, as if it would come forth to breathe, least being wholly shut vp with sorrow it should be stifled. Again, teares are giuen vnto vs to testifie our griefe & to manifest it to others, that we may moue them to haue pity and compassion on vs, and to helpe & succour vs. They serue vs further to declare what compassion wee haue of other mens sorrow and griefe, which vse is very necessary for vs to get and preferue friendship one towards another, & for our mutual comfort & consolation. For we are greatly comforted, when we see any take pittie and compassion of vs. Wherefore when we can not otherwise solace them that are grieued, but onely by declaring that we are sorrowfull for their heauinesse, and for those euills which they suffer, yet doth that afforde great consolation. And although it seemeth an easie matter to giue this comfort, yet is it harder then many thinke it is. For before we can finde this in vs, wee must first haue loue in our hearts, which causeth vs to open our bowels, & moueth vs to compassion towards our like, that we may weepe with them that weepe, as we must reioyce also with them that reioyce according as Saint Paul exhorteth vs therunto. For by this meanes we testifie that vniõ & coniunction which we haue one with another, as members of one and the same body, and as if we felt in our selues all that good and euill which others feele. Now because in our definition of those affections ioy and griefe, we made two sorts of those that men feele in their hearts, namely, either of that good and euill which is present, or of that which they look for, we must consider more particularly of these things, and see first, why God hath put these affections in the soule, and what is true and present ioy, as also what that other kinde of ioy is, which hath regard to that which is to come, which is properly called Hope. Now let vs heare thec, *A S E R*, vpon this matter.

Of the causes why God hath placed these affections of Ioy and Sorrow in the heart: of true and false Ioy, and of good and bad Hope. Chap. 45.

A com pari-
son.

A S E R. Men haue commonly sharpe wits to know vaine, earthly and carnall things: but as for heauenly, true and eternall things, they are able for the most part to vnderstand nothing. So that wee may compare the eyes of their soule to the eyes of an Owle, which seeth clearly by night, but when the Sunne is risen, seeth neuer a whit. Euen so man hath some knowledge of the troublesome things of this world, but his sight cannot pierce into the celestiall and diuine light. Therefore it falleth out often, that being beguiled by his owne sense and reason, in stead of *Good* and of *Ioy*, he chuseth and followeth after that which is euill and full of griefe. For when the affection of the heart, which naturally desireth *Good* and seeketh after ioy, is misled and deceiued by humane reason, it easily embraceth euill in place of *Good*, and that vnder some vaine shew of good, which seemeth to be in that euill thing it chuseth. And although at the first the heart feeleth not that which happeneth vnto it, yet hath it leisure enough after to complaine of the torment which is alwaies equall both for age and time, to the fault committed, and to the abuse of those gifts and graces which God hath placed in the nature of the soule.

Forasmuch then as the heart is the beginning of life, we may well know, that God hath not without good cause placed therein such vehement affections of ioy & griefe, which serue either to preferue or to destroy it, and haue for their companions hope and feare, as we will declare hereafter. For by these affections God would giue vs pricks & solicitors, to cause vs to thinke seriously of that lesson, which *Dauid* giueth vs, when he saith, *Taste yee and see how gracious the Lord is: blessed is the man that trusteth in him. Feare the Lord yee his Saints: for nothing wanteth to them that feare him. The Lyons doe lacke and suffer hunger, but they which seeke the Lord shall want nothing that is good. What man is he that desireth life, and loueth long dayes for to see good? Keepe thy tongue from euill, and by lippes that they speake no guile. Es-*
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chew euill and doe good, seeke peace and follow it. The Prophet sheweth heere plainly, wherein true life and felicity consisteth: and the reason thereof he setteth downe afterward, namely that the Lord looketh vpon the good and bad, and that as he preserveth the good, so hee rooteth out the remembrance of the wicked from off the earth. Therefore he saith, *Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord deliuereth him out of all. Malice shall slay the wicked, and they that hate the righteous shall perish. The Lord redeemeth the soules of his seruants, and none that trust in him shall perish.* Wherefore as the children of God that are partakers of his promises, cannot bee without great ioy in their hearts, which feedeth and preserveth them, and causeth them to liue happily, through the testimonie and taste which they haue of the sweetness, goodness and fauour of God towards them: so contrariwise, perpetuall sorrow dwelleth in the heart of the wicked, who cannot haue that ioy in them, because they want that which should bring it vnto them. For howsoever it seemeth that there is no ioy in the world but theirs, yet they neuer haue any true ioy, neither indeede can haue. For they seeke not for it, neither doe they knowe what it is. And therefore instead of seeking it in God in whome onely it resteth, they seeke it in creatures, and in all kinde of vanity, and yet finde nothing but in offending the maiestie of God. For this cause Iesus Christ hath long since pronounced their sentence, saying, *We bee to you that laugh, for yee shall weepe. Contrariwise, ye that weepe are happy, for ye shall laugh. Blessed are they that mourne: that is to say, that feele their miseries, and seeke for ioy and consolation in God: for they shall bee comforted.* After speaking to his disciples, he saith, *Verily, verily I say vnto you, that yee shall weepe and lament, and the world shall reioyce: ye shall sorrow, but your sorrow shall bee turned into ioy.* And then he compareth their sorrow & their ioy to that which a woman with child hath, which is pained so long as shee is in trauaile, but when she seeth it borne, shee receiueth ioy, and soone forgetteth her anguish. Whereby the word of God teacheth vs, that the griefe of good men shall be turned into double ioy, that their sorrow shall bee short, and their felicitie of long continuance. For there is one ioy euen in being deliuered from euill, although it bee not so great as when any Good happeneth vnto vs. But the ioy is doubled, when besides this deliuerance, there commeth vnto vs some ioy which we had not, which is procured vnto vs by meanes of that paine and euill which we suffered. Therefore our Sauour saith further to this effect, *Ye are now in sorrow: but I will see you againe, and your hearts shall reioyce, and your ioy shall no man take from you.* If this ioy cannot be taken away, it is eternall, so that death it selfe can not abolish it. Whereupon it followeth, that it remaineth yet after death, & that there is an other life after this in which we shall haue fulnesse of ioy. Therefore we may well call it our owne, seeing it alwaies continueth with vs. For if it were not so, Iesus Christ who is the truth it selfe should not be true. But as he cannot lie, so wee may assure our selues of his promise. For seeing it is grounded on him, and vpon his grace, resurrection, & immortall life, we may be as certainly perswaded of it, as we are assured of his resurrection, and of his eternall ioy and life, wherein hee liueth and reigneth for euermore. Wherefore all those to whom it is promised, & that are assured of the fruition thereof by faith in him, haue iust occasion to liue in great ioy. So that Saint Paul not without good cause saith, *Reioyce alwaies in the Lord, and againe I say reioyce.* But of the ioy of caruall men wee must say as Salomon writeth, *That it is better to goe to a house of mourning, then to the house of feasting. And that there is a way that seemeth right to a man, but the issue thereof is the way of death: yea, in laughter, the heart shall be grieved, and the end of ioy is sorrow. The heart of the wise is in the house of mourning, but the heart of fooles is in the house of mirth.* For they thinke of nothing but of iollitie, whereas wise men meditate on the miseries of this world. Therefore we may know how greatly Epicures, and such as give themselves to pleasures and dissolutenesse beguile themselves. For they thinke there is no ioy nor pleasures, but in their life, and that there is no life more sad or melancholy, then that of the children and seruants of G O D. But it is cleane contrary. For they that feare and honour G O D, haue more ioy in their heart in the midst of their greatest sorrowes, by reason of that sense and feeling ingrauen in them of heavenly and eternall ioy, which they certainly expect & beginne already to taste heere, then all worldlings and carnall men can haue in the greatest triumphs of all their pleasures. Now, as there are two kindes of ioy in the heart of men, so are there also of sorrowes. For we doe not only feele ioy for some Good, or sorrow for some euill, which we now taste of, but also for that which wee attend and looke for. Concerning this latter kinde of ioy, it is properly called *Hope*, which is an affection and motion of the heart, whereby it wisheth some Good to come, and prepareth to open it selfe and to receiue it. Therefore wee

Ver. 19. 21. 22

Of the ioy of the godly.

Luke 6. 21.

Math. 5. 4.

Esay. 61. 3.

Ioh. 16. 20. 21

Philip. 4. 4.

Eccles. 7. 4. 6.

Prou. 6. 25.

How world-

lings deceiue

themselves

What hope?

said

Difference be
tweene Ioy &
hope.

Of the true &
certaine hope.

The profit &
necessitie of
hope.

we saide before, that Hope was comprehended vnder desire, vnto which it giueth forme and being. For hope is a desire ioyned with confidence, that the *Good* which we wish for wil come to passe. Therefore the motions of Ioy and Hope are very like, seeing Hope is alwayes mingled with Ioy, neither is there any difference but in the time, because the one is of a present *Good*, and the other of that which is looked for. In the meane time Hope hath no euidence or science, but is grounded onely vpon coniecture of opinion, or likelihood and probability or possibility. And yet there is nothing so light, or so small, or strange, vnto which the heart will not easily ioine it selfe and take hold of it, when it seeketh for helps & props to ground and stay it selfe vpon. Neuertheles there is great difference between hauing already, and hoping for a thing, namely, in respect of men, and of hope, which hath no other grounds, then those of which I now made mention. But when the expectation is grounded vpon God and his promises, it is as sure of that which it expecteth, as if it did already possesse it: which is very comfortable to a man, in respect of that which hapneth to them, who can haue no certain hope or expectation of *Good*. For although there be hope, yet if it be not grounded vpon God it can bring no certaine ioy, or of any long continuance. Besides, when such a one shall faile of his hope, his griefe will be doubled. Wherefore they that build not their hope vpon the word of God, can haue no true and certain hope, but they feed themselves onely with their fantasies, as they that dream they find riches, which vanish away when they awake. Such is the hope of the wicked, and of all worldly & carnal men. Neuertheles the perswasion of hope which holdeth vs vp with the expectation of better things, is very pleasant and necessarie for the life of man, in the middelt of so many miseries, of so many sharpe and almost into lerable paines and trauailes which accompany them. So that it bringeth great comfort to men, and is in stead of sauce vnto them, without which they would find all things to be not onely without tast, but also of a very bitter and vnpleasaunt taste. Therefore hath the providence of God provided a remedy for this, namely, that hope should breed of very light causes, and should lean & stay it selfe easily vpon them: as if it selfe were very light, or very hooked & gliuish, being ready to take hold of, & to retaine whatsoeuer it meeteth withall, or can lay hands vpon, to ground & leane thereon.

Now if men finde so great comfort in hope such as it is, and being laide vpon so weake a foundation, it is easie to iudge, what ioy the faithfull receiue by that most certaine hope of eternall life, and of all the good thinges that God hath promised them: in regard whereof Saint Paul saith, *There is one body and one spirit, euen as ye are called in one hope of your vocation.* It is not then without cause that he saith in another place, *Wee reioyce in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed: because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the holy Ghost, which is giuen vnto vs:* as if he should say, that they which stay themselves vpon such a hope, shall neuer be ashamed nor deceived. For the expectation thereof is neuer frustrated, but it hath alwaies a good & happy issue. For when we perceiue that we are deceived of our hope, we are ashamed & confounded. But this neuer happeneth to true hope, which proceedeth of a sound faith in Iesus Christ, by meanes whereof we haue accessethrough him vnto this grace wherein we stand & reioyce vnder the hope of the glory of God, as Saint Paul laid a little before. Therefore he exhorteth christians to reioice in hope, & calleth God the God of hope, praying that he wold fill the Romans with all ioy and peace in belieuing, that they may abound in hope through the power of the holy Ghost. And in the epistle to the Hebrewes, hope is compared to a sure and stedfast ancre of the soule. For this cause God is often called in the holy Scriptures the hope & fortress of his people & of his. It is written also, that they which hope in the Lord, doe reioyce. For hee that hopeth in him shal be healed & preserued. Therefore it is not without cause, that the spirit of God so often repeateth vnto vs this sentence, *Blessed are they that put their trust in the Lord: for they shall neuer be confounded.* It is better to hope in him then to put any confidence in Princes. But vnfaithfull & wicked men can neuer be partakers of such a *Good*, because they haue no such hope. For it is written, *The expectation of the iust is gladnesse, but the hope of the wicked shall perish.* And againe, *The hope of the hypocrite shal perish, his confidence shal be cut off, and his trust shal be as the house of a spider. He shall leane vpon his house, but it shall not stand, hee shall hold him fast by it, yet shall it not endure.* But to prosecute our matter, now that we haue seene the hope of good men together with their ioy, let vs consider what remaineth to the wicked of their vaine & false ioye, namely, Feare, which is the second kinde of sorrow mentioned by vs. Tell vs then *AMANA*, what Feare is, with the nature and effects thereof.

Ephes. 4. 4.
Rom. 5. 3. 4. 5.

Psal. 27. 3.

Rom. 5. 2.

Rom. 12. 12.
and 15. 13.

Heb. 6. 19.

Ier. 17. 7. 13.

17. 20. 21.

Psal. 63. 1. and

91. 2. 9. psal.

31. 1. and 71.

Psal. 118. 8. 9.

Pro. 10. 28.

Iob. 8. 13. 14

25.

Of feare, and of the nature and effects thereof towards the body, the minde, and soule, and how it troubleth them: of the true harnesse and armour against Feare. Chap. 46.

AMAN. As wicked men can haue no certaine hope of any good they looke for, so they neuer haue any true ioy of any present good, because they alwaies forsake the true Good, and stay in that which is not Good but in their opinion and fantasie, neither doe they at any time referre the end of good things vnto God, but looke onely vpon the things themselves. Therefore it is neuer in their power to reioyce in that ioy which they accompt to bee their true ioy, but onely by offending God, as wee heard before. Which is the cause why they seeke after nothing more then to hide themselves, and to depart from him as much as they can possibly, so that they would neuer heare any speach of him, but desire to bury the remembrance of him for ever, because they can heare nothing spoken of him but as of their iudge, neither thinke of him, but he awakeneth their conscience, which they labour with might and maine to rocke asleepe. Wherein they take a cleane contrary course to that which they ought to follow to obtaine the true Good. For seeing God is the soveraigne Good of all creatures, what Good can they finde that is greater, wherein they can fully reioyce and satisfie themselves? Or what other Good, dare they promise to themselves to finde without him, and when they haue him for their enemy? But they are like to drunken men, who cannot vnderstand this Diuinitie, vntill they haue slept out their Wine, and are awaked out of their drunkenesse. Then shall they know what is true and false ioy, what is good and bad Hope, when their ioy shall bee turned into sorrow, their expectation and hope into feare and terror, wherewith the wicked shall be continually haunted, as the Spirit of God teacheth vs.

The wicked cannot abide to speake or heare of God.

Now, as sorrow is a griefe for some euill which a man presently feeleth, shutting vp the heart as vnwilling to receiue it: so feare is a sorrow, which the heart conceiueth of some looked for euill, that may come vnto it. Therefore it restraineth the heart also and closeth it vp, as being desirous to auoide the euill. We see then that there is the same difference betwixt sorrow and feare in respect of euill, that is betweene ioy and Hope in regard of Good. So that we may well say, that Feare is not only a fantasie and imagination of euill approaching, or a perturbation of the soule proceeding from the opinion it hath of some euill to come, but it is also a contraction and closing vp of the heart, which commeth from that which euery one iudgeth to be euil for himselfe, when he thinketh it is at hand & will lichte vpon him. Therefore first of all it draweth in and shutteth vp the heart, and so weakeneth the same. Whereupon nature being desirous to relieue and succour it, sendeth heat vnto it from the vpper parts: and if that be not sufficient, she draweth away that heate also which is in the neather parts. By which doing she suddenly calleth backe the bloud and spirits vnto the heart, and then followeth a generall palenesse and colde in all the outward parts, and chiefly in the face, with a shiuering throughout the whole body. For seeing the first moouing thereof is in the heart, the other alwaies followeth: so that when the heart trembleth, the whole body doth so likewise. Whereupon it followeth, that by reason of the great beating and panting of the heart, the tongue faltreth and the voice is interrupted. Yea it commeth to passe sometimes, that present death followeth a great and iuddeine feare, because all the bloud retiring to the heart choaketh it, and vtterly extinguisheth naturall heat and the spirits, so that death must needs ensue thereof. Therefore we cannot doubt but that feare hath great power over all the body, and ouer life it selfe, For this cause *Esaïas*, after he had denounced the iudgement of God against the Babylonians, and the coming of the Medes and Persians by whom their Citie should bee taken, and themselves slaine, saith thus: *Therefore shall all handes bee weakened, and all mens hearts shall melt: which is as much to say, as that their hearts shall faile them for feare. And therefore hee addeth, They shall be affraid: anguish and sorrow shall take them, and they shall haue paine as a woman that trauelleth: every one shall bee amazed at his neighbour, and their faces shall be like flames of fire.* But here wee will note what hee meaneth by these flames of fire. For if the face waxe pale through feare as it falleth out for the most part, it seemeth that it cannot be enflamed, for thē it would be red rather then pale. But we are to know, that when nature will strengthen the heart, she sendeth vnto it from all parts, succours of heat & bloud to encourage it the more. Therefore

What feare is.

How palenesse, cold, and shauing are bred in the body.

How death commeth through feare.

Esaïas 13.7.8.

A place of feare expounded.

472 Of feare, and of the remedies against it.

The cause of
cowardnesse
and the signe
of courage.

they that haue but a little warme blood in the hart are naturally the greater cowards: so that it is a better token of courage when the face is pale through feare, then when it waxeth red. For this cause *Cato* misliked that a childe should become pale in the face through shame, in stead of being red: & that a souldier should looke red in time of danger, in stead of being pale. For as it is a token of impudencie in a childe not to blush for shame, so is it a signe of cowardliness in a man of war to looke redde when he seeth himselfe in any danger. Therefore a pale countenance sheweth that the blood and naturall heat are gone to the heart to strengthen it: but when it is redde, that argueth that the blood and heate are not much gone inward to strengthen the heart: whereupon it is made more weake, and so the feare of it is greater & the trembling much more. And because the blood & naturall heat mount vpward in stead of descending, therefore doth the face looke red. Which argueth want of courage and a fainting heart: as it befell the Babylonians, whose hearts were possessed with feare and terrour at the coming of their enemies, because God would giue them ouer into their hands. We might also referre this rednesse and inflammation of visage to the paines and griefes which they were to endure. For when one is pressed with griefe, his countenance is red and fiery: because men are then as it were shut vp in a fire.

Iob. 41. 16.

Effects of
feare in the
soule.

And as the face is red through Feare, for the reasons set downe by vs: so if the naturall heate leaue the heart and goe downeward, the feare is not onely encreased, but it bringeth withall a loosenesse of the bellie. Therefore it is written in the Booke of *Iob*, where it is spoken of the feare that *Linathan* bringeth vpon men, that *the mightie tremble at his maiestie, and purget themselves through his moouings*: that is, through feare of him. Hereupon a heathen Poet, when he would note a feareful & dastardly fellow, saith to this purpose, *that his heart was fallen into his heeles*. Now if feare mooueth all the body in this sorte, no doubt but it greatly mooueth also the minde and the whole soule of man. For it so troubleth the minde, that it confoundeth all the thoughts thereof; as we may try by this, that many times the least fancie of euill that entreth into our braine, is enough to trouble the minde very much. For as imagination and fancie beare great sway ouer the affections, so they shew what power they haue, chiefly in the affection of Feare. And surely among all liuing creatures, none hath such a confused feare, or is more amazed therewith then man is. Therefore wee may well say, that no miserie is greater, no bondage more shamefull, seruile or vile, then feare is. For it maketh men very abiects, flatterers, and suspicious, and so daunteth their courage, that it leaueth them as it were half dead, yea, causeth them sometimes to despair vtterly, so that they are as it were Images destitute of counsaile, not knowing which wayes to helpe themselves. For this cause the holy Scriptures make often mention of a heart that is powred out like water for feare, or that melteth like waxe. And in *Jeremy* it is said, *In that day, saith the Lord, the heart of the King shall perish, and the heart of the Prince, and the Priests shall bee astonished, and the Prophets shall wonder*. For truly if a man be once possessed with feare, especially if he bee inclined thereunto by nature, but aboue all, if God terrifie him, a man may well exhort him to boldnesse and to take courage vnto him, and alleadge all the reasons that can be to strengthen him, against Feare, but it will be to small purpose. Therefore one saith very well, that no harnessse can bee found, which is able to incourage feare and to make it hardy. For if any Armors had the skill to make such harnessse, they should want no customers. But onely God is able to arme vs against this, because it is he that giueth or taketh away the heart of man, that sendeth feare or boldnesse, as pleaseth him. For although he hath sowed the seedes of them both in the nature of the body and soule of man, with the meanes also that leade thereunto, yet he hath not subiected himselfe to all those meanes, no more then he hath to the whole order of nature, but hath alwaies reserued in his power both Feare & faintnesse of heart, and boldnes and assurance, which are their contraries. For assurance is a certaine perswasion and trust, whereby wee are confirmed in danger against euills that threaten vs and come neere vs: and boldnesse is a confidence, which pricketh forward the courage either to repulse euills or to followe after good thinges, which are excellent and harde to obtaine. Therefore when GOD is minded to punish men, he taketh away their hearts whome hee will destroy, causing them to tremble and to flie for feare, as it is written in *Iosuah*, where *Rahab* speaking to the spies of the Israelites that were sent to *Iericho*, vseth these words: *I know that the Lord hath giuen you this land, for the feare of you is fallen vpon vs, & al the inhabitants of the land faint because of you*. Contrariwise, our GOD heartneth and emboldneth those by whome hee will ouerthrow others, and to whome hee mindeth to grant victorie.

The definiti-
ons of assu-
rance and
boldnesse.

Iosua 2. 9.

Therefore

Of Feare, and of the remedies against it. 473

Therefore it is written, that he will cause the feare of his seruants to fall vpon his enemies, that the wicked and such as haue not called vpon GOD, shall feare where there is no cause of feare, & shall tremble and flie for feare, although there be none that persecute them. So that if wee doe desire to finde a harnesse that will arme our heart thoroughly against all feare, let vs put on the armour of the true feare of GOD, and of sound Faith in him. For as the Prophet *Dauid* saith, *Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord: the iust shall liue in assured hope: hee shall neuer bee moued, hee shall not bee afraid of euill tidings, for his heart is fixed and beleeneth in the Lord: his heart is stablished, therefore he will not feare.* For whosoever feareth God and walketh in innocencie, God is with him: and hee that hath God on his side, what can hee or ought he to feare? For when he is with vs, who shall be against vs? May he not well say with *Dauid*, *When I was afraid, I trusted in thee. In God doe I trust, I will not be afraid: what man can doe vnto me.* In the feare of the Lord (saith the wise man,) there is assured strength, and his children shall haue hope. Therefore Iesus Christ saith to his Disciples, *Let not your heart be troubled.* And then he sheweth them the meanes, saying, *Ye beleue in God, beleue also in mee.* For nothing but Faith in God through Iesus Christ is able to giue vs this assurance. On the other side, if wee bee not armed with the feare of God, and with true faith, that wee may be certaine of his helpe and providence, and of his loue towards vs, there is nothing that can assure vs: but rather that which is written in the Law will befall vs, *I will,* saith the Lord, *send a faintnesse into their hearts in the land of their enemies, and the sound of a lease shaken shall chase them, and they shall flee as fleeing from a sword, and they shall fall, no man pursuing them.* And in another place where mention is made of them that despise the Law of God, and rebell against the Lord, it is saide, *The Lord shall giue thee a trembling heart, and looking to returne till thine eyes fall out, and a sorrowfull minde. Thy life shall hang before thee, thou shalt feare both night and day, and shalt haue none assurance of thy life. In the morning thou shalt say, would God it were evening, and at evening thou shalt say, would God it were morning, for the feare of thine heart which thou shalt feare, and for the sight of thine eyes, which thou shalt see.* Therefore when wee see, that in any great and dangerous affaires, the boldest and most couragious are oftentimes the greatest cowards, and most astonished and carried away with feare and terrour, and even many times without any great cause are amased and voide of counsaile, whereas contrariwise cowards by nature grow to bee most hardy in the midst of daungers, thereby God sheweth very well, whether strength and courage come from him or from men, and who is to haue the praise thereof. But now that we haue seene the first motions of the heart, in the affections of ioy, of sorrowe, of hope, and of feare, and know that they haue respect to good or euill, either present or to come, let vs learne in the next place, that as contemplation consisteth in the rest of the Spirit after the discourse of reason and iudgement, so after the heart hath the fruition of that Good which belongeth vnto it, it is still and quiet, resting it selfe therein: which rest is called Delight or pleasure, of which the order of our speech requireth that thou shouldest dilate, *A R A M*; at this present.

Of the delight and pleasure that followeth every ioy, and of the moderation that is required therein: of diuers degrees of pleasures, and how men abuse them, especially those pleasures, which are received by the corporall senses. Chap. 47.

A R A M. It is certaine, that all the affections which God hath placed in the nature of man, were given vnto him in regard of so many good things, which were meete and conuenient for his will to long after and to desire. For ioy and hope, which afford pleasure and consolation to the heart, were bestowed vpon him to be spurs and sollicitors to induce him to seeke after God his soveraigne Good, in whom alone he may finde al delight rest and pleasure. As for sorrow and feare, they are sure testimonies vnto men of the iudgement of God, and executioners of his vengeance: to this end that the feare of euill, which may come vnto them, should keepe them in awe, and that sorrow and griefe for euill which they haue already committed, should be vnto them both hangman & punisher. It is true that these affections being natural in every one, bring forth contrary effects both in the good & in the bad. For the children of God neuer separate his power from his goodness, & the feare which they

Psal. 34. 5.

Ps. 112. 1. 7. 8

Psal. 36. 3. 1. 2.

and 1. 18. 9.

Pro. 14. 26.

Ioh 14. 1.

Leuit. 26. 36.

Deu 28. 65.

66. 67.

God is the au

thor of cou-

rage.

Why God

hath giuen

men affecti-

ons

The diuers
effects of
feare in the
godly and in
the wicked.

haue of him, is not ioyned with hatred, but with trust in his mercy, which mooueth them to be grieved for offending him, and to loue him, to seeke him and to reioyce in him, and to haue him in singular honour and veneration. But the wicked who feare and tremble, like to malefactors fearing their iudge, hate and despise God, desiring nothing more then to escape his hands, and to flee from him as farre as they can. If they be grieved, it is because they may not enioy false ioyes, and vnlawful pleasures. Therefore that which is giuen them for *Good*, is turned by them into sin and euill, and pleasure and griefe.

A fantastical
Good.

But here we must call to minde what we haue spoken already concerning the signification of this word *Good*, as it is commonly taken, not considering whether it bee true or false, but onely according to that opinion which men haue of it. For there are many whose fancy is sufficient to afford them as much pleasure, as if indeede they enioyed that *Good*, which they thinke to haue. We see many such fooles in the world. For some are Popes or Cardinals by fantasie; others Emperours or Kings and great princes, or otherwise very rich, or possessours of some great *Good*. And yet such fantastical fellows are better contented & pleased with that which they thinke they haue in their foolish imagination, then they that haue them in trueth, vnto whome commonly they serue for nothing but to torment them more.

Who are to
be accounted
wise men.

Therefore I knowe not which of them I should esteeme more foolish and fantastical. For none ought to bee taken for truly wise men, and of ripe iudgement, but they who know that all thinges in the world and vnder the Sunne, are onely vanitie, as *Satomen* sheweth in his booke of the Preacher. Therefore he saith thus: *I said in mine heart, Goe to now, I will proue thee with ioy: therefore take thou pleasure in pleasant thinges: and behold this also is vanitie. I said of laughter, thou art mad; and of ioy, what is this that thou doest? But to*

Ecles. 2. 1.

goe forward with our matter, let vs consider what delight and pleasure is, so far as men may enioy it in this life. It is then a rest which the heart taketh in the enioying of some *Good* that it liketh: euen as contemplation is the rest of the spirit after the discourse of Reason & Iudgement. Now we are to note, that there is no delight & pleasure in any thing, except there be some agreement betwene that part or power that requireth pleasure, & that which bringeth the same vnto it. This agreement cannot be without good proportion of the one with the other, whereby there is some similitude and resemblance betwene them.

Of delight &
pleasure what
it is, and how
it is received

For this cause also, the thing that bringeth delight must not excede too much, eyther in greatnes, or in smalnes aboue the power which receiueth it, in regard of that part or instrument whereby the pleasure is received.

Heereupon when wee spake of the eyes and eares, wee shewed that light was to be dispensed to the eyes, and sounde to the eares, in good measure and moderation. For if the light bee too great, the eyes cannot receive it: insomuch that they will bee hurt and offended, in steade of receiuing delight. On the other side if it bee too little, it will not suffice them: and therefore it must bee betwene both. And as euery mans sight is sharper and stronger, or more dull and weaker, so must the light bee dispensed according to that measure. The like may be said of sounds in regard of the eares, and of all other thinges in respect of those senses vnto which they agree. And if this moderation be requisite for the outward senses, it is no lesse necessary in respect of the inward senses, and of all the powers of the soule. Therefore as God is incomprehensible and infinite, so is he receiued with delight of that part of the soule, which cometh neere vnto his nature, and which is most incomprehensible, most ample, and most infinite in regard of other parts, and that is the Spirit and Vnderstanding. On the other side, because there is no proportion or agreement in greatnesse and infinitenesse betwene GOD and the Soule, she receiueth and comprehendeth him by such meanes, whereby he may be applied vnto her, and she made after a sort capable of him. For if he should present himselfe vnto her, such as he is in his high and diuine maiesty, especially man being in this estate wherein he is in this mortall life, she could not beare so high maiesty, as being too exceeding great for her. So that instead of receiuing pleasure, ioy & delight, she should not only be very much frightened, but euen wholly overwhelmed & swallowed vp as a drop of water wold be consumed being throwne into a great fire: as we may iudge by so many examples as are in the holy Scriptures to this purpose. For when GOD manifested himselfe to the Patriarkes, he neuer appeared vnto them in the greatnesse of his maiesty, but tooke vnto him alwaies some shape, and vsed such meanes as were agreeable to their nature. Therefore also it is very requisite, that God should descend & apply himselfe vnto our smal capacity, to the end we may enioy him and his *Goods*, and take pleasure and delight in them. For this cause, he hath not onely appointed the ministerie of his

How God
communicateth
himselfe
vnto men.

word

word and Sacraments to shew and communicate himselfe vnto vs by them, applying himselfe vnto our nature and capacity, but hath also manifested himselfe in flesh, in the person of his sonne Iesus Christ, to become more like vnto vs, and to draw nearer vnto vs in our owne nature, to this end that we might enjoy him and al his benefits the better, and receive more true and entire delight in them.

And thus much for this point of the agreement that ought to bee betweene the thing that delighteth, and that which receiveth pleasure. Next wee are to note, that a man may take pleasure by all those partes whereby he may knowe, as well by the internall as the externall senses, and by all the powers of the minde and soule. Whereupon it followeth, that as every one is more or lesse addicted to any of these partes, so hee delighteth most in those pleasures, which hee may receive by that part vnto which hee is most given. Therefore we see that the baser and more vile sort of people, and such as are most rude and ignorant, are more mooved by corporall and externall things, which moove the bodily senses, then by spirituall and high things, that are more meete for the spirit, and wherein it taketh greater pleasures. But with prudent and wise men, and such as are more spirituall, it is otherwise. So that as every ones nature is more noble and excellent, or more vile and abiection, and according to the nature of those things wherein every one delighteth, so is the delight, either more noble and excellent, or more base and contemptible, more pure and quiet, or more impure and troublesome, of longer or of shorter continuance, and hath more or fewer pleasures, and those either more or lesse tedious. Now among those delights which a man may take by the bodily senses, the basest & most abiection of all, is that which is received by the sense of touching. For as it is most earthy of all the externall senses, so are the pleasures that are taken by it. That delight which is taken by the sense of tasting, is a little more honest and lesse contemptible, and yet is it brutish enough. As for the delight that may be received by the sense of smelling, it is very light, and nothing so pleasant, as the irksomenesse that cometh of the contrary, is vnpleasant. For a good smell bringeth not so great pleasure as an euill smell causeth displeasure: besides, that this sense of smelling is not so sharpe in man as in beastes. And concerning those pleasures, which a man may receive by the eares, they haue some more beauty and excellencie in them. For the more they holde of the nature of the aire, they are so much the lesse earthy and brutish. And those which wee receive by the eyes, are yet more excellent then all the rest, because the eyes are of the nature of the fire, which cometh neere to the celestial nature. And thus much for those pleasures, which a man may receive by the corporall senses, of which the noblest & best are baser & of lesse excellency then the least of those, which wee may receive by the basest parts and powers of the soule. For, as much as the soule is more noble & more worthy then the body, so much is the least thing in it greater and more magnificall, then that which is most noble and most excellent in the body. And as there are diuers degrees of pleasures according to the variety of the externall senses, & according to the difference that is betwixt them and the powers of the soule: so is it betweene the powers of the soule, as some of them are more noble & more diuine then others. For those which appertaine to the nourishing and generatiue powers, are more corporall, earthy and brutish, then those that belong to the vital parts & to the heart. And those that are proper to the spirit and minde, are purest and best of all: among which that delight that is in contemplation is the chiefeest, as we may iudge by that which wee haue already spoken. Wherefore if wee would consider well of all these degrees of delight and pleasure, and could iudge well of them, we should not be so deceived in them as commonly we are; preferring the least before the greatest, the basest before the noblest; those that are most earthy before them that are most heavenly, and those that fade soonest before them that continue longest. Besides, the very enjoying of every one of the ought to suffice to make vs know their nature, & the difference between the one & the other, & how far one is to be preferred before an other. For how doe we see men given ouer to those pleasures wherein they delight, not onely in eating and drinking, in dainty morsels and delicate drinks, but also in other carnal pleasures that are more earthy & vile, especially when they are excessive and vnmeasurable, as they are in whoredome? For those which we receive in eating and drinking, belong to the sense of taste, which is brutish enough: but these others to the sense of touching, which is a great deale more brutish. We know by experience also, that these senses are sooner wearied and tired with their pleasures, then any other, and that such delights commonly bring with them more irksomnes & loathing then ioy & pleasure: leaving many times behind the a long & shameful repentence for pollutions received by them.

Of the diuers degrees of pleasures according to every mans nature.

The delights of the bodily senses.

The delights of the internall senses.

Contemplation is the greatest delight of the soule.

Of the abuse of pleasure.

Against the
immoderate
vse of plea-
sures.

The pleasures that belong to the other senses, as they are of longer continuance, so they weary not a man so quickly, especially those that delight the sight. Yea the baser and more vile the pleasures are, the sooner doe they loath a man, as they knowe by experience that are giuen to whordome. For how insatiable soeuer they be, yet can they not but be glutted therewith: neither are they able to continue their vnruinesse so long in that pleasure (howsoeuer they want no good will) as in the pleasures that come by eating and drinking. Neither can the greatest gluttons, drunkards, and daintie mouthed persons follow so long together after the delights of their gluttony, drunkenesse, and dainty diet, as they may after those which they receiue either in smelling, or in hearing, or in seeing. As for the paines that are to be taken in the obteyning and vsing of these pleasures, the more earthly and brutish the delight is, the greater labour is to be had about it: and the more excellently the pleasure it vsed, the greater hurt commeth thereby, as we daily see in gluttons, drunkards, and whooremongers, by the testimony of those diseases, which take hold of them through their excessse. Thus then we may learne by the vse of those pleasures, which are receiued by the bodyly and outward senses, which of them are to be preferred before others, with the agreement necessary therein, and the moderation that alwaies ought to be obserued in them. But to goe forward with our matter, wee are now to compare together the delights and pleasures that are receiued by the spirituall and internall senses, and to vnderstand what difference there is betweene the vse of the pleasures of the spirit and of the body, and how the one driue away the other. Now let vs heare what *ACHITOB* will tell vs of this point.

Of the comparison of pleasures receiued by the internall senses: and how men descend by degrees from the best to the basest pleasures: of the difference betweene the vse of spirituall delights and corporall: and how the one chase the other. Chap. 48.

The cause
why a little
griefe is strō-
ger in vs then
a great plea-
sure.

ACHITOB. Experience dayly teacheth vs, that we need but a little griefe to diminish a great pleasure, or otherwise to take it cleane away, and to change it into great displeasure, yea to turne a great ioy into extreame sorrow and sadnes. But few there are that meditate and know the cause thereof. The truth is, we can think of no other cause, then of the corruption of our nature, of the estate and disposition of our body, of the course of our age and life, which decline continually and waxe worse and worse. Therefore a small griefe findeth greater strength within vs to cause our heart to giue backe and to close vp it selfe, and wholly to cast vs downe, then a great ioy and delight is able to open and enlarge it, and to sustaine and hold vs vp. For a little force will throw downe this shaking and reeling body, but there had neede to be a great deale of strength to vnderprop and stay it vp firme and stedfast. On the other side we can more easily want pleasures, then not feele their contrary griefes.

For we doe not perceiue so much the want of a good which we haue not, as the presence of an euill which wee suffer. For in the first, it seemeth that wee want nothing, but in the other the sense is afflicted, and the sound estate and disposition thereof is cleane taken away and ouerthrowne. Now if wee desire to feele such griefe as little as we may, and to approach as neere as our nature will permit, to true delight & pleasures, we must withdraw our selues from vile and abiect things, and contemplate most high and excellent things.

Of the plea-
sures of fan-
tasie.

Now as we haue learned by the former discourse that those delights and pleasures, which are receiued by the chiefest senses that fauour least of the earth, are of longer continuance then the other, so we are to know, that the pleasures of the fancy are more stable and firme then those which come by the corporall senses. Hereof it is, that men are cloyed a great deale sooner not onely with the pleasures of eating and drinking and of other more abiect things, but also of sweet smells, of musick, of harmonickall sounds, and of the beholding of goodly sights, then with those goods that are in the fancy and in opinion, whereby the minde is deceiued, as namely the getting and possessing of silver, of riches, of power, of honours, and of glory. For these *Goods* are goods rather in opinion then in truth. But because fancy propoundeth them vnto her selfe for *Goods*, therefore shee taketh pleasure and delight in them. Therefore the couetous man delighteth in his gold, silver, and riches: and the ambitious man in power, glory, and honours, which are the pleasure of fancie, and

with

with which she is not so soone wearied, as the body is with corporall pleasures, but contrariwise the more she hath, the more her delight encreaseth, and becommeth insatiable. But the pleasures of reason, of the mind and of the spirit, continue a great deale longer then they, because the spirit is not weary or tyred, but is recreated and refreshed. But none can iudge well of this, but those that have had experience thereof. No marvaile therefore if such men as are addicted to these other more base and earthly pleasures, mocke and deride them that contemne their delights, and make so great account of these spirituall and heavenly pleasures, that they are content to renounce all the rest, and to forgoe all the goods in the world that they may enjoy these, as we see it was with those holy personages that have tasted of them. As for those carnall and beastlike men, we may say of them as we doe of hogs, that delight more in a puddle or linke, then in precious stones or sweet odours, namely that they follow that which is most agreeable to their naturall disposition, because they want iudgement to discern the value of those things which they contemne and make no account of.

The pleasures
of reason and
of the minde.

Now among the pleasures of the spirit, those that consist in contemplation are of their nature by which we shall become blessed in the life that lasteth for ever. Therefore it is no strange thing, if many of the Philosophers affirmed, that this kinde of life was the best of all and most excellent: and if *Aristotle* placed the ende of all *Goods* and of beatitude in contemplation. Now if these Philosophers that never knew what was the true and chiefe *Good*, did notwithstanding mount vp so high, what a shame is it for vs to whome the soveraigne *Good* is revealed from heaven, if wee stay and as it were rot in these base, brutish and supposed pleasures? Therefore we must consider, how wee come downe by degrees from the highest unto the lowest steppe, by reason of this heavy burthen wherewith our nature corrupted through sinne, is sore charged: whereupon she is driven downward to seeke for delights and pleasures, and to recreate her selfe in these earthly things. But according as she retaineth more or lesse of her first purity and nobility, so she keepeth higher, or descendeth lower from the contemplation of the highest and most excellent things, to those that belong to the affections of this life. Therefore some take pleasure in the administration eyther of the common wealth, or of their domesticall affaires. There are others who not being able to soare vp so high, delight themselves in the knowledge and remembrance onely of those things that were done by other men, yea many times in histories and fables. Some take pleasure in handy workes, and in such artes & occupations as belong to them. There are many, that cannot apply their mindes to so good things as those, but give them the bridle to recreate and delight themselves either in vnprofitable sports and pastimes, or in vile and abiect idlenesse. Yea there are others that come lower. For they suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of their corporall senses, so that they fall into brutish pleasures, as if they were become brute beastes, and as if their minde and spirit were wholly swallowed vp and plunged in the most bottomlesse gulfe of immoderate and excessive pleasure. And when a man is come downe so low, he can descend no lower. But yet he may seeke after pleasures crosse-wise, and turne cleane out of the way from reason and iudgement, feeding and delighting his fancie and imagination with false opinions. From hence it is that he hath found out nobility, renowne, glory, popularity, favour of Princes, and all other vaine things that consist in externall goods. Yea if he could, he would gladly be deprived of that spirit and minde which God hath given him, that he might not retaine & keepe any gravity or severity becomming his nature, but plunge and give over himselfe with full saile to follow all kinde of pleasure, voluptuousnesse and delight. For his nature is become so nice and tender, that he can away with nothing that would molest him: so that every little burthen waileth very heavy vpon him. Againe, it is already so pressed with the fardell of corruption, that of it selfe it draweth downward continually, and needeth not bee driven that way by any other meanes. Therefore a great many, that of themselves would not seeme to stoop so low, fearing to lose any part of their reputation, if they should not keepe that gravitie that becommeth their person, finde meanes to do that by others which they durst not do of themselves. Hereof it commeth, that they delight in Murriners, fooles, tumblers and other of like trades, which are not onely vnprofitable for the life of man, but very hurtfull also, by reason of the corruptions which they bring with them. In all which things we may see the vanity of our corrupt nature, and of those pleasures it taketh delight in. But there are other notable reasons, whereby wee know what difference there is betweene the pleasures of the minde and spirit, and those of the corporall senses. For the spirit needeth no

How we descend from
true pleasures
to false delights.

Of pleasures
which men
seeke crosse-
waies.

478 VVherein the pleasures of the spirit

Of the vse of
the delights
of the spirit.

How the spi-
rit is hindred
in his actions.

How the spi-
rit must be
occupied.

How corpo-
rall and spiri-
tual pleasures
chafe each o-
ther.

Natural plea-
sures are more
pure then ar-
tificiall.

Degrees to as-
cend vp to
found & per-
fect delight.

space of time wherein to intermit his pleasures, and then to take them in hand againe, but only changeth them from one to another, namely from the greater to the lesse, or from the lesse to the greater. In the meane time I say, there is no intermission, but it is continually busied: onely it changeth from one delight to another. For seeing our spirit is in continuall motion, it can in no wise cease from doing, vnlesse the power from whence the motion ther of proceedeth, be stayed by some impediment of the instruments which it vseth. As indeede it falleth out in a drunken man, whose spirit and minde is as it were buried by those vapors that trouble it, of which the braine is full. The like is in an *Apoplexie* or falling sicknesse. For these are violent things and such as resist the nature of the spirit. But presently after the violence ceaseth which hindreth his power, he falleth to his accustomed action againe, for the doing whereof he needeth no externall ayde, but onely that all lettes and impediments should be remooued and taken out of the way. Which beeing remooued the spirit & mind cannot be idle, but necessarily thinketh of somewhat continually, about which it is occupied. Therefore whosoever laboureth to stay it altogether from thinking, so that it should not be busied about something, it is all one as if he went about to change the nature of the fire, and to keepe it from burning, after it hath found conuenient matter and is already kind led. For either it will be vtterly extinguished, if the impediment it hath bee stronger then it, or else beeing of greater force it will make way for it selfe. Therefore wee had need to be well aduised alwayes what matter wee minister to our spirit, and looke that it bee agreeable to the nature thereof, and be seeming the same, least it should be distracted and wander after those things that might hurt it. And when we would recreate the minde, seeing it is in continuall action, we must so change the matters about which it is to be employed, that they be good and honest, howsoever they be diuers and sundry. But it is not so with the corporall senses.

For they must necessarily haue some space of time to rest in euen from their pleasures, & to cease for a while from vsing them: because they are more fresh and pleasant after they haue abstained for a time. But the spirit cannot rest. In the meane time the pleasures of the body, and those of the soule and spirit haue one another in chafe. Therefore they that are addicted to corporall pleasures, haue lesse knowledge and feeling of those that are spiritual; and contrariwise they that delight in spirituall pleasures abstaine from those that are corporall. For these delights are in continuall combat one against another, so that they cannot be acquainted together, because they are contraries. This combat is such another as that which is betweene the flesh and the spirit.

Moreover, we see by experience, that those delights which we receiue of naturall things haue more force and are purer, and continue lower then artificiall pleasures. For let a man shew vs the goodliest workes that can be, either of gold or of siluer, or pictures, or garments, or houses as curiously wrought as can be deuised, either for beauty or cost, yet when we haue seene them foure or fve times, we begin to be full of it, and take not so great pleasure therein as we did. But who is euer weary of beholding, I will not say the heauens, the Sunne, the Moone, and the Stars, but the earth, the sea, riuers, mountaines, valleyes, gardens, trees, herbs and flowers? The cause hereof is the agreement of nature. For we being naturall, naturall things are more agreeable vnto vs then artificiall. And because wee were created and made, not by the hande of a Paynter and mortall man, but by the hande of the liuing GOD, who painteth liuing images and pictures, therefore wee take greater delight in his handie workes, then in the workes of any other, how excellent a woorkeman soeuer hee bee. And indeede they are of farre greater perfection then those that are made by the arte of man. Therefore Arte laboureth alwayes to follow nature, and to expresse her workes as neere as it can: insomuch that they are accounted the best worke men, and men delight most in their doings, that come neere vnto nature. How much more then ought wee to like the workes of nature, and consequently GOD himselfe, who is the Authour and Creatour of nature, and of all her workes? For the least worke of his in nature is more excellent in his kinde, then the perfectest worke that humane arte is able to shew. Nowe if wee come from his naturall workes, to those that are supernaturall and aboue the reach of nature, wee shall finde in them a great deale more matter of all kinde of delight. For if wee could consider aright of these things, wee would ascend vp from artificiall things, and from that delight which they affoord vs, euen vnto naturall things, and from these vnto the Author and Creator of them and of al nature, & there we would seek for our true delight and pleasure. Herein nature her selfe is our good Mistresse, as

thee that leadeth vs thereunto as it were by the hand. But our inconsideratenesse, or blockishnesse and ingratitude is the cause, why we cannot learne this lesson of her and why we haue not the maruellous and excellent works of God and nature in such due admiration as we ought to haue.

Whereupon it commeth to passe also, that we take not so great delight and pleasure in them, and that custome which ought to encrease this delight in vs, is a meane rather to diminish the same. And by this meanes also we are kept from that admiration which we ought to haue of God the Workemaster of them, and of that delight and pleasure, which we should finde in him, if we mounted vp so high and sought him there. But because we are alwaies musing about vile and abiect things, we haue no leisure to consider of, and to contemplate higher and more wonderfull things. Now to ende this daies speech, seeing wee are taught that God hath giuen vs the affections of ioy and of sorrow, to induce and mooue vs to seeke him, to the ende that by eschewing the euill that is contrarie vnto vs, wee might attaine to that soueraigne Good, which he hath prepared for vs, and to that true delight, pleasure and blisse, which wee may finde in him; let vs know, that wee haue good occasion to pray vnto him incessantly, that he would vouchsafe so to lighten our senses and minde, and to rule all our affections and willes in such sort, that wee may at the length attaine thereunto. For then we shall not onely be deliuered from all sorrow and griefe, but haue the full fruition of perfect ioy and perpetuall delight. And to the ende that we may goe forward to morrow with our matter of the affections of the heart and soule, thou shalt intreat *A S E R*, of the affections of Loue, which follow those of which we haue already spoken.

The ende of the sixt daies Worke.

The seuenth daies worke.

Of the affection of Loue, of the nature, kindes, and obiect of it : of the beginning of friendship : of the vertue and force of alluring that is in likenesse and in beantie : of the agreement that is betweene beauty and goodnesse. Chap. 49.



A S E R. If we know not throughly the affections of our soule, which by reason of the corruption of our nature, are so many diseases in vs, wee shall neuer know our selues well, nor the Image of God, which is imprinted in our soule, nor the affection of his goodnesse towards vs. Likewise wee can neuer learne what pure and sound parts of the nature of the affections remaine yet in man, and what is added thereunto by reason of sinne that is in vs, neither yet what vertue and vice are, except we truly know the nature of the affection.

Moreover, without this knowledge, we can neuer make choice of good from euill, or of truth from lying. For being, as we must needes be during this life, subiect vnto, and tossed on euery side with an infinite number of strange passions, if they be vnknown vnto vs, we cannot discerne amongst a multitude of contrarie opinions, which of them is soundest, euery one of them pretending some shew of good & of truth. Therefore as we saw yesterday the affections of ioy and of sorrow, of hope and of feare, and of delight and pleasure, which follow ioy, whereby we may conceiue the contrary vnto it, namely, griefe and torment which follow sorrow; so this day we are to proceede in learning what other affections there are of the heart and soule.

I will begin then with the affection of loue, which is a motion whereby the heart lusteth after that which is good indeed, or which seemeth vnto it to be so, desiring to drawe the good to it selfe, to the end it may enioy the same. This affection commeth neere to the nature of hope, but it is a great deale more hot. Therefore after the heart is once moued, it presently draweth vnto it that thing which is offred for good, labouring as it were to haue the fruition of some great Good. But let vs consider how this affection is bred in the heart.

The know- ledge of the affections requireth.

What loue is.

How loue is engendred.

After

After that Iudgement hath iudged a thing to be good, so soone as the same thing is presented to the Will, it doth by and by moue, allure and draw the same vnto it selfe by a certaine naturall agreement, even as the like is betweene the mind and the truth, and between the eye and beauty. This motion of the heart and will, hath even then ioyned with a certaine kinde of reioycing, as testifying thereby, that the thing pleaseth it, and is very good and agreeable vnto it. Now when this reioycing is confirmed, it is called loue, which is an inclination or a proceeding of the will towards that which is good. For it fareth with the Will, as if it went before to meete with the good that is comming, to receiue & embrace it. Whereupon ariseth a desire of coniunction to knit the same thing to it selfe, and this loue is called *Cupiditie, Lusting, or Coueting*. But because this affection is so out of square in this our corrupt nature, these names are commonly taken more in the euill then in the good part. Now this affection of desire or coueting, hath respect either to that good which we enioy already, or which we haue yet in hope onely and in expectation. If it be already present, this cupiditie breedeth a desire to retaine and keepe it still: if it be yet in expectation, it bringeth forth a desire & longing to enioy it. And in this sort we loue all those things which we esteem and take to be profitable for vs, either for the soule, or for the body, or for the external goods. For this cause many loue God, because they know that it is he who giueth good things vnto me. But this is not that true loue wherewith we must loue him. For although they are very wicked and too vnthankfull, which loue him not, at leastwise with such a loue and for that cause, yet if we goe no further, we loue our selues more then we doe him in this kind of loue, seeing the chiefe cause for which we loue him, is not in respect of himselfe, but of vs. For wee loue him by reason of that good, which we receiue from him. But true loue is that, which causeth vs to loue a thing, because it is good in it selfe, and not in respect of any profite that may come vnto vs therby. With this loue we ought to loue God, & our neighbors & friends: & of this loue we haue a very cleare & manifest image in the loue of fathers & mothers towards their childre. For they loue the, not because they haue respect to som good, which they may receiue of them, but because they are their children. For although they receive nothing but trouble by them from the time of their childehoode, and expences rather then profite, yet that letteth them not from louing them tenderly & with great affection. Now if by this loue grounded vpon such a cause, we iudge the like of the loue of God towards vs, seeing it is he that hath imprinted the same in the heartes of parents towards their children, as an image of his loue towards vs, we conclude well. For seeing he is the fountain of all true and perfect loue, al other loues are but as it wee little riuers, which flow from this lively spring. But there is none so expresse an image thereof in all the creatures, as the loue of fathers and mothers towards their children. For doth God loue vs in respect of any profit, which he looketh for at our hand? Hereof it is that he setteth forth himselfe vnto vs as a Father, to the end we may the better know, that he loueth vs with a right fatherly loue. Therefore also he wil haue vs to call him father, & so to account of him: yea he will not haue vs to take any other for our Father of whom we depend wholly, but him alone. And no doubt but we should receiue wonderfull ioy and consolation, if we could as well feele within vs that loue which this good Father beareth vs, as wee feele the loue which wee beare towards our children. Now when loue is reciprocall and mutuall, so that he which is loued doth also loue for his part the partie that loueth him, then is friendship bred of loue, wherein is mutual beneuolece and good will. Wherefore as God loueth vs, so must wee for our parts loue him, seeing this is the chiefe cause why he hath created man according to his image and similitude, and hath given him a soule that is immortall, and endued with vnderstanding and reason, to know him first and then to loue him. Therefore if we consider by what steps we ascend vp to God, we shall finde that as by the loue which he first bare vs, wee descended from the highest to the lowest, so likewise we mount vp againe from the lowest vnto the highest by that loue, which we beare him. For our soule descendeth from the highest, which is God, vnto the lowest which is the body, by the loue of the Creator towards her, who by means of this descending and coniunction communicateth his blessednesse both with the soule and with the body. And as she came downe from him, so by the knowledge which she hath of God, and loue which she beareth him, shee ascendeth vp againe and returneth to her first birth. Concerning those degrees by which we come thither, wee beginne first at materiall and corporall things, as the beginning of mans generation and birth teacheth vs: then we come to the senses of the body, by that vse which we haue of them. Afterward we vse imagination and fantasie, and from that we come to reason and iudgement, next to

Of the kindes
of desire.

Of the loue
of men to
wards God:

The loue of
parents to-
wards their
children.
The loue of
God towards
men.

The originall
of friendship.

In what sort
by loue we as-
cend vp to
God, and des-
cend againe.

contem-

contemplation, and last of all to loue. Hereby we may learne also to know the steppes of descending, seeing they are the same, but begun at the contrary end. Wherefore if iudgement be governed and overcome by the affections, and reason by fantasie, the estate of the soule is wholly ouerturned and peruered, as if the body beeing minded to walke, should set the head vpon the ground, and lift the heeles vppward. So likewise is it if in steade of mounting vp to God by loue, we descend in such sort to the creatures, that wee ascend vp no more to him, that we may be one with him. For loue maketh all things one. Therefore if we be vnited with God, there must needs be perfect friendship betweene him and vs. For as he loueth vs, so we loue him, & then our selues for loue of him. And from the loue of our selues springeth our loue towards our wiues and children, as though they were a part of vs, as also towards our like and towards our workes. For similitude and likenesse is a great cause of loue, seeing that when one resembleth vs, it is as if we our selues were another: because similitude maketh many things to be as one and the same thing. Wherefore seeing God hath created vs to his image and likenesse, it cannot bee but that he loueth his image and similitude in vs, and vs also in respect of that, as if it were himselfe. For this cause the more this image is reformed and renewed in vs, the more (no doubt) he loueth vs: and the like also may be saide of our loue towards him. In like manner beauty hath great vertue to procure loue, and that for many causes. For first, the beauty which appeareth without in any body, is as it were a witness and testimony of the beauty in the soule, according to that which wee haue already spoken of the agreement of the powers and affections thereof with the temperature of the bodie. For God hath created all things in such manner, that he hath commonly ioyned beauty and goodnes together. And as it is written in Genesis, *That he created nothing but that which was very good*, so there was nothing made, but it was very beautifull in his kinde. Therefore as there is agreement between the body and soule, so bodily beauty is as it were an image of the beauty of the soule, and promiseth after a sort some good thing of the inward beauty. For internall perfection breedeth the externall. Whereupon the internal is called goodnes, and the externall beauty, which is as it were a floure of goodnes, that is the seed. It is true that this which we say doth not alwaies fall out so, but that oftentimes a man may see the cleane contrary: whereupon we haue this common prouerbe, *Proper fel- lowes at the gallows; & faire women in the stews*. For ordinarily the goodliest men & such as are best furnished with the gifts of nature in the disposition of their body, are most wicked and vicious: and more beautifull women are strumpets, then foule women, at leastwise they are in greatest danger, & haue much more adoe to keep their chastity. For there is alwaies great strife between chastity & beauty, which is so much the more increased, as beauty is the greater, because it is so violent, that oftentimes many desire willingly to die for the beauty of others, and some are so tossed and tormented, that they become senseles and out of their wits being overtaken with looking vpo a beautiful face, which hath such pricks, that they pierce even to the liueliest part of their heart and soule.

Whereupon it commeth to passe, that the poore silly louers are so tormented and full of pactions, that they stand altogether amazed, and are like to them that are roasted by a soft fire: yea their soule is so subiected to their concupiscence & desire, that she must obey them, as if she were some poore chambermaide and drudge. Whereby we may know what good there is in such Beauty, and what good commeth with it, also what coniunction and agreement it may haue with goodnesse, and whether a man may not truly say according to our common prouerbe, *That Beauty without goodnes is worth nothing*. But we are to consider what is the cause hereof. For we speak not of that which is now done, but of that which should be done, if the nature of man had continued sound: and of that which yet would most commonly be put in vse, were it not that euil education, besides that naturall corruption which is already in euery one, did infect even that little good of naturall inclination which remaineth man. But howsoeuer it be, bodily beauty doth alwaies promise more good of the soule, then deformity doth. If it fall out otherwise, it is because God will shew, that all good things come from his onely grace, and not from nature: and therefore he doth not alwaies follow one course and one selfesame order without any change. Besides, hee commonly recompenceth in one thing that which is wanting in another, so that hee supplieth that in the spirit which is wanting in the body, or in the body which is wanting in the spirit. On the other side, because many abuse that beauty of the body which God hath bellowed vpon them, as they do al other his gifts, he letteth them fall oftentimes into great vices, whereby they shew the deformity of the soule, which bringeth also their bodily beauty into great obloquy.

Of the vnion
that is in loue

Similitude is
a cause of
loue.

Beauty draw-
eth loue.

Genes. 1.

Beauty a
flower of
goodnes.

A caneat for
faire women.

The force of
Beauty.

The causes of
the abuse of
Beautie.

A good vse
of Looking-
glasses.

obloquy and shame. For as beauty causeth vertue to appeare more faire, when it is ioyned therewith, so contrariwise it maketh vice more vgly and lothsome to looke vpon. Therefore *Socrates* had reason to say, that it was good for every one to beholde himselfe in a glasse, that they which saw themselves faire should be the more afraid to blot their beauty with vices, and that they which were foule should labour to beautifie themselves with vertues. Now seeing we are entred into the causes why beauty draweth Loue, following this matter, we would know of thee *AMANA*, what other things are to be considered herein, with the sundry degrees and kinds of Beauty, and what is the proper effect of Loue.

Of other causes why Beauty procureth Loue, and of diuers degrees and kinds of Beautie: how it is the nature of Loue alwaies to vnite, and what other effects it hath: how Loue descendeth and ascendeth not: what power it hath to allure and breed Loue.

Chap. 50.

Three kinds
of Loue.

A*MANA*. Many amongst the Philosophers haue made three kinds of good, or of good things: namely, that which is pleasant, profitable, and honest. Hereupon, forasmuch as Loue is a desire of good or goodly things, or at leastwise of things so accompted: they haue also made three kinds or sorts of Loue, of which the first is towards delightfull and pleasant things, and such are those things which tickle and delight our senses, being properly called the goods of the body. The second kind of Loue is towards profitable things, as honours, riches, greatnesse and such other like things, called externall goods or the goods of Fortune. The third kinde is towards honest things, as wisdom, prudence and other vertues, which are the goods of the soule. As for the two kinds of Loue, wee may well place them amongst the perturbations of the soule, because so many euill affections spring from them that all confusion proceedeth from them, yea euery mans life is thereby made miserable. But to loue and desire good and honest things, is that which truly maketh a man famous. For this loue maketh the chiefe part of his soule excellent, even that part whereby hee is man, and which is farthest remooued from bodily matter and from obscuritie, and nearest to diuine brightnesse, I meane the spirit and vnderstanding, which of all the other parts and powers of man, onely is voide of the blot of mortalitie. The consideration of the diuers degrees and sundry sorts of beauty doth prepare the way whereby we may come to this laudable and honest loue. For by them we may ascend vp from the lowest to the highest, and turne our corporall and earthly loues into spirituall and heavenly.

God created
the world by
loue.

They that are most ignorant know that loue is a desire of beauty, and that Beauty draweth Loue. Yea some of the learned Heathens haue taught, that it was Loue which moued God not onely to create the world, but also to create it beautifull, and of so goodly a forme in euery part of it. And the name whereby it is called, yeeldeth testimony of the beauty of it. For world signifieth as much as a *goodly and well decked ornament*. Therefore seeing God hath created and framed it by loue, no doubt but loue is dispersed and shed throughout the whole world, & is continually drawn & procured by beauty, to the end it might be conformable & like to the fountaine from whence it came. On the other side, all beauty is as it were a beame of that infinite and diuine beauty that is in God: and therefore as the diuine forme draweth vnto it true and perfect loues, so the image and similitude thereof draweth the images of loues. And that loue wherby Almighty God was moued to create all things, proceeded from his owne goodnesse. Now forasmuch as beauty is a beame of that goodnes which is shed ouer all, as the Sun spreadeth his light by his beames; the goodlier any thing is, so much the more amiable and louely it is. For the mother of Loue is goodnesse, and the mother also of Beauty is goodnesse: so that both of them are bred and borne as it were of one mother. And according to the diuersitie of natures created by God, so are there diuers kinds of beauty, which are all as it were beames, flames, and lights of that heavenly & infinite beauty, which is the fountaine of all the rest. The first, chiefe, and most excellent kinde of all, is that beame of heavenly beautie, whereby the spirit and mind is adorned and polished with vnderstanding and contemplation. The second is, in that illumination whereby the soule receiueth knowledge. Therefore the vnderstanding mounteth vp to those two first degrees of Loue, which is drawne by such beauties: and from thence proceedeth the loue of spirituall things. The third kind, which is as it were an other beame of diuine beauty appeareth

Diuers kinds
of Beauty
and Loue.

appeareth in the effects of lower degrees, which are in that fruitfulness which God hath giuen vnto the creatures, putting into them seeds to preserve and to increase their kinds. The last and lowest, yea, the most troublesome and earthly kinde, is in corporall matters, which are purtraied and painted with great variety of formes and shapes. And as the vnderstanding ascendeth vp to the two first degrees, of which I haue already spoken: so the imagination stayeth it selfe in the two last, and from thence proceedeth the loue of the body and of bodily things, and the affection to beget of that goodly thing, thereby to draw out a form like to that beauty towards the which a man is affectionated.

Now when wee shall consider aright of all these degrees and beames of beauty, it is certaine that we will strue to ascend vp from the lowest to the highest, whereas commonly we descend from the highest to the lowest, feeding out spirits with corporall and terrestrial loves, which differ from their nature, in steade of spirituall and celestially loves, which is their proper foode. But we must note further, that the greatest, last and chiefe force of loue, is of many and diuers things to make one and the same. Therefore he that loueth our friend, or doth him any good, seemeth to do that to vs which is done to him, and we esteeme of it, as if we receiued it our selues. For it is the nature of loue, which way soeuer it turne, alwaies to loyne and knit vnto it selfe: as on the contrary side, hatred is of this nature, that it will euermore disioyne and separate. For this cause Iesus Christ prayed so earnestly for his vnto his Father, to the end (saith he) that they all may bee one, as thou O Father art in mee, and I in thee, euen that they may bee also one in vs. And Saint Iohn saith likewise of him, that hee should gather together in one the children of God which were scattered. For seeing hee came to destroy the workes of the diuell, (as he sayeth elsewhere) and seeing it is the nature of this enemy of mankind to scatter, to disioyne and separate, by reason of the enuy and hatred which he beareth to God & men, it must needs be that Iesus Christ should gather together that which the diuell hath scattered, & vnite in one that which he hath separated: to the end that as man was one with God, before he was seuered by sin through the enuy and malice of Sathan, so hee might returne into vnity and vnion with his Creator by the abolishing of sinne, which is the cause of the separation, and by the likenes of vertue with God through the meanes of Iesus Christ. Therefore so great goodnes and beneficence of God towards vs, ought to enflame our loue towards him, and moreouer to encrease the same, when we daily feele new benefits powred vpon vs, which proceed & come from his burning loue and charity wherewith he loueth vs, although he receiue no benefite thereby. For we are to vnderstand, that although he which hath receiued a benefite from another, ought to carry greater loue towards him, then he that bestowed the benefite is bound towards the other to whom he hath done a good turne, yet the contrary oftentimes falleth out. The cause whereof is, because his loue that bestoweth a good turne proceedeth from his owne bounty and goodnes, whereas the loue of him that receiue a benefite, commeth of necessitie. So that the one hath a great deale better foundation then the other. For that loue which proceedeth of necessity respecteth our selues, because we loue for the good which wee haue receiued, and not in regard of the person from whom the good commeth. And this loue proceedeth from the loue we beare to our selues, so that it ought rather to be called Loue of concupiscence, then true Loue. For as wee loue the person that doth vs good, because of the good which we receiue, so we loue him & wish his good, not so much for it selfe as for our selues, and for that profite, which wee hope will come to vs thereby. But after we haue begunne with this kinde of Loue, it serueth vs oftentimes as a steppe for to passe by afterwards vnto true and perfect loue. For acquainting our selues to loue them that doe vs good, we learne afterward to loue them, not onely for loue of that good which they doe vnto vs, but also because of themselves: in so much that we will not cease to loue them although it fall out so that they can doe vs no more good, yea although they stand in neede of the like good at our hands againe. Now when wee are come to this degree, our loue is a great deale more pure, yea, then is it true loue which now loueth not the person beloued onely for loue of it selfe, but for loue of him, euen with the like loue wherewith it hath bene and yet is loved of him. And as he that loueth, is void of true loue if he loue onely in respect of the good he receiue, so he that doth good, loueth not with true loue, if he doe it to receiue some profite thereby, and with hope of recompence, & not merely for his loue, to whom he doth it. For such a man respecteth himselfe more then him whom he pretendeth to loue. Such is the loue of hypocrites towards God. Therefore they honour and serue him as hirelings doe, so long as he vseth them well, and they see reward, as Sathan accused and slandered Iob before God, as though he serued him for no o-

Loue tendeth
to vnity.

Iohn 17.21.
Iohn. 11.52.
1. Iohn 3.8.

Sin the cause
of our separa-
tion fro God

A double
grould of loue

Loue is free.

Iob 1.9.

Two sorts of
hired loue.

Act s. 30. 35.

Loue descen-
deth but doth
not ascend.

1. Ioh. 4. 8.

Loue free-
deth Loue.

The heart of
a louer com-
pared to a
looking glasse

Loue ought
to shew it self
by workes.

ther cause but for the benefits which he receiued of his goodnesse. Whereupon it pleased God to take trial of that loue which his seruant bare vnto him, to confound the slanderer, and to propound to euery one in the person of his seruant *Iob*, an example and patterne of true feare, of true loue, of true faith, & of true patience. We see then that there are two sortes of hired loue, because it may be such, not only in respect of him that receiue a benefit, but of him also that bestoweth it when he doth it for the causes aforesaid. But he that doth good only of charity and loue hath no such scope, but looketh only to the good, which he delighteth to communicate to others in respect of that goodnes which is in himselfe. Therefore he hath a more sure and excellent begining of his loue, namely, his owne goodnes & wil, then he hath that receiue the good, whose loue beginneth at neede and want. That loue also which is grounded vpon goodnesse goeth on more easily and with greater courage from good to better, then that which commeth from necessity proceedeth to good. For hee that doth good, imparteth the same frankly of his owne good will because he will do so: and therefore it redoundeth to his great honour. But he that receiue a good turne, taketh it because he hath need of it: and therefore he must acknowledge himselfe bound to his Benefactor. For this cause he is somewhat ashamed of his need & want. For as *S. Paul* witnesseth according to the saying of Iesus Christ, *It is a blessed thing to give rather then to receive*. Therefore that may well be said in this respect, which is commonly spoken, namely, that although Loue be of the nature of fire, which alwaies mounteth vpward, yet doth it descend but neuer ascend. For Fathers and Mothers alwayes loue their children, yea their childrens childre better then their children loue them. The like may be said of others that are in the place of parents. And by a greater reason this may be spokee of the loue of God our Father towards vs, as also of the loue of Christ Iesus. For he did not onely loue vs before we loued him, yea, euen then when we were yet his enemies, but now also we come farre short of louing him as he loueth vs. Therefore he is called by Saint *Iohn*, not onely louing and charitable, but euen Loue it selfe. For as he is the Creator of all things, so he loueth, perfecteth, and preserveth them all, and turneth them vnto himselfe. But among all other things which drawe Loue, nothing is of greater force then loue it selfe. For as one fire draweth another, so is it with loue: for one draweth and engendreth another. Therefore if we would be loued, wee our selues must loue. But when the contrary falleth out, namely, that we are hated of them towards whom we are well affected, it is because he that is loued doth not know nor feele the loue that is borne him. For likenes hath such force and vertue in loue, that it is as it were the mother therof. For seeing every one by nature loueth himselfe greatly, and similitude is as it were the same in many, it causeth him that resembleth vs, to bee as it were our selues, whereupon it followeth, that the same likenesse which causeth vs to loue one another, induceth him also to loue vs. And againe, loue causeth him that doth loue to engraue and imprint in his heart, that face and image which he loueth: so that the heart of him that loueth is made like to a looking glasse, in which the image of the party beloued shineth and is represented. Therefore when he that is loued, beholdeth and acknowledgeth himselfe in him that loueth him, he is moued and whetted on to loue him againe, as one within whom hee knoweth himselfe to be as it were Inhabitant, yea as a second selfe. Moreover, he that loueth doth as it were deprime himselfe of himselfe, and giue him selfe to whom he loueth. Therefore he that is beloued accompreth him deare, and is as carefull of him as of a thing of his own. So that if we loue God, we shall be in his heart, as if our image were engrauen there: and his image also shall be in ours, yea, hee will be carefull of vs, as of his owne children, as wee likewise will be very carefull of his honour and glory. And the more wee know his loue towards vs, the liker we shall be vnto him, and shall loue him the more: as hee in like manner will loue vs the more. Now because men can neither see nor know one anothers heart and will to iudge of their loue, we must declare the same by outward workes. For none but God knoweth the hearts and wills of men. Neuerthelesse hee will haue vs to manifest by workes our loue towards him and our neighbours, as he hath shewed vs his loue by giuing himselfe with all his benefits vnto vs. Therefore we must yeelde testimony of our loue, by obeying his word & keeping his holy commandments, the fulfilling of which consisteth in true and perfect charity. But forasmuch as the loue of men is so disordered now adays, we are to take good heede, and to looke diligently that we deceiue not our selues, by louing that which we ought not to loue, esteeming that to be a good thing which is wicked, and well done that which is ill done: to the end, that our loue, be not inordinate, and bestowed vpon false and euill things, and so prooue a vicious desire rather then true loue. Therefore it shall be good, if

following

following our matter, we consider what this affection of cupidity or desire is properly, and what are the kindes of it, and how wee may separate it from Loue. Let vs then hearken to *ARAM* discoursing of this matter.

Of Desire and Coueting, and of the kinds of ill: of the infinitnesse of mens desire, and what Good is able to satisfie and content it: of the difference betweene Desire and Loue, and of the vttermost limits and end of Loue. Chap. 51.

A*RAM.* As at the entry of a Forrest some one path may seeme to bee broad and beaten enough, yet afterward when a trauailer is well entred into it, he beginneth to loose it by little and little, and being amazed, the farther he walketh on, the more he wandereth out of his way: even so when as sensuality inuiteth vs to the fruition of some object, we thinke it an easie matter to attaine therunto, and hope to get some great good thereby: but the further we enter into and follow that path, which our concupiscence doth shew vnto vs, the worse we finde the way to bee and can see nothing before vs but a large fielde full of thornes and thistles, which notwithstanding seeme for a time vnto fore eyes to bee faire flowers of very goodly fruit. But the tastling of them alwaies bringeth with it a long and late repentance in the end. Now as the body of the Sun when he first riseth may be easily looked vpon, but after being mounted vp certaine degrees in the Zodiacke, dazeleth the eyes of them that behold it: so we may in some sort know our euill when it beginneth first, but when it hath gathered full force it wholly dimmeth our reason, and yeeldeth to no counsaile. Therefore before any passion grow to be strong, we must labour, that whatsoeuer shall be rashly desired, may be suppressed by a prudent and an aduised discourse.

We haue heard by our former speech, that Desire and Coueting is an appetite or longing to obtaine some *Good* which we iudge is profitable vnto vs, or to preferue it if wee haue it already. For this cause we must alwaies consider aduisedly what *Goods* wee want, whether they be necessary for vs or no, whether we seeke after them, either because we neede them, or for profit sake, or else only to satisfie the vanitie of our minde, and our foolish and carnal affections. For there are some *Goods* so necessarij for vs, that without them we can neither liue, nor preferue our life. The necessitie and want of these is ficly called naturall, and ought rather in deed to be termed *appetites* then *desires*. In the number of these *Goods* are meates, drinks, clothing, dwelling places, Phisicke, fire, water, and such like things which mans life cannot be without. Therefore our appetite to these things is wakened as it were by a certaine naturall instigation, which pricketh and prouoketh the soule to make it desire and seek them, so that they stay not vntill iudgement haue giuen sentence, but proceed on forward as we may see, by experience in hunger and thirst. It is not therefore without cause said, that the belly hath no eares. But there are other goods not altogether so necessary for mans life, which yet we cannot be without when neede requireth, and they serue to this vse, that men might liue more commodiously and better at ease: as wine, exquisitnesse in dressing and preparing of meates, spices, and many such like things. For it is certaine, that although there were no wine nor any artificiall drinke, yet nature would be content and could well away with water: and although meate be not so delicate, nor so well and finely dressed as it might bee, yet will it nourish well enough, so it be naturall. The same may be said of the rest, of which there is great vse in the life of man, and of those pleasures and delights which we take by all the corporall senses. The desires of these things are not to be condemned, seeing they are naturall also, provided alwaies that moderation bee kept in them. For God hath not created any creature, which he will not haue man to vse, so that he abuse it not, but being contented with those pleasures which he permitteth vnto him, keep himselfe within the limits thereof & fall into no excesse, neither lath out beyond all reason and measure.

There is yet an other sort of goods wherof we haue spokē before, which is more in fancie and in opinion then in any other thing, namely, the getting & possessing of silver, of riches, of power, of honor, and of glory. These goods fil men ful of innumerable desires, which haue neither measure, terme, nor end, insomuch that amongst all creatures liuing none is so burdened with them as man: who notwithstanding might well satisfie himselfe with a few, if he could be content with that which will suffice nature, and follow her. And therefore of all

Euils must be resisted in the beginning.

What desire is

Diversity of Goods.

Goods belonging to this life.

Goods of fancy & in opinion only.

these sorts of desires mentioned by vs, we may well say, that those which concerne naturall things haue some limitation, but such as concerne things found and inuented by men, haue no bound nor measure at all in them. For what end is there in the coueting of riches, honours, glory and such like things? True it is, that of their own nature, and as being the creatures and gifts of God, they are not ill: but they become such through the fault of men, I mean through their insatiable coueting & abusing of them, and through that false opinion, which commonly we haue of them. For we propound these things to our selues, that we may liue with greater ease, pleasure and rest: but it falleth out cleane contrary. For beeing such goods as reach not vnto the spirit, they cannot profit the same: or if they doe reach vnto it, yet the profit that cometh by them is very light and vaine. For they are not able to found the bottome thereof, it is so profound & capable, much lesse are wee to thinke that they can make vs happy. Nay, they are so far from performing this, that it is impossible to beleue how troublesome it is to the spirit to search and find them out, and to obtaine & keep them.

The effects of
ambition &
couetousnes.

For after that ambition and couetousnes be once moued & pricked forward through false opinions and vaine iudgements, they grow and waxe disordered out of measure. For the spirit thinketh in it selfe, that if once it could get either those honors & glory, or that mony & riches which it wisheth for, it should be very happy, and liue at great ease and rest. But when it hath obtained that, it is not only in the same estate wherein it was before, but oftentimes far worse, and lesse contented. The reason is, because the spirit considereth not, that those things which it laboureth to get, are vnable of their owne nature to afford that which it requireth of them. Whereupon, not knowing his own vice and foolish imagination, it is perswaded that this falleth out so in respect of the greatnes & excellency of that thing wherunto it aspireth, and therefore not hauing gotten so much as is requisite fully to satisfie the desire it hath, it setteth it selfe to get more. And when it hath proceeded in this sort, yet it is alwayes new to begin, being as far from contentation, yea a great deale further then it was before. So that we may conclude, that desire or coueting is bottomlesse, and voide of al stay. Therefore we must know, that the meere wants of this life, doe neither breed nor encrease these desires in vs, but they proceede from a false opinion and perswasion, which we haue of them. For it is certaine, that the opinion wee conceiue of those wants, which wee imagine wee haue, breedeth such a feare in vs, as ingendreth & encreaseth these desires. And the carking care to preserue those things that are without vs, namely, externall goods, proceedeth from the same fountaine. For our foresight stretcheth it self not only to vrgent necessities, or to such as we verily thinke are to come to passe, but even to all those that may any way happen: so that we propound to our selues all the wants in the world, as if heauen and earth should faile vs. Besides, many doe not onely looke to those necessities which they may feare, but also to those pleasures, which they would haue. For they suppose that by meanes of power, riches, authority, and dignities, they may attaine to the fruition of all the pleasures & delights which they wish for. And when a man hath tasted of pleasure, this taste doth breede another desire to continue therein, and to preserue those means wherby they may alwaies enioy such pleasure. Wherby we may iudge how the desire & coueting that is in man, wandreth & goeth astray, when as notwithstanding it is given him of God, to the end he might wish for that which he iudgeth to be good for him, and that he might follow after it, and hauing obtained the same might hold and keepe it fast.

The right vse
of coueting.

Now forasmuch as God is the true, stedfast, and firme good of man, hee doth naturally wish and desire him: and because this good is infinit, it falleth out thereupon that the largenesse, length, and depth of our coueting is infinite, and can be filled with no other thing but with God, Wherefore when it is comethither, there it staeth and resteth it selfe. But whilest it wandreth hither and thither, there will be no end, but one desire begetteth another: insomuch that there are infinite kindes of them, which take their particular names of those things which they couet. For the vnmeasurable coueting of honours is called ambition: of gold and silver, couetousnesse: of meates and drinckes, gluttony and drunkennes: the vnlawful and immoderate desire and coniunction between man & woman, is called Whoredome: which also hath diuers kindes vnder it, according to the desire of their filthinesse and enormities in whom it aboundeth. The vertues opposite and contrary to these vicious desires, are iustice, liberality, continency, chastity, and temperance: of which vertues & vices, and of others proceeding of them, we haue discoursed at large in our first morall institution.

Two sorts of
Loue.

Therefore to conclude that which hath beene hitherto spoken of Loue and of Desire, I thinke we ought to make two sorts of Loue, the one in vertue, the other in vice. For that

Loue

Loue proceeding of Desire and Coueting, such as we see commonly in men, is false and faigned. And because it counterfaiteth often the actions of true loue, therefore we ought to be very wary, that it beguile vs not, and that wee take not the one for the other. Concerning the first, we must remember, that all loue is begotten of *Good*, that it bendeth and draweth towards *Good*, as we haue already learned. Now *Good* is of that nature, that it breedeth in vs a desire to be ioyned vnto it, in regard of that agreement which it hath with vs: of which agreement and coniunction commeth delight, and then blessednesse and felicitie. So that the vtmost bounds and limits of Loue is to be knit together in vniety as much as may bee. And the straighter and closer the bond of loue is tyed and conioyned in one and the same essence, so much the more truly and perfectly is loue come vnto his end, & consisteth in the perfection of his nature. Therefore desire of coniunction which is in Loue is giuen to man, to the ende he should wish and couet to be vnited with God his true Good, that being made as it were a little God like vnto him, he might be partaker of his eternall blessednesse. This is the true, firme, and fruitfull coniunction of Loue, and the great and excellent reward thereof. For all the rest are nothing in comparison of this, but onely vaine and fruitlesse. Now the loue of the body desireth the coniunction of the body, and the loue of soules desireth to be ioyned with soules, that there may be as it were one soule in many bodies. And this coniunction is the greatest, truest, and of longest continuance, which caueth but one heart and one will among friends, as if they were one onely body, and one onely soule, and as if he that loueth were the same party that is beloved. Therefore it is written of the first Christians that were in the Church of Ierusalem, that the multitude of them that beleued were of one heart and one soule; neither any of them said, that any thing of that which hee possessed, was his own, but they had all things common. Neither is it said without reason in common prouerbe, *That all things are common among friends*: which is the cause that a friend calleth and accompteth as his owne, whatsoever belongeth to his friend, whether it be in prosperitie or in aduersitie. Therefore also it is commonly saide, that a stedfast friend is tryed in doubtful matters. Whereupon it commeth to passe in true loue, that friends lift vp into great dignity, are more careful of those whom they loue (how base soeuer they be) and of their affaires, then of themselves and of their particular estate. Moreouer we are to knowe, that as it is the nature of Loue to ioine together, so doth it also bring equality with it, so far forth as the nature of those things that are conioyned, wil beare in so much that the highest steepe down to the lowest, to lift them vp vnto themselves, and they that are equall associate themselves together. Therefore as we haue often said, that the fountaine and paterne of all true loue is in God, so in this point it doth chiefly shew it selfe vnto vs. For hee abaseth himselfe to our smalnesse, as though he would reach vs his hand from heauen, or draw and lift vs vp vnto himselfe by the meane of Iesus Christ, in whom and by whom wee are truly vnited vnto him. But here wee are to know that the desire, lust, or coueting which is bred of Loue groweth to be vicious through the corruption of our nature which otherwise being directed by good meanes and by reason according to the will of God, and aiming at the right *Good* which is God, would cause vs to loue God first for his owne sake, and then his creatures in him, and for the loue of him. Neither should wee euer couet worldly goods with an vnbridled desire, but would rather accompt all mortal things vnworthy to be cared for by our immortall soules. Whereunto we shall be the rather perswaded, if following that which we haue begun to speake of true and false loue, and of the difference between them, we consider what good things are to be found in the one about the other, what sundry rewards men propound vnto themselves in loue, what knowledge is required therein, and how the one is increased by the other. This then shalbe thy matter subiect, *A CHITO B*, which thou shalt take to make an ende of our discoursing of the nature of Loue.

The last ende
of Loue.

Act. 4. 32.

Communitie
among friends

Loue bring-
eth equality.

Loue must
first begin at
God.

Of the good things that are in true loue: of the diuers valuation of Loue, and of the benefits which it procureth: what knowledge is requisite to allure Loue, and how one Loue groweth by another: of the friendship that may be both betweene the good and the bad. Chap. 52.

ACHITO B. Good is loued so much as it is knowne, and as wee are able to vnderstand what it is. For things are first known, to the end they may be loued. Now there are three

Three means
to knowledge

meanes of knowledge in our soule, namely, by sense, by reason, and by the minde. From the sense springeth appetite: which is common to vs with beasts: from reason groweth election, which is proper to man: and from the mind and spirit, in which the image of the diuine essence is engrauen, proceedeth the will. As then sense knoweth none but sensible & corporal things, so the appetite desireth onely the same things: and as the mind of it owne nature inclineth to the contemplation of spirituall and intelligible things, so the will feedeth and contenteth it selfe onely with internall & heavenly goods. Now man, that is to say the soule, by nature reasonable, being placed as it were in the midst of these two extreames, and sustaining wonderfull assaults and combates through the impression of these two contraries, taketh part one while with the desires of this side, an other while of that, according as he inclineth by his election either to this part or to that, by stooping down to the sense, or by lifting vp himselfe to the mind. But because of the darknes of error, which shadoweth his reason, it is very necessary that the spirit of GOD work mightily therein, to this end that by the power and vertue thereof, the naturall affection of earthly things, which offer violence to all the powers of the soule, might bee transported and lift vp to the desire of celestiall and eternall things.

The benefits
that come of
true loue
whose scope
is God.

The first be-
nefit of true
loue.

Diuers esti-
mations of
Loue.

The cause of
mens error
from the true
Good.

Truely forasmuch as *Good* is the object of Loue, good reason it is that we should lift it vpward, and separate it from the earth as much as wee may. For as so many rash affections, which are the spring of all vices, haue their beginning from earthly loue: so contrariwise celestiall and heavenly loue adorneth the soule with two excellent ornaments, namely, wisdom and vertue, the ground of all true Beauty, in which all good, all contentation and felicitie consisteth. And this loue which hath GOD for his ende and scope, hath three great benefits among many others, which are not to bee found in any other loue, especially in that of concupiscence. For first, there is no good so excellent in the enioying of earthly things, but it is mingled with some thing that may displease vs, or some way harme vs. Whereupon taking it to bee a lesse benefite, and not altogether so good for vs, wee are of this iudgement, that it is the lesse to bee wished for of vs. But there is no such thing in God. Therefore if the soule of man did beholde him by contemplation, not such a one as he is (for that is impossible) but as shee might contemplate him notwithstanding she is enclosed in this body, shee would bee rauished in her loue with greater vehemency, then shee is stirred vp to embrace that, which of all mortall and transitorie thinges shee iudgeth best and certaine. For shee should know, that God is a *Good*, wherein there is nothing mingled, that may breede yrkesomnesse, or be hurtfull, but is altogether profitable and full of pleasure. Although it cannot bee gaine sayde, but that the contrary seemeth to come to passe oftentimes, when we see that they which loue God as they ought, and which by meanes of this loue are driven forward & induced to procure his honor and glorie with all their might, are commonly most visited with griefes, losses, and sorrowes. Whereof it commeth to passe, that many are alienated from this loue, because they greatly dislike that troublesome estate. But we must know that this humane and friuolous consideration proceedeth onely of this, that the price of loue is diuersly valued. For there is one kinde of loue that is perpetuall and firme, and another which is temporary, according as the present motion of the heart pricketh one forward to follow any thing, because at that instant it seemeth vnto him to be good, or in regard of the profit, which he seeth therein, or of appearance of good, which he imagineth is in it. As for example, we know wel, that health is a greater good, then is the swallowing down of dainty morsels, the pleasure whereof passeth away very quickly.

And yet it commeth often to passe, that our appetite stirreth vs forward with such vehemency, that meere lickerishness causeth vs to eate such meates as we know are contrary to our health. The reason hereof is, because we compare not the good that is in taste, and in dainty fare, which so dainly passeth away, with that which is in health, which is of a longer continuance: or else because we thinke there will not come so great hurt thereof as there may come, or else we hope easily to remedy the same. And thus is it with them that consider not what great good there is in God, but forget him, or els suppose that they can easily recover that which they shall lose, by following after a terrestrial and transitorie *Good*, which causeth them to turne aside from God. For if they thought well vpon it, & knew what losse they receiued, they would neuer suffer themselves to be governed by their appetits & worldly desires. But the bare imagination & consideration of honours and of earthly goods doth so daze the eyes of their minde, that they cannot know the greatness & excellency of celestiall

all goods, which they forsake for those other, whereas contrariwise, if they were not altogether blinde, they should perceiue, that this light affliction of good men, which passeth away in a moment, bringeth forth in them an eternall waight of most excellent glory, and maketh the partakers of God, who is the perpetual & stedfast reward of their true & holy loue. Now touching the second benefit, which being in his loue, is not to be found in the loue of creatures, we are to know, that this latter is alwaies in feare & care for that thing which it loueth, least some euil should befall it. So that notwithstanding any security that may be had, yet there is alwaies some vexation in all loue towards men & towards mortall things. But in that loue which is towards God there is nothing but delight without care, griefe, or disquietnes. For we are very certaine, that all things are most safe there, full of ioy & lasting happiness. And for the third, we see that in the loue of concupiscence, there is commonly enuy & euill ielousie (which is one kinde of it) because many couet that which one alone would wholly possesse. But it is cleane contrary in the true loue of the soule, wherein is vprightnes and fellowship. For he that loueth vertue and a vertuous man, is so farre from being ielous, that he would not only haue many companions, but wisheth that all men in the world were like affected with him. The same may be said of him that loueth God. For he would haue all men his companions in that amity, & iudgeth all those to be miserable & wretched, which are estranged from it. As for that friend, who would alone loue his friend, hee loueth not perfectly, but rather loueth some thing in him that is profitable to himselfe, as namely, to enioy alone whatsoeuer good hee iudgeth to be in his friend: which is the nature of the loue of concupiscence that looketh inwardly to it selfe. But true friendship looketh outwardly vpon him whome it loueth, insomuch that hee which loueth, liueth in him. Wherefore Saint Paul not onely knowing the nature of true loue, but also hauing felt by experience the vehemencie thereof, saith, *I liue, yet not I now, but Christ liueth in mee.* For hee that truly loueth, careth no more for himselfe, but for that thing which he loueth. This degree of loue may be rightly called *Rauihing*, in which the louer is so rapt out of himselfe, that he forgetteth himselfe altogether, being wholly in him whom hee loueth, & he whom he loueth being in him. But as we said in the beginning of our speach, Good is far loued so forth as it is knowne, & as we can vnderstand what it is, therefore it is necessary that the knowledge of it shold be so great, that it be sufficient to draw loue, which encreaseth by thinking offe of that thing which is beloued. For therby it is planted & rooted more deeply in the heart. Wherefore there is nothing more contrary to loue then forgetfulness, the mother of ingratitude, especially in our loue towards God. For the more we thinke of him, the more doe wee call to minde his goodnesse towards vs: wherupon also our loue doth increase, and is inflamed in vs towards him. And the greater and more burning our loue is, the neerer are we vnited and linked vnto him. Therefore we may well conclude, that wee loue God according to that measure of knowledge which wee haue of him and of his benefits, and according as wee consider and remember them: and if wee want these things, we loue him not as wee ought. Now when wee are ioyned vnto the thing that is deare vnto vs, according to the end of loue, we know it a great deale better, because we behold it neerer: and then are we said to enioy it.

Hereupon we may note two kindes of knowledge in loue: the one first, the other last. By the first, we beleue that thing to be good, which we doe know: and by the last we haue experience of it, which is of great force in all loue: because the fruit thereof is the fruition of the thing beloued. This enioying is the action of delight & of pleasure, which is not only of the will, but also of the vnderstanding, as it is in God. And if we take it so. Loue shall be as the meane betweene the first knowledge which is onely begun, and the last, which is full and perfect: which consisteth in the vnion of him that loueth with him that is beloued, and wherein the desire that is in Loue, and which afflicteth & tormenteth the party louing, is alwaies abolished, not the loue it selfe: but being vnited, the greater number and the more excellent it findeth the goods in regard of those which the first knowledge afforded, the more is it encreased and inflamed. Hereof it is that we put a difference betweene Loue and the Desire that is in Loue, because when we loue a thing, we desire therewithall the fruition and possession thereof. And if there be delay made, so that we cannot enioy the thing so soone as we would, this delay tormenteth vs by reason of the desire, which presseth and pricketh vs forward to get the possession of it. But this torment commeth not of Loue, then which there is nothing more sweete and pleasant, but of that desire which endeth in the vnion and fruition of the thing beloued: In the meane time as long as this desire

The second benefit that is in true Loue.

The third benefit.

Galat. 2. 20.

The highest degree of Loue.

Knowledge requisite in Loue.

Two sorts of knowledge in Loue.

The difference betweene Loue and Desire.

lasteth, the loue from whence it proceedeth, causeth the torment to be abated, yea it is not without some pleasure, especially when there is some hope that at length it may be obtained & brought about. And the more confident this hope is, the greater solace, yea the greater delight and pleasure it bringeth withall. For as loue hath great delight in vnion and fruition, so is it not small in hope, because it propoundeth vnto vs the enioying of the thing as being present, euen as if our imagination had already led vs vnto it. Therefore forasmuch as the hope of Gods children is certaine, they are now being in this world as it were blessed in heauen, although the desire which they haue of greater goods hoped for yet, and to bee enioyed in that full vnion & coniunction which they shal haue with God in the life everlasting, causeth them to groane & to sigh continually with all the creatures, waiting for their full and perfect deliuerance from all corruption and from this miserable life. So that we can not doubt but that our loue towards GOD will be far greater and much more vehement, when as we shall haue this full fruition of God our soueraigne Good, and when wee shall be perfectly vnited vnto him by true Loue, not seeing him obscurely in a glasse only, or knowing him in part, as we doe now, but beholding him face to face, & knowing him as we haue bin knowne of him. For the knowledge which we haue now of him is yet but begunne, in respect of that which we shal haue fully and wholly in that glorious and immortall life. And then also we shall be wholly swallowed vp with loue. By the same reason wee may well beleeue, that the loue and charity which the godly beare one towards another in this mortall life & pilgrimage, shall be a great deale more enflamed in the other life, then euer it was in the holiest and most perfect that euer was amongst them in this world. For the better mens friends are, the more stedfast & firme is their friendship, which among good men is alwaies of long continuance: but contrariwise with the wicked. And to speake properly there is no friendship betwixt them, but onely some familiarity and fellowship, or to speake better, a conspiracy against right, and common peace. Howsoeuer it bee, whether familiarity or fellowship, it is very short and weake, because it hath no good foundation. Wherefore they can not long continue vnited and knit together. We haue daily testimony hereof in worldly & carnall men, who hauing made for a time profession of very great friendship, vpon a Yea or a Nay, assault one an other euen vnto death. But we are not greatly to maruaile at it. For seeing their amitie and vnion is ill grounded, as it cannot be of long continuance, so they can receiue no great ioy or delight. But it is contrary in the friendship of men, as that which hath a farre better foundation, namely, God and his word. Wherefore if the better men, that friends be, the greater their friendship is and more firme euen in this world, no doubt but it will be greater, more burning and constant in that blessed and eternal life which we expect, where we shall bee much better men and more perfect then we are heere, better linked one with an other, as also we shall bee altogether a great deale more conioyned with and in God. For this cause Saint Paul had good reason to say, that *Loue doeth neuer fall away, though prophecies bee abolished, or tongues cease, or knowledge vanish away.* Wherefore in this respect he concludeth, that Loue is the greatest of these three, *Faith, Hope, and Loue.* But wee haue spoken enough of the nature of Loue for the subiect of our discourse of the naturall history of man. Now I thinke it will not be vnprofitable, if wee say somewhat of other affections that are neere neighbours vnto Loue and ioyned with it, as of fauour, reuerence, honour & piety, which haue such good or ill qualities in man, as the nature of that loue hath which bringeth them forth, as *ASER* will giue vs to vnderstand.

Off friendship
betweene
wicked men.

What founda-
tion the
friendship of
good men
hath.

1. Corin. 13. 8

Of fauour, reuerence, and of honour: of their nature and effects: of those outward signes whereby they shew themselves: of pietie and compassion, and how agreeable it is to the nature of man. Chap. 53.

ASER. I cannot maruaile enough at the drowlines of many great spirits, who are so delighted with the vaine dreames of their owne fancies, that they employ all the gifts & graces of their minde, to lift vp euen vnto the heauens the pleasures that are received in the loue of humane and mortall things, especially in the fruits of concupiscence, & yet the least of them cannot be gotten without a thousand troublesome discommodities, besides that they leaue alwaies in man an insatiable desire of them. I would aske of them gladly, whē the most voluptuous man of the al, hath not, euen in the midst of his pleasures, sighed & bin subiect to passions, desiring some other thing besides: or whē there was euer found between twaine

twaine that loued each other vncorruptly, that conformity of wils, that communication of thoughts, those continuall agreements, and that concord of life, which is necessary in all true loue: especially seeing it is a hard matter, yea impossible to see a wicked man; that is not daily at variance with himselfe, insomuch that if hee could leaue himselfe, as two men forsake each other, there are many, who vpon euery occasion would leaue themselves to take another body, or another soule. And as when one being very desirous to eate, and therupon falling asleepe, dreameth that he is feeding & yet is not satisfied, because it is not a dreame of meate that wil content the sence & appetite, which seeketh to be appeased, but substantial meate it selfe: euen so it falleth out when men dreaming in spirit, which is as pernicious a thing as the sleepe of death, giue themselves by a certaine inclination which they haue to the loue of *Good*, to seeke for the beauty, contentation & delight therof vpon earth, when they are not to be found in the whole world. As for their shadowes, which in some sort appeare in corporall & earthly things, and in those delights which proceede of them, they doe not feede their minds with sound & good things, but rather abuse & deceiue the. Therefore we ought to take great heed, that we set not our heart and affection rather vpon those miserable, corruptible & deceivable pleasures, wherein worldlings & carnall men doe glory, then vpon that great and infinite brightnesse, of which the Sunne is but a very small beame, and vpon those singular, blessed, and heavenly truthe, which the word of life doth teach vs, & which are the onely true & solide meates that can content & satisfie our spirits eternally.

A similitude
shewing the
vanity of the
loue of world
ly delights.

It is certaine that nature moueth vs to set our affection chiefly vpon some onething rather then vpon another: forasmuch as loue is a gift bestowed by the Creatour vpon all natures at the time of their birth. Now vnto Loue many other affections are ioyned, among which *Fauour* commonly hath the first place. This affection is a kinde of good will and liking, which springeth from a iudgement conceived of some *Good*, so that wee may call it a Loue begunne. For in this iudgement of *Good*, we esteeme well of him, towards whom our fauour is extended, and iudge him worthy of some good thing, and by this meanes wee beginne to loue him. Wherefore although fauour may be without true loue, yet loue can not bee without fauour. Notwithstanding, when wee fauour one before wee loue him, euen then already wee enter presently into the way that leadeth to loue him. And for the least shadow of loue in our heart towards another, wee fauour him: as wee see it in those that are linked vnto vs by some degree either of consanguinitie, or of affinity, or by meanes of some acquaintance & knowledge. Now forasmuch as GOD loveth vs, he beareth vs fauour also, although not in the regard or for the iudgement of any good, which he seeth in vs or in our corrupted nature: but because of the loue he beareth vs in Iesus Christ, his welbeloued, in whom by his grace he hath made vs acceptable to himselfe. Therefore this fauour bringeth with it the perfection of all *Good* vnto vs. For what can he want that is fauoured of God, who can doe all things? This fauour which God beareth vnto vs, is called grace and blessing in the holy Scriptures, which comprehendeth all those benefits which we receiue of his goodnesse. For they proceede all of this fauour, and this fauour of the loue he beareth vs in Iesus Christ. *Reuerence* also commonly accompanieth loue, whereby we vnderstand an affection proceeding from the iudgement of some great good, that hurteth vs not. For if we thought it would hurt vs, there would be feare ioyned with hatred, and not true reuerence. For although there is euermore in all reuerence, some feare mingled with shamesfastnesse, neuertheless this feare bringeth no hatred with it. This reuerence is bredde in vs by comparing the greatnesse of another with our smalnesse, as if we admired those excellent things that are in him. For as the heart doth enlarge it selfe through the consideration and opinion it hath of his owne greatnesse, so doth it restraine and close vp it selfe vpon the reputation and conceipt of another mans greatnesse, so it be good or at leastwise without hurt. Therefore if wee compare our greatnes with some other mans that is farre greater, we know our owne smalnesse thereby.

Why God fa-
uoureth vs.

Of reuerence

Whereupon it commeth to passe, that we doe not onely esteeme worse, but euen dislike and contemne our selues: by which meanes we become more humble, whereas before we were puffed vp with pride through the opinion of our greatnes, of which wee haue experience as often as wee compare our selues with God, and lift vp our spirit euen to the consideration of his diuine maiesty, comparing that with our basenesse. For then beeing rauished with admiration of his highnesse, wee honour and reuerence him by reason of his power, vnto which wee ioine also his wisdom and goodnesse. And according vnto that reuerence wee beare towards him, wee doe reuerence those also

The cause of
humility.

in whome we see the same gifts and graces shine. For power breedeth reuerence, and goodnesse loue. Wherefore if we iudge, that power and greatnesse are ioyned with goodnesse and tempered therewithall, we shall not onely be moued to reuerence, but this reuerence also will engender loue, as it is in the hearts of the faithfull towards God: because that as they consider him almighty and the greatest of all, so they behold him most wise and most good. But as I haue already touched, if wee thinke that this greatnesse or power either is or will bee hurtfull vnto vs, there is another kinde of reuerence, which onely hath feare that breedeth hatred, as it is in them that consider the power of God onely, and the rigor of his iudgement, not meditating of his clemency & benignity. Therefore as the great excellency which in all things appeareth in God, especially in power, wisdom and goodnes, induceth vs to reuerence him aright: so if we would haue men to honour & reuerence vs, there must be excellent vertues in vs, in which men may see the image of God to shine, that so he may be honoured and reuerenced in vs & we in him. For therein consisteth that true honour, & that true reuerence which we ought to seeke for & to desire. And although reuerence hath respect principally to the diuine maiesty (at the name of which euery knee ought to bow) & to those superiorities which are images thereof, vnto which they that are of lesse degree, estate & condition, ought to giue honor & service, neuertheless mutual reuerence is necessary in al true friendship, as wel in respect of the party beloued, as of him that loueth. And indeed we see how that true friends reuerence & honor one another, & al because of that good opinion which they haue conceiued each of others desert. Concerning this word *Honour*, it is properly a token, wherby we testifie that wee iudge him to bee endued with vertue whome wee honour. VVherefore as the consideration of vertue breedeth honour, so honour breedeth reuerence, and then honour and reuerence breede maiesty, which is the highest degree of honour, & encreaseth continually according as those vertues and good things excell, which induce vs to honour them. For if the vertues bee meane, wee honour them with a more simple honour, if greater, wee adde thereunto reuerence: and then maiesty is that honour which can bee giuen vnto the very greatest of all men. And as this affection of honour is in our heart, wee shew it forth by diuers outward signes, wherby we signifie and testifie, that we acknowledge their greatnesse and excellency whom wee honour, and that we submit our selues thereunto. Therefore the more humble and modest a man is, the readier he will bee to yeeld reuerence and honour to them vnto whom it is due. Contrariwise, the more drunken a man is with the loue of himselfe, the more he will presume of himselfe: and the greater this presumption is in him, the lesse will hee desire that another should be more excellent then himselfe, and wil be the hardlier perswaded to beleue it is so. Therefore he will hardly yeelde to giue him honour and reuerence. But Saint Paul admonisheth the children of God to goe before one another in giuing honour, and to be of like affection one towards another, not being high minded, neither wise in themselves, that is to say, arrogant and selfe-weening, presuming very much of themselves. So that as pride or humility aboundeth in vs, God, our superiours and friends shall be more or lesse honoured by vs. As for those signes, wherby we testifie this honour and reuerence, wee are to note that they are many, according to the diuersities of nations and countries, & of their manners. Most commonly we vse to bend the knee, in testimony that we abase and submit our selues to those vnto whom we doe this honour. Likewise we vncouer the head, which is a token of seruitude, according to the custome of the Grecians and of the Romanes. There are many other such like signes, as to rise vp, to giue place, to accompany, to salute, and infinite others, which would bee too long to rehearse, and without profite: all which we call bearing of honour and reuerence, or yeelding of reuerence. Wherefore although God looketh chiefly to that which is within, and not to that which is without, yet will hee haue vs by externall signes to declare that honour which wee owe and beare vnto him, and by them to yeeld him homage. Thus he requireth that we should testifie our faith and our loue towards him, by confession of mouth and by all good workes, that there may bee alwaies an agreement betweene the body and the soule, betweene the heart, mouth and hands, and betweene the workemaster that worketh, and his instruments and workes, to the end that the one may be known by the other. For if the outward signes agree not with the hart, we make them false witnesses, as the tong is when it lieth. For they beare witnes to that which is not: which is right hypocrisie, displeasing God and men. Therefore we must beware of this vice, and take heed that we make no other outward shew, then will stand with the affection of the heart.

Now hauing spoken of honour, reuerence and maiesty, by reason of that coniunction which they haue with loue, as also of fauour & grace, it remaineth now that we should speake some-

A good lesſe
for Princes.

Reuerence re-
quise in true
friendship.

Of honour &
of maiesty.

Rom. 12. 16.

Of the signes
of honour &
of reuerence.

Somewhat of *Mercie*, and compassion, seeing that also hath great agreement with loue. Of *Mercy* & *Mercy* then is a griefe conceived in our heart in respect of some euill, which (as we thinke) compassion. is befallen one that hath not deserued it: and this we call also pity and compassion. Now because this affection moueth vs to aide, succour, and to doe good to them that are afflicted, as also to pardon such as haue offended vs, therefore *Mercy* is often taken in the holy Scriptures for aide, succour, fauour, grace, beneficence, good will, benefiting, friendship, benig- nitie, as also for the affection and inclination of the heart to do good and to succour al them that haue neede of helpe, and this proceedeth of charity. Therefore S. Paul saith, *Hee that* Rom. 12. 8. 9. *showeth mercy, let him doe it with cheerefulness. Let loue be without dissimulation. Abhorre that which* 10. *is euill, and cleaue to that which is good. Be affectioned to loue one another with brotherly loue: not slothful to doe seruice: fervent in spirit, seruing the Lord, distributing to the necessity of the Saints: gi- uing your selues to hospitalitie. Whereby he admonisheth vs, that al the succours which we giue to others, ought to proceed from a sincere & cheereful affection of the heart, which should prouoke vs to performe the same: and this cannot be in vs without the affection of pitie, of mercy and of compassion. In regard wherof the name of almes is taken from a word which* ΕΛΕΟΣ *in Greeke signifieth Mercy: and therefore also almes signifieth asmuch as mercy, or that* Ελεημοσύνη. *succour that is done of mercy and compassion, wherewith we are affected in respect of the miserie of our like. Whereupon it followeth that as euery one is of a more tender heart, so he is more mercifull: as contrariwise hardnesse of heart extinguisheth mercy and compassion. As for this word* *Compassion*, it signifieth asmuch as a like compassion, that is, a like sense and feeling of euill and of griefe, as if we our selues suffered that which we see others endure, by reason of that coniunction which we ought to haue one with another, as members of one 1. Cor. 12. *and the same body, among which there is such agreement that if one suffer all feele it, and so all are carefull for it. Therefore it is written in the Epistle to the Hebrewes; that bro-* Heb. 13. 3. *therly loue continue. Be not (saith he) forgetfull to lodge strangers. Remember them that are in bonds, as though ye were bound with them: and them that are in afflictions, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.*

Wherefore we may well conclude, that this affection of mercie is very necessary for men yea as sweet, as milde, and profitable an affection as any can be amongst them, which they haue receiued of God for their mutuall succour and consolation, in the midsts of so many miseries as commonly happen in the life of man. And this hee commandeth vs expressely in infinite places of his word, that the image of his vspeakable mercy might shine in vs by our mercy towards others. Hitherto we haue spoken of man, as of man and of those affections that are most humane in him, now others remaine, which often make him more brutish then any sauage beast that is. For seeing they come of the opinion of euill, they prouoke & stirre him vp greatly, making him marueilous wilde & vntamed. To the end therefore that we may enter into the discourse of this matter, we will first see what *Offending* and *Offence* is in the heart and soule, and consider what degrees it hath, and what good or euill may be in this affection. This we shall learne of thee, *AMANA*.

Math 5. 7.
Luk 6. 36.
Prou. 2. 1. 2. 1.
Iam. 2. 13.

Of offence in the heart and soule: of the degrees of offence, and of the good and euill that may be in this affection: of contempt that is bred of it, and mockery, which followeth contempt. Chap. 54.

A*MANA*. The Philosophers haue set downe foure cause of al the troubles of the soule, from whence al the residue proceed, and into which they returne and haue their end: namely, immoderate desire, vnbrideled ioy, vnmeasurable griefe, and extreame feare.

Foure causes
of all the trou-
bles of the
soule.

These, as they say, proceede through imprudence or ignorance of the minde, & pusillani- mity of heart, from the opinion of good or euill things, present or to come, which wee ima- gine to be in the things of this world, being vnperfect and of small continuance. Now foras- much as these foure causes are the springs of all vices and sinnes, into which men plunge themselves in this life, they are called perturbations of the soule, which if they bee not mas- sited by reason, do so carie the soule hither and thither, that in the end they contraine the reasonable power thereof to giue over all authoritie and libertie, and to obey the lustes of the sensual & vnreasonable Wil. Now desire & ioy, teby comonly accompany the perishing goods of the body. For they are of that nature, that they inflame the soule with an insatiable lust, insomuch that the obtaining of one thing is the beginning of a new and vehement

desire

The nature
of corporall
goods.

desire of having another. And the enjoying of them besotteth the spirite with a sugred poison of fained delight and pleasure, vnder the yoke of which it easily suffereth it selfe to be overcome, to be bound and to be gouerned. As for griefe and feare, although they also bee not farre remooued from such false and vading goods of the body, yet for the most part they respect those aduersities and miseries, which in our opinion we iudge to be in the want and priuation of those goods. For they fill the soule with trouble and disquietnesse, as shee that thinketh her estate to be most miserable, if shee obtaine not the ende of her carnall and inordinate affections. So that if the body endure neuer so little, shee casteth foorth strange cryes and complaints. And although the body suffer nothing at al, yet is she alwaies in extreame feare, lest some euill should befall it.

How the passions may bee
good.

But these very passions may be diuided into good and badde. For honest desire, modest ioy, and moderate griefe and feare are naturally in vs, for the preservation of our being. Yea all these affections are endued with the qualities of commendable vertues, if they respect the soueraigne Good of man, as we may learne by our former speeches touching this matter, which were chiefly of good affections, and of such as are most naturall in man. Therefore following our matter subiect, we must from henceforth consider of a great number of other affections of the heart, which for the most part make men more beasllike then the verie beasts themselves, that are voide of all vnderstanding & reason, yea then the wildest beasts that are. All which affections take their beginning from the opinion of euill, as these that are good proceede from the opinion of Good. For the feare of euill doth wonderfully prouoke a man, and when he is touched therewith, he waxeth very sauage and wilde. Now the first sting and biting of euill is offence, by reason that the heart is offended, euen as when one rusheth against a thing and hurteth himselfe. Therefore by offence we vnderstand properly a certaine griefe of the soule and of the heart, which commeth through some touch of euill that agreeth not to our nature. This first sence of griefe is like to the first pricking of ones body: and is contrary to the first pleasure, which we receiue of some Good that is offered vnto vs, and is agreeable to our nature. So that as this pleasure, when it is confirmed, is turned into loue, so out of this first feeling of griefe, which I call offence, the other affections that are ioyned with griefe doe budde foorth afterwarde, namely, anger, hatred, enuy, indignation, reuenge, cruelty and such like. The euill that may offend vs, is whatsoeuer wee iudge to be contrary to vs and to our nature, as well in regard of the body as of the soule. For as

Of offence.

What euill
may offend vs

the body is offended by those euills which trouble the harmony and temperature thereof, and which bring griefe and hurt vnto it: so is it with the soule, and with all the powers, senses and affections thereof. For she may be offended in her imagination and fantasie, in her reason, in her will, and in her affections. Now because every one followeth his affections, or his naturall inclination, and not the right rule and iudgement of reason, it is an easie matter to offend and displease many, and that in many things, but not so easie to please them. For there is but one onely reason, or at leastwise it hath no great diuersity in it. But the naturall dispositions of men are infinite, and wonderfull diuers and disagreeing, yea cleane contrary one to another. And because there is nothing in all the life of man, in which both good and euill are not mingled together, or at leastwise some shew of of them, therefore also there is nothing that not may be taken two waies, either this or that way. Whereupon that which pleaseth some, displeaseth others: beside that the want of the true knowledge of things, and of examining thoroughly what good or euill is in every one of them, is the cause of this error that beguileth men so. But howsoeuer it be, we ought to be very wary that we offend no man by doing euill, and by turning aside from the duties of true charity. And that which offendeth, is so much the more grievous, as it pierceth more inward and deepe into the thing offended. For the chiefest part of any thing is that which is most inward. Wherefore that which entrencheth in so farre toucheth the quicke indeede, and so offendeth and hurteth. For this cause that offence and hurt is very grievous: but those offences that are in the will, are greatest of al. As for those that are in the reason, they are not so grievous: and those that are in the other senses, especially in the senses of the body, are lesse then they. Nay, we thinke not our selues offended at all, if our will be not offended. Therefore wee will suffer many things done by some, which we will not abide in others, according as wee esteeme them to be friends or enemies, and as wee are well or ill affectioned towards them. Likewise many thing please vs that are done or vttered by our selues, which would offend vs if they were spoken or done by others. And for asmuch as there is no offence but where there is sence and feeling, therefore they are soonest offended and most difficult to please that

Why men are
so easily offended.

What offences are most
griuous.

Of the nature
of mankind,
and how hardly
it is pleased

that are most tender and deliuate both of body and soule, whether they be so naturally, or through custome, or of weaknesse. And surely among all liuing creatures man is most testy and can suffer least. For he can beare with nothing, and himselfe is intolerable to all. Wherefore if all men generally be so hard to serue, no maruaile if there be nothing so well, so iustly and holily spoken that can please a whole people, or a great multitude. But some are so accustomed to contemne all things, that they are offended at every thing, & grieved without any iudgement or distinction. Yea, there are some to be found amongst them, that thinke it a point of great wisdom so to doe, and to like of nothing how well soeuer it be done. Now when men are led with such a froward & peeuisht affection, they are very carefull to enquire diligently into all things, but with an vnjust iudgement, to see if they can finde any thing to condemne: thinking thereby to shew their great wit, which notwithstanding none will commend but fooles and ignorant persons. For they must needs be so who admire such a kinde of people, whereas they ought thereby to be moued not onely to despise them, but also to hate and condemne them. For as we vse to speake in common prouerbe, *That it is an easier matter to reprehend then to imitate*, so it is easier for every one to condemne al, or to commend all indifferently, then to discern aright betweene the good and the euill, and to give a good iudgement therof: because there is none so ignorant, or blockish, or malicious, which cannot doe the first with ease, but the last is not so easily done but by men of good wits and vpright of heart. Now having saide, that of offence is the first sense and feeling of euill, let vs shew that it is not without certaine degrees, by which it ascendeth vp higher. The lowest degree then that is in it, is simply to turn aside from that which displeaseth it: and this degree may be called *Dislike* or *Trouble*. The next above that, is when offence waxeth hote in it selfe, and kindleth the heart in such sort, that all the body is moued therewith. And when offence is as it were shut vp, that it cannot range at will, then it turneth into rage, and offereth violence to it selfe, extending it selfe even vnto those that haue not offended it at al. For it is stirred vp, and waxeth sharpe in it selfe, and by this meane it increaseth more and more continually. So that in the end it is like to a mad dog which biteth as many as it meeteth withall. And although this affection doth then testifie sufficiently, that it fauoureth wholly of the corrupt nature of man, neuerthelesse if it wel ordered and did not exceede measure, it were commendable, so that we might iustly place it amongst the affections of nature being sounde, which ought to be the seeds of vertues in vs. For God hath given it vnto man, to the ende hee should presently withdrawe himselfe, as soone as hee perceiueth any euill, even at the first taste and touch of it, that so it may goe no farther, least through custome hee growe into a liking of euill, and afterward follow it with might and mayne. For if hee sodainely retire, as if he touched a serpent and feared to be bitten, hee will depart so farre from it that it cannot hurt him: but if hee stay in it and like it neuer so little, hee cannot withdraw himselfe in such due time, but that he shall feeble some hurt thereby. For euill is like to thornes, which a man cannot come neere vnto, or handle them, but hee shall be pricked: as likewise no man can touch pitch and not be defiled therewith. But the remedy to cure offence so farre forth as it is vicious, is the moderation of the heart, whereby it becommeth so deepe and so well tempered, that it is able with ease to swallow vp and to digest those troubles and offences, which others can in no wise beare or endure. But now that we know what this affection is, we may easily conceiue how it breedeth contempt. For contempt is an offence and displeasure conceived of some euill that cannot hurt, and thereupon is esteemed to be vile and abiect. So that it proceedeth of an euill whereof we are not afraid. For we vse not to despise them whom we feare, but them only of whom we make small account, because they haue not ability to hurt vs howsoeuer they want no good will. Therefore although we desire not to doe him good whom we despise, yet we will not hurt him, if there be in vs but onely a simple contempt of him. We thinke it enough for vs to mocke him, and to shew what small account we make of him, and what smal regard is to be had vnto him.

Hereof it is that proude persons are such great dispisers and mockers of others. For seeing they esteeme of none but of themselves, it cannot be but that they disdain others, & so consequently mocke them. For derision & mockerie follow contempt, and they are expressed by many outward signes, and by diuers kindes of behauiour, which oftentimes are hardlier borne withall and suffered, then greater euils and iniuries which men may receive: as indeed they are blowes and wounds, which pierce even vnto the heart and soule. Therefore contempt and mockerie engender commonly anger in them that cannot digest them

Of the nature of mankind, & how hardly it is pleased.

Of the degrees of offence.

How offence may be well vsed.

The remedy to cure offences.

What contempt is.

Of mockerie.

Esaie 53.7.

with modestie and patience: as the true seruants of God doe, & followers of Iesu: Christ, who sustained so patiently all the contempts and reproches that were offered vnto him, that no euill word or voice euer came out of his mouth, whereby he gaue any signification or signe of wrath, but was alwaies quiet and dumbe, as it were a sheepe before her shearer, according as *Esaies* had foretolde. Which ought to bee vnto vs an example of all modellie and patience, to the end we may know how to bridle our anger and wrath in time conceiued against all them that offend, contemne and mocke vs. But let vs now consider of other affections, which we said were ioyned with griefe, and followed offence. And first let vs learne what anger is, what are the nature and effects of it, and for what vse it may serue man: and this we shall vnderstand of thee, *ARAM*.

Of anger, and of the vehemencie and violence thereof: of the difference that is betweene anger and rancour: of the affection of reuenge that accompanieth them: of the motions of the heart in anger, with the effects thereof: wherefore this affection is giuen to man, and to what vse it may serue him, Chap. 55.

Diuers opinions of the Philosophers touching the affections.

A*RAM*. There hath ben alwaies great contentions and disputations amongst the best learned of all the Philosophers, to know whether the affections and passions of the heart and soule were necessary to pricke forward and to helpe men to the effects of vertues, or otherwise hurtfull and contrary vnto them. *Aristotle* and all the Peripatetians maintained, that all the affections of the soule were not onely naturall, but giuen also by nature to great purpose: as among the rest, anger and choler, which serueth for a pricke to prouoke and stirre vp fortitude and generositie. And because vertue was a habite of that which is good and comely, yea the mediocritie of the affections, therefore it ought not in any sort to be without these motions, neither yet to be too much subiect to passion. For the priuation and want of desire would haue made the soule vnmoueable and without cheerefulness, euen in honest things: as ouer vehement desires altogether trouble it, and set it as it were beside it selfe. The Academikes and Stoikes contended hard against this opinion, alledging many great arguments against it: as this among the rest: That all is eyther vertue or vice, and that there is no meane betweene them: that one of these cannot be the cause of the other, seeing they are directly and in all things contrary, having nothing common betweene them, and therefore that vertue neuer proceeded of vice. And concerning Fortitude and Generositie, which were bredde in the heart by mature consultation & election of reason, that these vertues could by no meanes bee holpen by anger or choler, but rather troubled and hindered in their actions, because such passions did neuer vse any consultation but performed all things inconsiderately and at aduenture. There are many yet to be found amongst vs, that would take part with eyther opinion of these Philosophers, but vnlesse they study thoroughly the booke of nature, and haue the spirit of God for their master and teacher, they shall neuer be able to yeeld causes and certaine reasons of their resolution, nor of the wonderfull effects wrought by the powers of the soule, as we may learne by the sequel of our speech.

What anger is

How it differeth from offence.

First then we must know, that *Anger* is a vehement motion of the heart, because it seeth those good things which it hath, to be contemned, wheras it iudgeth them not to be such as ought to be so lightiet by. And herein it thinks it selfe despised. For every one valueth himselfe according to the opiniõ of those good things which he iudgeth to be in himself: therefore there is no anger which cometh not of offence. But al offence is not anger. For offence is more general, & anger more special, albeit they are cõmonly confounded & takẽ one for another. But there are many things that dislike vs, with which notwithstanding we are not angry, because there is no contẽpt of vs ioyned with them. For oftentimes we are grieved by those things that haue neither sense nor vnderstanding, when some thing happeneth against our minde and offendeth vs: and it seemeth that we are prouoked to anger against them, but this is not anger properly, seeing there is nothing but simple offence without contempt of vs. Also it falleth out often, that our blood is heated, and our heart pricked forward and inflamed to doe some great worke, for the performance whereof it is requisite that it should be much moved, but this is onely a kindling of the heart without anger and offence, because it is not stirred vp thereunto by any euill. But when a man letteth loose the

bridle

bridle vnto this affection in such sort, that hee accustometh himselfe thereunto, this vse and custome turneth it into rancour, which is an inueterate anger that hath taken roote in the heart. Now the better that a man thinkes of himselfe, the sooner hee is offended at every thing, and the readier hee is to bee moued to anger, as taking himselfe to be despised. This is a very vehement and violent affection. For it ouerthroweth very often the whole minde and soule, so that it forgetteth all right, iustice and equitie, all good will and amitie, and pardoneth not, no not women or children, neither yet kinsfolkes or friends. Therefore *Salomon saith, That anger is cruell, and wrath is raging: but who can stand before enny? And Ecclesiasticus, Contend not with a cholerike man: for he esteemeth the shedding of blood, as a matter of nothing, and hee will fall vpon thee in place where there shall bee none to helpe thee.*

Of rancour.

The violence of anger.

Prou. 27. 4.

Eccles. 3.

To be short, after that anger hath once got the bridle at will, the whole mind and iudgement is so blinded & caried headlong, that an angry man thinkes of nothing but of reuenge. insomuch that he forgetteth himselfe, and careth not what he doth, or what harm will light vpon himselfe in so doing, so that he may be auenged. And many times he will murmur against heaven and earth, and against al the creatures, because they are not moued to reuenge his quarrell: yea, which is worse, he despiseth God himselfe and waxeth wroth against him, blaspheming him, because he taketh not pleasure in seruing his reuenging minde. Which is as much as if he should spee against heaven: and therefore it is very necessary, that this spetle, proceeding from such a stinking mouth, should returne and fall backe vpon his owne face. And when this passion of anger is very vehement, it leadeth a man euen to furie and rage, and procureth vnto him not only many diseases, but oftentimes death it selfe. Therefore although we knew not what hurt this affection doth to the soule, yet the euil which it bringeth to the body, ought to be of sufficient force to turne vs from it. For it is a vice that hath woonderfull effects in the body, and such as are very vnbeseeing a man. For first of all when the heart is offended, the blood boyleth round about it, and the heart is swollen and puffed vp: whereupon followeth a continuall panting and trembling of the heart and breast. And when these burning flames and kindled spirits are ascended vp from the heart vnto the braine, then is anger come to this perfection. From hence commeth change of countenance, shaking of the lippes and of the whole visage, stopping of speech and such other terrible lookes to beholde, more meete for a beast then for a man. For this cause the Philosopher that counselled an angry man to beholde his face in a glasse, had reason so to doe. For hee that beholdeth his owne face and countenance when hee is in choler, should finde matter enough to be appeased. Now because anger is a grieve proceeding of the contempt of those good things that are in a man, who thinkes that it ought not to be so, therefore he desireth to shew that they are not lightly to be esteemed of, which he supposeth may bee done this way, by making his power knowne, especially in hurting. Whereupon this appetite of reuenge is engendered, which is common to anger with offence, hatred and enuy: so that anger is alwaies mingled with sorrow and with desire of reuenge. And indeed reuenge is a motion of the heart, whereby it doth not onely turne aside and withdrawe it selfe from that which offendeth, but laboureth withall either to repell it, or to overcome and vanquish it, and to punish him that is the cause of it. Wherefore we may note herein two motions, as there are two respects, namely, the one to eschew the euil that offendeth, and the other to pursue with great violence him that is the author thereof. Hereof it is, that some when they are angry become pale, because the blood retireth vnto the heart: and these are most couragious, and most dangerous. Others wax red, because the blood ascendeth vp to the head: therefore these are not so full of stomacke, nor so much to be feared, in respect of those causes, which were shewed before when we spake of Feare. But howsoeuer the difference is, yet in anger the blood doth not wholly goe backe into the heart, as it doth in feare and sorrow, but disperleth it selfe outwardly. For the heart is as if he stroue to go out of his hoste or campe, not vnlike to a Prince or Captaine that is desirous to march forward in battell array: whereupon he sendeth forth the blood and the spirits, as his men of warre, to repell the enemy: which is not done without great mouing and tumult, and much stirring in the heart, which setteth on fire, and inflameth the blood and spirits.

The fruits of anger.

What effect it hath in the body.

The fountain of the appetite of reuenge.

The cause of looking pale and red.

How anger troubleth the braine.

Whereupon it followeth, that by reason of this motion of the blood, and of the confusion of the spirits which ensue thereof, the actions and motions of all the members of the body are troubled. But the brain is chiefly offended, because that also is heated by the inflamed blood, and by those burning spirits which mount vpthither, by whose motion it is stir-

red vp and disturbed, as also by the sinewes which come euen to the heart. For how hot soeuer the heart and breast are or may be, yet man abideth alwaies still and quiet if the heate pearce not vp to the braine. For it falleth out herein as it doth with a drunken body, who is not said to be drunke, because he hath taken in store of Wine, except it ascend vp into his head, and trouble his braine and senses. Hereof it is, that vehement anger is often accompanied with frensinesse, and with the falling sicknesse. And because the heart being inflamed, the blood and spirits also are set on fire, they cause the whole body to tremble, yea the very bones themselves. For the blood that boileth in the breast, puffeth vp and thrusteth forward the Midriffe, whereupon it followeth, that the motions of angry men are very troublesome, like vnto those of drunkards. Now because there are many meanes to stirre men vp to anger and wrath, and seeing it is so dangerous a passion, it is very needfull for vs to haue many good remedies against it, as indeed there are many to be found.

The best remedy against anger.

Although we should not stand in need of so many, if we would onely consider who we are, and compare our selues with God, and marke narrowly how many waies we offend him daily, what causes we giue him to be bitterly incited and kindled with wrath against vs, and how he beareth with vs, turning his anger into pitie and compassion towards vs. For if we enter into this consideration, first we shall be greatly ashamed that we are angrie; secondly our anger will be easily appeased. For who can despise vs as we deserue, and moue vs to anger, seeing we despise God vnto whom we owe all honour and reuerence, and whom we ought to set at so high a price aboue all other things, that wee should esteeme all the world as nothing in respect of his value? And yet wee shew plainly, how farre wee are off from this, seeing we stand in so little awe to offend him, yea, are more afraid to displease men then him. Beside, we commit no offence against him, in which there is not great contempt of his Maiestie. Whereas if wee feared, loued and honoured him as wee ought to doe, wee should rather feare to offend him then to die. But there is nothing which wee care for lesse.

Wherefore, questionlesse before him, who is a terrible auenger of his contempt, wee are all lost, if hee should pursue vs in his anger, as we deserue, and as wee pursue others, and not change his anger into mercie. If wee consider well of these things, wee shall know what occasion wee haue to swell with pride like Toades, and to thinke so well of our selues as we doe, or to bee so soone kindled with choler against them that haue offended vs: we shall know what excellency and dignitie can be in vs that are but dust and filth, whereby we should be so soone prouoked when wee see our selues despised and wronged of others.

Eccles. 28.

Moreover, when we know, that we are vtterly vndone, except God extend his grace and mercie towards vs, shall we not, in stead of anger and reuenge, bee ashamed to craue pardon of him, if we continue still to be angrie, and vse no pity and fauour towards them that haue offended vs, as we desire that God should shew fauour vnto vs? And indeede what cause haue we to hope for it vpon any other condition? for it is written, that the Lord will take vengeance of him that reuengeth himselfe and will obserue his offences narrowly. Forgiue thy neighbour his misdeed, and when thou praest, thy sins shalbe forgiven thee. Shall man keepe anger against man, & will he aske remission at the Lords hands? He wil take no pitie vpon his like, & shal he demand pardon for his sins? Seeing he that is but flesh keepeth his anger, & yet sueth vnto God for pardon, who will blot out his iniquities? But this ought not to be forgotten of vs, to cause vs to abstaine from all anger towards them that by offering vs iniurie prouoke vs therunto, namely, that we acknowledge them to be the scourges of God to chalice our faults, which are worthy of greater punishment.

Another remedy against anger.

Thus let vs alwaies looke to the first cause of our affliction, and to God who visiteth vs iustly (whatsoever the meanes are which he vseth) and not to second causes & to the next meanes, to the end that we doe not as dogs do, which runne after the stone throwne against them, that by biting it they may be reuenged of it, not looking vnto him that threw it. For if we consider that the blow giuen vnto vs commeth from God, we will let the stone goe, and not follow after it with anger and reuenge, but turne vnto God who threw it, not to stirre vp our selues to despise him, or to be auenged of him, but to craue for pardon & grace at his hands. And this is the right way which we are to take for the quenching of our choler, that so we may bridle our anger, and keepe our selues quiet.

Now for the ende of this matter, it remaineth that wee should know whether this affection

Of hatred and enuy, and of their effects. 499

affection be altogether vicious, and wholly proceeding from our corrupt nature, or whether it haue within it any seed of vertue, as well as the rest. It is certaine, that it is given of God to man, to stirre him vp to the desire of excellent things, to the ende that when he seeth himselfe despised and reiected for base actions and abiect things, and is grieved for the same, he should endeauour to leaue and forsake them, and to addict himselfe to better and more noble things, which cannot be contemned, nor he despised in regard of them. And this kinde of anger is very good. For being angry in this sort, our anger is turned vpon our selues onely, to blame and reprehend our selues for our sloth and loosenesse, and for our other vices and imperfections: and by this meanes our anger should not be sinne, but being acceptable vnto God, it would be vnto vs a Schoolemaster, and as a spur to sollicite and perswade vs vnto Vertue, and to such things as beleeue vs, and that estate whereunto we are called.

If then we would be angry according to the will of God, let vs first bee angrie against our selues for our faults and imperfections: and when we haue iust occasion to whet our selues against others, let our anger be turned against their vices, not against their persons. And such an anger will shew zeale for the honour of God and the saluation of our neighbours. Now the sequel of our speech requireth, that we should speake of hatred and of enuie, which for the most part follow offence and anger. Let vs then heare **ACHITO B** discourse of these things.

Of Aatred, and of the nature and effects thereof: of a good kinde of Hatred, and of the remedy to cure the euill Hatred: of Enuy, and of the kindes and effects thereof: of the difference betweene good and euill Enuy. Chap. 56.

ACHITO B. Forasmuch as nature, wisdom and goodnesse teach, that men ought to be knit together by loue, as we haue scene heretofore, and that we are by the selfe same nature framed and fashioned thereunto, as we may learne by that which wee haue heard of the forme & disposition of the hart, we must needs confesse, that the spirit of man can bring forth nothing more vnworthy it selfe, then to suffer it selfe to be overcome of hatred and Enuy, which are so contrary to loue, that they comprehend vnder them all general iniustice and wickednes of men. For from these wilde plants nothing can proceede (by reason of the corruption of mans nature) but effects that drawe vs cleane contrary from wishing well to our neighbour. So that if we plucke out of our heart the cause of this naturall obligation concerning the succour we owe one to another, namely, Loue, what can bee either found or placed there but hardnes, inhumanity, cruelty, and all kind of barbarousnes, which are to be accompred and taken for monsters in mans nature. For how strange and monstrous a thing were it, to vncloath a mans heart of Loue, and to put vpon it hatred, extreame backbiting, bitterness and crueltie, which proceed all from one fountaine? Neuertheles we see, that men are inclined rather to Hatred, then to Loue: but let vs search out the cause thereof.

There are many that take Hatred to be an inueterate anger, because it is a habite of anger wherby the heart escheweth something as euill, and desireth to repel & driue it away. Wherefore this affection is directly contrary to loue, and so likewise is anger. For it is an offence rooted in the heart, which causeth it to with greatly his hurt by whom it taketh it selfe to be offended. Now because contempt doth often accompany hatred, and enuy is neuer without it, besides that it breedeth strife, contentions, manslaughter and murders, therefore in the holy Scriptures hatred is often taken for all these things. As for the vehement causes of hatred, they are in every one according as a man esteemeth of the things he hateth. Therefore proud and enuious persons are alwaies inclined very much to hatred. Some men also are of such a hatefull nature, that they scarce wish well to any body: and surely these are very diuillish natures. Some likewise are giuen thereunto of custome, which they haue gotten by reioicing at other mens harms. But the cause why it is easier for vs to hate then to loue, and why Hatred taketh deeper roots in our heart then loue, is because hatred findeth a better soile there, and a more apt foundation to be laide vpon, then loue doth, and that chiefly for two reasons. The first is the corruption of mans nature, which being left vnto it selfe, fauoureth more of the nature of Satan, who is hatefull, alyar, and enuious from the beginning, then

Why the affection of anger is natural, and what good cometh by it.

long agoe
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of it to haue
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is a wolf
owne house
abused

What hatred is.

The causes of it.

Why it is an easier matter to hate then to loue.

then of the nature of God, who is loue, truth, and charity. Therefore Saint *Iohn* saith *That Caine hated his brother & slew him, because he was of the deuill, & Abel was of God.* This hatred will be alwaies in those that haue one and the same Father that *Caine* had, against all good men and children of God. The second is, because the infirmities of our nature will not permit vs to enioy any good things in this world, that are pure and of long continuance: and therefore they suffer vs to haue but a little sense and taste of them. But it is cleane contrarie in regard of euils. For they quickly finde whereupon to stay and to plant themselves within vs, and to spread their rootes so deepe and broad, that they cannot easily be plucked vp. Whereupon they are felt a great deale more, and continue longer in our heart and memorie. Not without cause then doe men say, that the pleasures, seruices, and good things done vnto vs are made of feathers, and therefore they are easily carried away by reason of their lightnesse: but offences, euils, and displeasures are made of lead, and therefore they abide in the bottome of the heart by reason of their weight. And forasmuch as loue proceedeth of that which is good, and hatred of euill, whether it be euill in truth, or in opinion onely, as euill is commonly greater and of longer continuance then Good, for the causes spoken of, so is it with Loue and Hatred, and with their rootes and long abode.

The fruits of Hatred.

Now of Hatred commeth backbiting and euill speaking, which being kindled, bringeth forth bitterness and cruelty: and as Loue whetteth a man on to doe well, so contrariwise Hatred turneth men aside from well doing, and prouoketh them to hurt. For this cause it soweth the seede of enmity, and laboureth craftily to cause the partie hated to fall into danger. For it desireth to hurt him, and to bring euill vpon him, either by it selfe or by another, secretly or openly. In a word, seeing it is wholly contrary to Loue, wee may without any long discourse know the nature thereof, by that which hath bene spoken of the nature of Loue, taking it cleane contrary thereunto. But let vs see whether the affection of hatred be altogether euill of it selfe, or whether a man may reape any profit thereby.

Of a good kind of Hatred.

Rom. 12.9.
Amos 5.15.

We may say of this as we did of anger, and of other affections already spoken of. For it is given to man to cause him to withdraw himselfe from all euill that may hurt him, to flee from it and to repell it as being contrarie vnto him. Therefore *S. Paul* saith, *Hate that which is euill, and cleane to that which is good.* For true and perfect hatred should hate nothing but that which is euill indeede, as true loue should loue that only which is good indeede. But contrariwise we commonly hate the Good and good men, and loue the Euill and the workers thereof. Besides, we are faulty in this, that instead of hating mens vices, we hate their persons. Wherefore it is needfull, that in this matter of Hatred, wee should put that in practise which we haue already said of Anger, namely, that we should aboue all things hate our owne vices, and that euill which is in vs and in ours. But we that practise the cleane contrarie, change Loue into Hatred, and hatred into loue. For when we support & beare with our owne vices, or with the vices of our friends and kinsmen, which are not to be suffered or borne withall, it seemeth that this tolleration proceedeth from the loue we beare either to our selues or to others: but it is farre otherwise. For if we loued our selues wel, and our neighbours as our selues, we would be carefull to remoue all hurtfull things farre from our soules and to furnish them with that which is conuenient and wholesome for them, & so likewise for our friends: whereas we procure vnto them that which turneth to their dishonour, hurt, & overthrow, by nourishing them in their vices through our dissembling and bearing with them. And thus much for that profit, which we may receiue by this affection of hatred, being well guided according vnto the will of God, and to a sound and reasonable nature.

How loue is turned into hatred.

Remedies against the euill kinde of hatred.

Now against the passion of euill Hatred, amongst a great number of remedies which may very well be applied thereunto, we haue two principall ones that are very good and profitable. The first remedy is, the example of the loue of God, and of *Iesus Christ* towards vs, of which we haue spoken already, with those holy Precepts which doe command Loue and forbid Hatred. The second remedy is, the contempt of all earthly things, and the regard that is to be had vnto the things that are Celestiall and Eternall. For if we shall set light by all mortall and corruptible things, and lift vp our hearts to higher things, we shall very easily breake off all hatred and enmity, neither will wee take any thing greatly to heart, but when wee see God offended.

Description of Enuy.

Diuers sorts of Enuy.

Now as concerning Enuy, that alwaies accompanieth hatred, it is an affection quite contrary to mercy, which is a sorrow conceived by reason of the miseries of another, whereas enuy is a griefe arising of others mens felicity. Therefore it doth naturally reioice at another mans harme, and is grieved at his good: so that according to the varietie of good things that

that may befall other men, so there are diuers kinds of Enuy. For first, some are enuious, where other mens profit is so great that it hindreth theirs. There is also a kinde of enuy at the welfare of another, which albeit it neither hurt nor hinder vs, yet wee are grieved because the like is not befallen to vs, or not rather to vs, or not as well to vs as to another to whom it is hapned. And this is a spice of couetousnes. There is yet a third kind of Enuy, which maketh vs vnwilling that others should obtaine that good which we haue, or which we desire, or haue wished for but could not get it. And where the question is of those good things, which it seemeth we should enioy but do not, or which we think belong to vs, but are bestowed vpon others, then is our enuy greater, and may also bee called ieaiousie. Moreouer, there is a fourth kinde that is worst of all, to which the name of Enuy agreeth more properly, as being often bredde of the former kindes, when a man giueth them the bridle, & suffereth the to reigne too much ouer him. This enuy is a griefe conceived at anothers good without any regard of it owne profit, but onely because it iudgeth it selfe hurt when others receiue good or do good. And this is the very enuy of the Diuell & of his children: which is an affection that is mingled of hatred & of loy. For it hateth vertue, and reioyceth at vice; and at the prosperitie of the wicked. Contrariwise, it is grieved at the felicity of good men, and glad of their miseries. But what kinde soeuer of enuy is in a man, there is in him grief, and as it were a biting that gnaweth him, by reason that the heart in this affection shrinketh in as it were, and closeth vp it selfe at the good and benefite of another. So that sorrow is alwaies ioyned therewith. The goods against which enuy rusheth most, are such as are in greatest reputation amongst men, as honour & glory, in so much that it is more moued at the good renowne & praise giuen to men, in respect of the good things that are in the, then at the good things themselves, in regard of which men are honored & esteemed. For the enuious man careth not for the vertues that bring renowne and glory, but onely for the honour & glory which follow them as the shadow doth the body. For as much then as a proud man desireth still to be preferred before all, therefore he is more greedy of these goods, of honor and glory, then of true goods of which the other are but shadowes. Hereof it is, that a proud man is naturally enuious, because enuy springeth from such a desire of preferment: yea, it is commonly bred of pride. Yea, the farther a man is off from that which he would bee thought to be, and the lesse endued with those good things for which he would be honoured, the more enuious he is. But among all the good things against which enuy striveth most, & for which it is most stirred vp, those of the soule are the chiefest, because they are more excellent then those of the body, and such as neuer haue end. Therefore also the reputation & honor which men obtaine by their meanes abide with them continually. But the contrary falleth out in corporall and externall goods, as they that haue more narrow bounds. Wherefore, as they cannot grow to that greatnesse vnto which the other do, so their vse also is nothing so great and consequently the price and reputation that proceedeth from them is not so great. Therefore if the question be of honour and glory, no man of any good iudgement but will more willingly giue ouer that which may be gotten by corporall and outward things, then that which followeth knowledge, wisdom, vertue, and the other goodes of the soule. So that enuy may stand vs in steade of a witnes to testifie and shew vnto vs, which are the greatest goods of all, seeing it is alwaies busied about the highest, noblest, and most excellent Good. Now as there is no wicked affection, which carrieth not about, it owne torment to take vengeance therof by the iust iudgement of God, so this of enuy passeth all the rest in this respect. Therefore it was wel said of them that taught, that enuy is most iust, because of it selfe it is the same punishment to the enuious man, which it deserueth. For first, it is vile and seruile, because an enuious man knoweth this in himselfe, that he iudgeth the good things in an other to be greater and more excellent then his owne, or at leastwise, he feareth lest it should so come to passe. Therefore there is no affection in a man, which he dare lesse disclose then this of enuy: so that he receiueh lesse comfort in this then in any other. For by opening our heart to another wee receiue solace and comfort: whereas the enuious person iudgeth his affection of enuy to be so vile, that he dare not discover it, but hideth and concealeth it as much as he can. If he be angry or hate any one, he will declare it a great deale sooner. And albeit feare be thought to be dishonourable, yet will a man rather disclose this affection, then he will enuy. The like may be said of sorrow and of loy. But the enuious body is constrained to bite on his bridle, to chew and to deuoure his enuy within himselfe, and to looke vp his own miserie in the bottome of his heart, to the end it breake not forth and shewe it selfe, whereby the body receiueh great detriment. For it becommeth pale, wann, swart,

Enuy is neuer without grief.

Against what good things Enuy is most bent.

How an enuious body is tormented.

The countenance of an enuious man.

and

The countenance of an enuious man.
Pro. 14. 30.
Ecclef. 30. 17.
24.

Of a good kinde of enuy

1. Cor. 12. 31.

2. Cor. 9. 2.

Rom. 13.
Gal. 5. 21.

and leane, the eies sinke into the head, the lookes are askew, and the whole countenance is disfigured. And within the heart the furies are enclosed, which giue him so small rest, that greater torment cannot be imagined. Therefore *Salomon* saith very well, *That a sound heart is the life of the body: but enuy is the rotting of the bones.* And *Ecclesiasticus* saith, *That death is better then a bitter life: that enuy and wrath shorten the life, and that carefulnesse bringeth age before the time.* To conclude, although all the euill affections trouble and corrupt the minde very much, yet none of them offendeth it so much as enuy doth. Which commeth not to passe so much because it selfe iudgeth or esteemeth good to bee euill, as because it desireth that others should so esteeme thereof. But howsoeuer this vice be very vile and infamous both to the body and soule, yet in this affection of enuy, we must put a difference betweene that part of it, which proceedeth from sound nature, as it was first giuen of God to man, and that which is in it through the corruption of nature. For there is a kinde of enuy which serueth vs instead of spurres to pricke vs forward, and to worke in vs a will and desire both to obtaine and to keepe great good things. And this enuy is very good, when we apply our selues to the true goods, and are not griued at the prosperity and vertues which we see in others, but are moued by their example to desire and to seeke after the selfe same goods, yea greater if the meanes be offered, provided that all bee referred to the glory of God, to our owne saluation, and to the profit of our neighbours. Vnto this kinde of Enuy Saint *Paul* exhorteth vs, when he writeth to the Corinthians, speaking of the diuersitie of gifts wrought by the spirit of God in his Church, *Be enuious of the best gifts* albeit in our vsuall translation it be Desire, yet the Greeke word signifieth *to enuie*: but the sense is in a manner all one. And the same Apostle speaking of the reliefe and collection made for the poore, saith, *Achaia hath prepared a yeare agoe, and your zeale hath prouoked many*: that is to say, the emulation and enuy, which they haue conceived by your example: and this was a good, holy, and Christian enuy. But if we seeke our owne glory, and in that respect are griued that others excell vs in vertues and in the gifts and graces of God, onely because we would haue that honour which they haue, and be equall with them, or aboue them, this is a peruerse and Satanicall affection, declaring euidently that we seeke our selues and our owne glory more then the glory of God. For if wee had respect to that which we ought, it would be all one to vs who were the instruments either our selues or others, so that God were glorified, and that were well done, which ought to be done. As for the euil sorts of enuy of which we haue spoken, they are placed by *S. Paul* amongst the worke of darkenesse and of the flesh, where he saith, that *They which are defiled with them shall not inherite the kingdome of God.* But forasmuch as in this discourse we placed Ielousie amongst the kindes of Enuy, and yet it is often taken in the good part, proceeding as it were of true loue, as Zeale also is bred thereof, it shall bee good for thee, *AS ER*, to beginne the daies Worke to morrow with a treatise of these two affections.

The end of the seuen daies Worke.

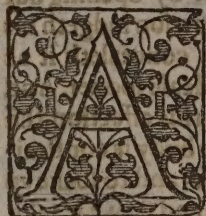
The eighth daies worke.

Of Ielousie, and of the kindes thereof: how it may bee either a vice or a vertue:

how true zeale, true ielousie, and indignation proceede of loue: of their natures, and why these affections are giuen to

man. Chap. 57.

Esay 3. 16.
and 48. 4.
Ezech. 3. 8. 9.



SER. The holy Scripture applying it self to the capacitie of mans vnderstanding, describeth mens affections oftentimes by those testimonies which their outward members affoord, conuincing them of vices rooted in their heart, by the carriage of their eies, of their eie-lids, of their forehead, and of their whole countenance. Which is to this ende chiefly, that when they know that men may reade one anothers face as it were in a Booke that which is covered and hidden in the heart, they should perswade themselves, that God soundeth and seeth more easily the most secret thoughts

of

of their hearts, and that they can hide nothing from him. Likewise the holy spirit to con-
 descend to our rudenesse, and to teach vs to know GOD by our selues, not onely by our
 soule which we see not, but also by our body which we see, speaketh often of his high, infi-
 nite, and incomprehensible maiesty, as it were of a man, attributing vnto him eies, eares, a
 nose, a mouth, armes, legges, feete, hands, a heart, and bowelles. Moreouer albeit this pure,
 simple, and eternall essence be in no wise passionated with affections, yet the same heauen-
 ly word doth not only attribute vnto him wrath, reuenge, anger, ielousie and other affecti-
 ons, but doth oftentimes propound him vnto vs as an yrefull man, hauing the face, behavi-
 our, & whole countenance of one greatly stirred vp to wrath & reuenge, yea, even to great
 fury. Which is done to this end, both, that by the knowledge which wee may haue of the
 nature of these affections whereunto we are enclined, and of the effects which they bring
 forth, and causes from whence they proceede, we should meditate the same things to bee
 in God when we offend him, and know what reward we are to looke for: and also to teach
 vs that right rule of all our affections which we haue in his diuine goodnesse.

Phal. 34. 15.
 1. Pet. 3. 22.
 Esay. 29. 27.
 Exod. 13. 14.
 Job 40. 4.

Exod. 15. 7. 8.
 Job 9. 17.

Now if we remember what hath beene declared vnto vs of the nature of Loue, we heard
 that true and pure loue was without ielousie, and that this affection sprang of the loue of
 concupiscence: and yet it was tolde vs yesterday, that ielousie was placed among the kinds
 of enuy. Let vs then see what this affection is properly, and whether all ielousie be vicious.
 I vnderstand by ielousie, a feare which a man hath, least an other whome hee would not,
 should enioy something. This commeth to passe two waies, namely, either because wee our
 selues would enioy it alone, or else because wee would haue some other, to whome wee
 with the same thing, to enioy it alone: the reason heereof is, because wee iudge it hurtfull
 either to our selues or to those whom wee loue, if others should enioy it. As if the question
 were of some honour, or of some other good, which wee would haue to our selues alone, or
 for some one whom we loue, and should be grieued that an other enioyeth it, and thereupon
 enuie him, either because we are afraide he shall enioy it, or because he enioyeth it already,
 heerein appeareth enuie and euill ielousie, which bringeth with it great mischiefes. For
 as Saint Iames saith, *From whence are warres and contentions among you? are they not
 hence, even of your lustes that fight in your members? yee lust, and haue not: yee enuy and are ielous,
 or haue indignation, and cannot obtaine: yee fight and warre, and gette nothing.* Wherefore to a-
 uoyde this enuy and euill ielousie, wee must consider of what nature that Good is, which
 stirreth vs vp to this affection. For according to the nature thereof, our ielousie may bee ei-
 ther a vice or a vertue. For if the question be of some good thing, which belongeth in such
 sort to mee alone, or to any other whom I loue, that none may enioy it except it be iniustly,
 and to the dishonor of God, it is no euill ielousie if I feare least any should abuse it, or bee
 grieued when it falleth out so. If it concerneth some body whom I loue, who is abused by a
 nother to the displeasure of God, and to the dishonor and hurt of the party beloued, I haue
 yet greater occasion to feare, to be grieued, and even to be ielous both ouer my own Good,
 and ouer the good of the party beloued. And as I haue iust cause of ielousie in this case
 in that thing which properly belongeth vnto mee, so also I haue like occasion when an o-
 ther iniustly enioyeth that Good which belongeth to him whom I loue, and of whome I
 ought to be carefull, and bee grieued when any reproach or wrong is offered vnto him.
 As for example: seeing the husband hath such an interest in his wife, & the wife in her hus-
 band, as no other either may or ought to haue the like, both of them haue iust cause to be
 ware that no other haue the fruition hereof but themselues, to take the matter heavily if
 it fall out otherwise, and to bee very much offended and full of indignation against him that
 should attempt any such thing. For that can not bee done, as not without the great disho-
 nour and dammage of the parties so knit together, so also not without the great disho-
 nour of GOD, whose lawe and covenant is thereby violated. On the other side, that mu-
 tuall loue which ought to be betwixt the husband and the wife, doth binde them to desire
 and to procure the honour and profit each of other, and to keepe backe all dishonour and
 hurt that may befall them. Wherefore both of them haue iust cause to be offended with those
 that seeke to procure any blemish in this respect. The like may be saide of fathers, mothers,
 and children, and of all that haue any charge ouer others, or that are linked together by
 friendship. But on the other side a man must beware, that he be not too suspicious, and that
 he carry not within himselfe matter of ielousie, and so torment himselfe and others with-
 out cause: as likewise he must bee very carefull, that he giue no occasion of ielousie to any
 other.

What Ielousie
 he is.

James 4. 1. 2.

A good kinde
 of ielousie.

What mutual
 loue ought to
 be betwixt
 man & wife.

Why Iealou-
sie is attribu-
ted to God.

What Indig-
nation is.
From whence
Zeale proce-
deth.

Ioel. 2. 18.
Maiah 9 7.

What zeale is

2. Cor. 11. 2.

A good lesſe
for Princes &
Pastours.

And thus you see how there may be a good ielousie, notwithstanding that in this case it be mingled with loue and anger. For Ielousie causeth the party that loueth, to be angry with him by whom that thing which he doth loue, receiveth any dishonour or detriment. Therefore this anger commeth of loue, which inciteth him to set himselfe against him that offendeth the thing beloued. So that these affections are alwaies commendable, arising of this cause, and being ruled according to that Zeale and Ielousie which the holy Scripture attributeth vnto GOD in regard of vs. For hee is called a ielous GOD not onely in regard of his honour and glory, which he will not haue giuen to any other besides himselfe, (and indeede all the creatures ioyned together are not able to diminish or to adde any thing therunto whatsoeuer they doe) but also because hee loueth vs, he is ielous of our saluation, and desireth to reserue vs wholly to himselfe, and to make vs partakers of his immortal blessednesse. Therefore he will not haue vs spoile him of his glory, and forsake his seruice, in regard of that hurt and dammage which should befall vs thereby. For he beareth that affection towards vs, which a good Father doth towards his children, who loueth them not for any profit comming to him thereby, but onely for their owne good, and because hee both will and ought to loue them. This loue then, which God beareth vnto vs, causeth him to be ielous ouer vs, when, through impiety and wickednesse of life, wee leaue him, and ioine our selues vnto his aduersarie the diuell. Whereupon hee doeth not onely become angry, but is full of indignation also, both against him and vs. For indignation is a griefe wrought in vs, when wee see some good thing befall to an vnworthy person, and him that is worthy, deprived thereof. This affection therefore proceedeth from the same roote from whence compassion springeth, namely, from the iudgement of that which is good, and from the loue thereof. But the diuersitie of both their obiects causeth them in some sort to be contrary affections: forasmuch as indignation is bred in regard of some good that hapeneth to one that is vnworthy of it, and compassion or pitie ariseth of some euill that befalleth or is procured to him that hath not deserued it. And of these contrary affections mingled together, a third affection is bred, which in holy Scripture is called Zeale and Ielousie, being taken in the good part.

Heereof it is, that the loue & compassion which God hath of his children, when he seeth them go about to bereaue themselves of that good which he wisheth them, and the indignation that he hath in regard of the good, which happeneth to the wicked in the accomplishment of their euill desires, (for to them euill is in steade of good) causeth him to be moued with ielousie and to be auenged thereof. For this cause the Prophet *Ioel* saith, *Then will the Lord bee ielous ouer his land, and spare his people.* And the prophet *Esay*, hauing declared to *Ezechias* the deliuerance of Ierusalem, and the succour which God wold send him against *Senacherib*, saith, *That the zeale of the Lord of Hosts wil performe this.* In like maner when the true children & seruants of God behold a confusion in stead of that order which the Lord wold haue obserued, & which he hath prescribed vnto his creatures, they are greatly moued in regard of that zeale, which they beare aswell towards God, as towards their neighbours. For zeale is nothing else but an indignation conceived in respect of those things, that are vnworthily done against him that is deare vnto vs, and whom wee loue. Therefore if we loue God and his Saints, if we loue the Common wealth, our Princes, our Parents, and all others whom we ought to loue, we will bee ielous for them, and cannot behold without indignation any thing done against them, that ought not to be. This Indignation and Ielousie will induce vs to set our selues earnestly against all iniustice, and to overthrow it with all our might. With this Ielousie Saint *Paul* was affected towards the Corinthians when he wrote thus vnto them, *I am Ielous ouer you with godly ielousie: for I haue prepared you for one husband, to present you as a pure virgine vnto Christ.*

This kind of Zeale is very requisite in all the true seruants of God, but chiefly in them that haue any publike charge, whether it be in the Church or in the Common wealth. For except they be endued with great zeale towards the glory of the Maiesty of God, towards iustice and all vertues, they will neuer haue that care which they ought either of the honour and seruice of God, or of publike benefite, or to reprove, correct and punish vices, or lastly to maintaine good discipline, vpright iustice, and good conuersation, in such sort as becommeth them. For this cause hath God giuen to the nature of man, this affection of Zeale and Indignation for the communion that ought to be in the societie of men, to the ende there should bee a right and indifferent distribution of all good things, so that none of them should light vpon the vnworthy that vse them ill, but to such as deserue

serue them and know how to vse them aright.

Now when these affections are thus ruled, they are very good and profitable : but commonly they are abused vnto vice. For Indignation is quickly bred of Enuy, which being vniust, is also of a corrupt and bad iudgement, so that an enuious body thinketh that whatsoeuer good thing an other hath befallen vnto him, he is vnworthy of it. And so in like manner the Zeale that is without true knowledge, bringeth forth most pernicious effects. For it proceedeth from a loue which iudgeth not aright of the thing that mooueth it, but esteemeth it to be euill and worthy of hatred, whereas it is good and worthy of loue. Of this Zeale Saint Paul speaketh when hee saith of the Iewes, *I beare them record, that they haue the zeale of God, but not according to knowledge.* For being deceiued in their iudgement, and calling themselues defenders and louers of the Lawe of G O D, they persecuted the Gospel, (which was the accomplishment of the Lawe) and also them that beleueed in Iesus Christ : insomuch that the very Zeale was through their ignorance turned into Cruelty and Tyranny, which is a very dangerous zeale, and ought most carefully to bee shunned of vs, as that whereinto the best minded men of all doe commonly fall, when they are blinded with ignorance : as the Apostle Saint Paul propoundeth himselfe in this case for an example before he was conuerted. For he freely confesseth, that he was a *blasphemer, a persecutor, and an oppressor, but he did it ignorantly, and through vn-beliefe.*

The abuse of
Indignation
and of zeale.

Rom. 10. 2.

1. Tim. 1. 13.
Act. 26. 10. 11.

There hath beene many such, not onely amongst the Iewes, but euen amongst the Heathen. For albeit their Religion was altogether superstitious and idolatrous, yet they alwaies maintained and defended it with very great zeale, persecuting such as professed Christianitie among them, and condemning them as the vilest and most detestable men vpon the earth. But if the Lord be greatly offended when as we beare hatred and enuy against any body, wee cannot doubt but that this doth likewise displease him, when wee commit these things, being blinded with ignorance : and that he is carried with greater indignation against vs, when we maliciously cloake these vices with a false title of zeale, of religion, and of his glory, thereby to reuenge our selues, and to exercise our cruelties much more easily. But let vs now proceed to consider of other affections of the heart, and first of Reuenge, Cruelty, and Rage. And because Reuenge is appointed to punish offences, and euery vice findeth a Iudge within it selfe, we wil speak also of the affection of Shame which commonly followeth euery vile act. It belongeth therefore to thee, *A M A N A*, to intreat of this matter.

Of Reuenge, Cruelty, and Rage. and what agreement there is among them : what Shame and Blushing is, and why God hath placed these affections in man : and of the good and euill that is in them. Chap. 58.

A *M A N A*. If euery one might be a Iudge in his own cause, & execute his own decrees, the malice of men doth declare sufficiently, that there would be no iustice obserued in the world, but robbery publicly put in practice, insomuch as the strongest would alwaies carry away the spoile. For that blind loue, which euery one beareth towards himselfe, causeth vs that we cannot see clearly either into our owne, or into other mens affaires, so that wee are alwaies more ready to doe wrong to others, then to depart from any thing of our owne. Euen so, if wee might be suffered to reuenge those iniuries, which oftentimes without cause we suppose we haue receiued, it is certaine we would obserue neither measure nor meane, but suffering our selues to be guided by the passion of anger & wrath, we would fall into more then brutish cruelty and rage. For as God hath reserued vengeance to himselfe, and promised to recompence it, so no man carrieth that minde to do it iustly that is in him, neither indeed can any : because it is the spirit of a man that offreth iniury to another, whereas the body is but the instrument of the mind, and as it were a sword vnto it, which the spirit manageth and causeth to cutte. Whereupon it followeth, that the party offended cannot reuenge himselfe of his chiefe and greatest enemy. For God onely is able to take vengeance of the soule, and to throw it together with the body into hell fire. Moreover when we think to hurt the body of our enemy, which is but the executioner of the euil disposition of his spirit, we hurt our owne soule, making it guiltie of the iudgement of God,

Heb. 10. 30.

Math. 10. 28.

who

Luke 21.19.
Prou. 20.22.

who forbideth all reuenge, and commandeth vs to possesse our soules in patience, and neuer to requite euill for euill, but to wait the Lords leisure, being assuredly perswaded that he will saue and deliuer vs.

What re-
uenge is,

Now look what the affection receiueeth and embraceth, the same doth it desire to returne and send backe againe where it did receiue it, whether it be good or euill. Therefore as a good affection both wisheth and doth well to him of whom it receiueeth good will and beneficence: so a naughty affection desireth to returne euill receiued, vnto him of whom e it hath receiued it. For this cause when the heart is wounded with griefe by any one, it desireth to returne the like to him that hath hurt it, and to rebite him of whom it is bitten. This affection is a desire of reuenge, which being put in execution, is reuenge accomplished: namely, when we cause him that hath offended vs to suffer that punishment, which in our iudgement he hath deserued. This punishment is to damne him either in soule or in body, or in his goods, yea, sometimes by all the meanes that may be. And when power to reuenge is wanting, there are some that fall into outrageous speeches, into horrible and execrable cursings, crying out for vengeance either at Gods hand, or of some other that can performe it. Every offence therefore that ingendreth hatred, anger, enuy or indignation, bringeth with it a desire of reuenge, which is to render euill for euill, and to requite griefe receiued with the like againe.

What rage is.

And when the offence is growne to that passe, that nothing can assuage the extremity thereof, nor stay it from breaking forth into reuenge and hurting by al meanes that may be, then is this Reuenge turned into Rage. For a man in such a case is not much vnlike to a mad dog. For because reuenge cannot take that effect which it would haue, it vexeth and closeth vp as it were the heart, bringing great griefe and great torment to the whole body, so that a man so affected is as if his heart and body were ready to burst asunder.

Of Cruelty.

Three sort of
Cruelty.

Now, when the heart is hardened with Reuenge, it is turned into Cruelty, which is a priuation of pitie & compassion. For when Offence and Anger are set on fire, they exclude al good thoughtes out of the minde, and perswade to all kinde of Cruelty, of which there are three degrees. For there are some that procure it, who neuerthelesse would not execute it themselves. There are others that execute it. Besides, there is a third kinde of Cruelty, when we faile in performing our duty towards them that are in necessitie, whom wee both ought and might helpe and succour, whether this come of euill will or through negligence. For thereby we shew that we are without pittie and compassion. Hereof followeth inhumanitie, which is as if we should lay aside all humane affection and be transformed into brute beasts. Therefore wee may well conclude, that all priuate Reuenge proceeding of enuy, or of hatred, or of anger, is vicious and forbidden by God, who commandeth vs to render good for euill, and not euill for euill. For hee hath ordained the meanes, whereby he will haue vengeance executed among men. Therefore hee hath appointed Magistrates to execute it according to his Law, and following his ordinance, not with any euill affection, but with iust indignation proceeding from loue, and from true zeale of iustice.

How Magistrates ought
to punish.

For to punish the wicked is a very acceptable sacrifice, so that there bee no intermingling of our own passions withall, and that wee exercise not our enuies, rancours, and reuenges vnder the name and title of Iustice and of the glory of God. For if wee doe so, wee cease to exercise the punishments and corrections of the Lord, and put our owne in practise. Wee must therefore follow his example. For hee suffereth not euill to goe unpunished, if men auoide not punishment by his grace and mercy, and by those meanes which he hath appointed for the obtaining thereof. Therefore it is often said of the wicked in the Scripture, that GOD will returne into their bosome the euill which they haue done: and his children and seruants desire him also to performe the same. But when he doth it, he is not mooued with any euill affection, but onely with the loue he beareth to iustice and vertue, & to his children, and with pittie and compassion towards them in regarde of the iniuries done vnto them. And as himselfe commeth in iudgement to take vengeance, so he would haue them that supply his place among men, vnto whom he hath committed the sword for the defence of the good and punishment of euill doers, to follow his example. But whether they doe so or no, there is no sinne that can auoide punishment, and that findeth not a Iudge euen in him that committed it, to take vengeance thereof, by meanes of the affections, which God hath placed in man to that end. Among which Shame occupieth a place, which we ought well to consider.

With what affection God
punisheth offenders.

Concerning this affection, there are some that are ashamed in regarde of some feare of

of dishonour, of which there followeth no damage: or in respect of some griefe or perturbation of the soule, arising of somethings that seeme to bring some dishonour with them. Forasmuch therefore as Shame is a feare of dishonour, it is of great force in them that loue honour. For the more they loue it, the more doe they feare dishonour, which is the contrary thereof, as a very great euill. And for this cause there is in Shame not onely a feare of villanie, but indignation also, after the committing of some fault. For hee that is faulty, chafeth, and is angrie with himselfe, because of the dishonour he receiueth through his offence. And this kinde of Shame is simplest and lightest, and may bee called Blushing, being very common especially in children and virgins. Now forasmuch as heerein the spirits withdraw themselves vnto the heart, as vnto a center, and presently as it were in the same instant returne backe againe, the face is painted with a vermillion colour, which is very pleasant and comely, namely, in that age and in those persons. Therefore is this colour rightly called the colour of vertue. For God hath placed this affection of shame in the nature of men, to the end it should bee vnto them as a bridle to stay them from committing vile thinges, and as a Iudge and Reuenger to punish them after they haue done such things. Therefore also there is yet another kinde of shame more vehement, which approacheth neere vnto the affection of anger, and is mingled with wrath and feare. For it is a motion of the heart, in which he that feeleth himselfe guilty of any dishonest crime or act, is angrie with himselfe for the same, and punisheth and reuengeth himselfe vpon himselfe: & with all feareth the iudgements of others, & the rebuke and dishonour that may come vnto him for it. For as we haue heard already, God hath placed in the nature of man sundry affectiōs, of which some are sweet & pleasant, to the end they should be vnto vs as it were spurs vnto vertue: others are bitter & vnpleasaunt, that they might be vnto vs in stead of punishments, and that the griefe which they bring might teach vs to know more cleerely what diuersitie there is betweene vertue and vice, and what difference we ought to put between good and euill deeds. Therefore there is not a worse thing in man, nor any disease more dangerous to the soule then impudency, which is wholly contrary to Shame and blushing. For whosoever is once past all shame, he hath no care at all of his honour, much lesse of the honour of GOD. Hereof it is that the holy Ghost by the Prophets doth greatly accuse the impudency of the wicked, saying vnto them by way of reproach, that they had whoores foreheads, and would not be ashamed: that they were impudent children and stiffe hearted, and that they did glory in their wickednesse after they had done euill, in steade of being ashamed and amending their faults. Now whereas we said, that Shame painteth the face with a vermillion colour, we are to know, that the passions & affectiōs of the soule breed great change in our bodies, as they that moue the spirits and the naturall heat, by opening and shutting vp of the heart: whereby the spirits are either enlarged or restrained from it.

Thus it cometh to passe, that the colour of the face is changed, it being a property of the heart to set in it certaine marks and signes of the affectiōs that are in it, as we haue already heard. Therefore doth shame paint the cheekes with rednesse, because the danger that springeth of feare is of that nature, that the heart standeth in need of help to repel & driue it away, namely, of that heat that retireth backe vnto it. Now forasmuch as there is perturbation in Shame, by reason of the opinion and feare of dishonour and blame, heat is drawne vp to the head, & so from thence it is dispersed ouer the face. And although Shame doth not trouble the heart and mind so much as feare doth, yet doth it confound the head, and causeth it oftentimes to forget what it thought & was purposed to haue done. As we see it sometimes in very wise and skilfull men, when they are to speake or to do something before personages or companies whom they reuerence. And this is incident for the most part to such as are most modest, and to them that presume least of themselves, who indeed cannot heare their owne praises without shame and blushing, such is their nature & modesty: or else it is because their hearts are very little, which maketh them also fearefull.

Now although too much shamefastnesse, when it is causelesse, is worthy of blame, because it often keepeth them that are overtaken therewith from doing many good things, and from imploying the gifts which they haue receiued of God as it becometh them: yet is it more praiseworthy then impudencie, which as it maketh men altogether shamelesse and brazenfaced, so it usually accompanieth proud and arrogant persons. For it is cleane contrary to modesty. Seeing therefore we learne, that shame is a feare of dishonour and blame, & of doing that that might procure it, we must take good heede that we iudge aright of that

What Shame is.

Blushin georn
mendable in
some persons

A second kind
of Shame.

Impudency a
very danger-
ous disease.

Ierem. 3. 3.
Ezech. 24.
and 37.

The cause of
rednes in the
face in blus-
hing.

A cause of
feare in men.

which is to be accounted vile and dishonest, and of that which may bring vnto vs honour or dishonour, praise or dispraise. For our nature beeing full of darkenesse through sinne that reigneth in it, our naturall iudgement is not so intire and vpright as it ought to be, to iudge well either of that which is truly honest, and which bringeth with it honor and commendation, or otherwise of the contrary vnto it. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that we oftentimes take one for another, & so light vpon that, which we least sought for or desired. Therefore let vs know and learne this, that there is nothing honest but vertue, nor any thing dishonest but vice: and that as nothing is more beautifull and of greater renoune then vertue: so nothing is more ill fauoured, dishonourable and infamous then vice. But forasmuch as there is great diuersitie of opinions, what is to be accounted honest and dishonest, what vertue, what vice, what praise what dispraise, let vs learne to frame our iudgement out of the law and word of God, which is the rule of all iustice and truth. Otherwise it will come to passe, that we shall be oftner ashamed of well doing then of euil doing, and of vertue then of vice; which were a vile shame, and such a one as that we ought to be greatly ashamed therof. For in well doing we must neuer be afraide of that shame, which the wicked thinke to bring vpon vs, but rather account it honourable and glorious. Yea themselues shall be ashamed and confounded when their vices and vile actions shall be discovered by our honesty & vertue: whereas if we ioyne with them, we shall cause them to be voide of shame when they do ill, yea, they will boast and vaunt of it before vs. But enough of this matter. Now forasmuch as arrogant and proude persons are farthest off from vsing aright any of these affections of the heart, of which we haue hitherto discoursed, especially of shame, I am of opinion that we are to looke into the nature and effects of the passion of pride. Therefore *ARAM*, this shall be the subiect of thy discourse.

The rule of al
true iudgement

Shame of
well doin g.

Of Pride, with the consideration thereof as well in nature entire, as corrupted: of the originall thereof, and of such as are most enclined therewnto: what vices accompany it, how great a poison it is, and what remedy there is for it. Chap. 59.

ARAM. There is nothing more easie then for a man to deceiue himselfe. For looke what a man earnestly desireth, he suposeth it is already as it were come to passe, or at least hee promiseth to himselfe that he shall easily obtaine it. But oftentimes things fall out otherwisethen men looke or hope for. Now the chiefe cause of their error herein is that presumption, which commonly they haue of their owne wisdom and vertue, whereby they are lift vp with vaine confidence and puffed vp with pride. For when men are carried with an inordinate and blinde loue of themselves, they are soone perswaded that there is nothing in them worthy to be despised, yea they thinke that their ignorance is wisdom: insomuch that knowing nothing, they suppose they know all things, and hauing no dexterity to performe one commendable worke, they presume very inconsiderately to set their hand to euery great matter. But the more care and diligence they bestow, beeing led with a desire to shew great skil, and thinking to win honour and renoune, so much the more they discover their ignorance and blockishnes, purchasing to themselves shame & infamie. Now the truth of God teacheth vs to consider otherwise of our selues, namely, that we want both sound vnderstanding, and strength also to accomplish any good thing. Which knowledge ought to keep vs backe from all presumption, and ouerweening of our owne wisdom and strength, and take from vs all matter of pride and glory, to leade vs into modesty and humility. This rule we ought to follow if wee will attaine to the white of good iudgement and well doing.

The causes
why men de-
ceiue them-
selues.

Now as shame and confusion is bred of some vile and dishonest fact, as we haue heard, so vice fetcheth his beginning from pride. I call pride a puffing vp of the soule and heart, proceeding from the opinion of some excellent good thing in vs more then in others, whereby a man is in estimation and honour, whether this good thing bee present, past, or to come. But we are to consider of two fountains and first causes of this inflammation & affection of the heart, namely of one that proceedeth from nature pure and intire, & of another that commeth from nature as it is corrupted. So that we may boldly say, that there is a kinde of pride which is no vice but a vertue, or at leastwise the seede of vertue. For there was no

What pride is

Two kinds of
Pride.

vicious

vicious or euill thing in the first nature as it was created of God, but euery thing in it was vertuous, and the seed of vertue, as we haue already shewed in the former discourses already made by vs. Wherefore that natural pride of man, being such as he should haue bin if he had continued in his first nature, would be an excellent vertue, and as it were the mother of all the rest; whereas now it is the most vgly and monstrous vice that can be found in the whole nature of man corrupted, by meanes of which it is become the father of all vices and sinnes. For seeing GOD hath done this honor to man aboue all other bodily creatures, as to create him in regard of his soule, of a celestially and diuine nature (for which cause the very Heathen affirme that mankinde is of the linage and parentage of God) he would not haue him ignorant of the excellency of his being, and of those great and wonderfull benefites, which he hath received of him in his creation, and of which hee hath made him partaker chiefly for three causes. The first, to this end that knowing what grace and honour God his Creatour hath bestowed vpon him, he might bee moued continually to acknowledge and honour him as it becommeth him. The second, to the end that knowing the excellency of his nature, and of the stocke from whence he came, hee should loue himselfe in God his Creatour, and in him thinke himselfe worthy of true goodes, even of the greatest and most excellent that may bee, namely of heavenly and eternall goodes: and that hee should know that hee was created for them, and that through the knowledge and consideration thereof hee might bee prouoked to wish for and to desire them with great courage. The third, that by this meanes hee might feare to degenerate from so high and noble a linage as that is from whence he is descended, and to fall from so high a degree of honour and dignitie into dishonour and shame, and to loose those excellent goodes whereunto he was allotted, if he committed any thing vnbecoming so noble and so excellent a nature as was the nature of God according to the image of which hee was created. This then is that holy pride, which ought naturally to remaine in man, and whereby he might well haue desired to bee like vnto GOD, especially in goodnesse, and that by those onely meanes by which the Lord would haue him bee brought vnto this similitude, and which himselfe had taught him: namely obedience, and that so farre as was agreeable and meete for his nature. But our first parentes giuing eare to him, who first degenerated from this holy pride, vnder colour of being equall not to the goodnesse but to the power and greatnesse of God, were soone perswaded to beleue the promise, which this liar had made vnto them of a farre greater and more excellent estate, then was that wherein God hath created them: insomuch that their humility & obedience whereby they were vnited & conioyned in great glory with God, was turned into arrogancy and disobedience. Whereupon doubting of the trueth of Gods word, they harkened to the Diuelles counsell, propounded vnto themselves the selfe same meanes and degrees to make themselves equall with God their Creatour, which this wretch and his angels had taken before, and whereby he fell from the highest estate of glory to the bottomlesse gulfe of misery. And this is that bastardy and earthly pride that is entred into mans nature, of which it is saide *That pride is the original of sinne, and he that hath it shall powre out abomination, till at last be ouerthrowne.* And a little after: *Pride was not created in men, neither writh in the generation of women.* And indeede God hath made man of a milde and communicable nature apt to society, and to liue with company not solitarily as sauage beastes vse to doe. Therefore there is nothing more contrary to his nature; and to that ende for which hee was created, then this vicious pride, whereby he is so puffed vp and swelleth in such sort, as if he were of some other nature and condition then humane, and as though hee meant to liue in some other estate and degree then of a man. By which doing he degenerateth from the first nature in which he was created: wheerupon *Ecclesiasticus* concludeth, *That pride is hateful before God and man.* Now the more arrogant and proude a man is, the more ignorant may he be said to be of true goods, & such as are eternall; & whereas he should wish for and long after these, his whole affection is turned to the desire of worldly glory and of earthly things. Which desire proceedeth from that inconsiderate loue that euery one beareth towards himselfe, which keepeth a man from the knowledge of himselfe. For if hee knewe himselfe wel, he might see in himselfe nothing but such matter as should cause him to abase and to humble himselfe, not to be puffed vp & to presume of himselfe in any respect. Hereupon it followeth, that they are naturally most inclined to pride, which are most ignorant, most rude, most abject, most inconsiderate, most hasty & headstrong. For they that are skillful and wise, sharpe witted, moderate & well staied, who looke into & take a view of them-

Three causes
why God cre-
ated man so
excellent.

Of a good
kind of pride.

Eccles. 10. 14
19.

Of the euill
pride.

Eccles. 10. 7:

Who are most
giue to pride:

Causes of
pride.

What vices
follow pride.

Pride listeth
men against
God.

Prov. 13 10.

selues; and know well what is within them, such men vnderstand and are able to iudge very well, that there is nothing in man that should cause him either to swell or to be blowne vp with pride. Therefore we commonly see, that they which haue most excellent vertues in them, that haue greatest gifts of God, and could finde in themselves most matter of pride, are notwithstanding most modest and most humble. And contrariwise the greatest blockheads, and such as are most vnapt to euery good thing, most destitute of all good and excellent gifts of nature, are for the most part the loftiest and most proud: so that a man may well say of them that they are proude peasants, especially when they are blowne vp like bladders with some winde of prosperity, when their noses are perfumed, or their eyes dimmed with some smoke of honor, or worldly wealth. Many other causes of pride might be noted in the nature of man. For those that are of a hot and burning nature, as cholerike persons, are more subiect to this vice then many others, and that chiefly for two reasons. For holding of the nature of fire, which alwaies ascendeth vpward, if they follow their naturall inclination, they will take also of the nature thereof, aspiring continually vnto high matters. And as the fire is light, quicke and violent, so will their iudgement and all their affections be, which will carry them away headlong and greatly trouble them. It is very requisite therefore that water should be cast vpon this fire. Now as pride breedeth arrogancie, so enuy, ill will, anger, rancour, and desire of reuenge, doe follow and accompany it, together with impatience, indignation, selfe loue, obstinacie, and other such like vices. For a proud person waxeth enuious at the good of another, as if hee thought himselfe onely worthy, or as if he accounted all greatnesse in others a hinderance to his owne. And because he supposeth that he is neuer so well esteemed of as he deserueth, he waxeth very angry being desirous to reuenge himselfe if there be any meanes. Besides, to the end hee might alwaies seeme to be better then others, he neuer ceaseth boasting and bragging. For pride being nothing els but winde that puffeth vp the heart (euen as fire causeth water to swell and to send forth great waumes) if the proud man should not finde some issue for this winde, he would burst asunder. Therefore he speaketh big, he chideth and threatneth, thundreth and lighteneth, and waxeth so insolent, that both for his words and deeds hee becommeth intollerable vnto al. And because he cannot giue place to any, if he stand in contention for any thing, he holdeth his opinion with invincible obstinacy: insomuch that no authoritie whatsoever no truth how apparantly soeuer it bee laid before him, no benefit or profit shall be able to turne him from that which he hath once imagined. For his desire to be preferred before all, and in all matters, is so hot and feruent, that he feareth nothing more then to be accounted inferiour in any one matter to any other body whosoever he be. And this causeth him also to be vnteachable & vnapt to learne. For by reason of his pride, he is ashamed to learne. Besides, the ambitio & insatiable desire of glory that is in him, causeth him that he cannot suffer any admonition, but continueth resolute in that which he hath once taken hold of. And he is so farre from suffering patiently, that any man should condemne him, or any word or deed of his, that he will haue his vices taken for vertues, and looketh to be commended for them. Yea some are so passionate, and carried away with so great impatience and furious indignation, that they storme and rage not only against men, but also against God, euen so far forth as to despise & blaspheme him openly. For the ignorance & inconsideratnes that engendreth pride is so blockish and rash, that it giueth vs no leisure to consider of and to iudge what good things are in vs, neither from whence they come, or who it is that giueth them, or in what maner, or for what reason. To be short, God commeth not at all into our thought, neither do we attribute any thing vnto any other besides our selues. And although many proud persons dissemble these damnable affections, & dare not oftentimes lay their hearts so open, but rather think there is no such matter in them, neuertheless it is so in truth and in effect, so that all men would iudge them to be such, if they were able to see and know as God seeth & knoweth. Moreouer, we are to note, that pride is such a vice, that it is a harder matter for a man to bee at peace and concord therewith, then any other whatsoever. Whereupon Salomon saith, *That only by pride doth man make contention.* Yea there is alwaies strife & dissention amongst the proud themselves, when euery one desireth to be preferred one before another, and cannot. As for humbling and abasing themselves, there is no talke of that, vnlesse they draw a litle backward that they may the better leape forward, and debase themselves, that they may ascend vp higher. And as for friendship, a proud man hath neuer any in him that is true and sound, but onely that which is counterfeite and fained towards them that submit themselves vnto him through flatterie. But that

which

which is most dangerous in pride, is when it is bred of humility, of modesty, and of vertue, Pride bred of vertue. For there are many, who considering their owne modestie and other vertues, and condemning pride and other vices, are delighted therewith after an insolent maner, and are puffed vp with pride thereby. Whereby we see what windings and slippery turnings are in that olde serpent the Father of pride, into how many fashions he changeth himselfe, and in what maner he hath infected and poysoned our heart. For he hath brought it to this passe, that as venomous beasts turne at they cate, how good soeuer it be, into venime, so the proud man turneth all his thoughts, words and deeds into pride. For he draweth and referreth euery thing to his owne honor and glory: and therefore *S. Chrysostome* very aptly compareth Vaine glory to a Moth. For as the Moth marreth and consumeth that cloth in which it is bredde, so vaine glory sometime springeth of vertue, and afterward corrupteth it. For there is no vertue so excellent, which is not turned into vice and made abominable before GOD, so soone as it is mingled therewith. A similitude.

Seeing then pride is such an horrible monster, as that which breedeth and bringeth forth so many other monsters, we ought to seek diligently after al remedies for it that may possibly be had, whereby it may be tamed and kept vnder, and so our soules cured of such a dangerous disease and plague. Now forasmuch as it proceedeth of ignorance and of inconsideratenesse, and through the want of the due knowledge of GOD and of our selues, wee must redresse A remedy against pride. this euill by the vertues contrary to these vices, namely by the true knowledge of God, of his word, and of our selues.

Which we shall obtaine if he deale so graciously with vs as to fill vs with his holy Spirit, and to giue vs an humble heart, that renouncing all pride and all arrogancy, we may learne to walke in his feare, and in all obedience to his holy will, so that we wholly consecrate our selues vnto him both in bodie, soule, and spirit, in Will, heart and all our affections. Now hauing spoken sufficiently of that matter into which we fell whilest wee handled the second belly, which God hath placed in man for the lodging of the vitall parts, and namely of the heart, which is the seate of the affections, it remaineth, that we consider of the third belly, which is the seate of the naturall powers and vertues of the soule: of which thou shalt begin now to discourse, *ACHITO B.*

Of the naturall powers of the Soule, & what sundry vertues they haue in the nourishment of the body, of their order and offices: of their agreement and necessary vse: where the Vegetatiue soule is placed in the body, and what vertue it hath to augment the same. Chap. 60.

ACHITO B. The disposition & placing of the principal parts of our body & of the noblest members thereof, is a goodly school, wherein we may learn, how much more careful we ought to be of heauen then of the earth, and of the spirit then of the body. We haue already heard, how the internall parts of man were divided into three bellies & lodgings, of which the two former, namely the braine and the heart, together with the vertues, offices and works of the soule in them, haue bin declared vnto vs. It remaineth that we consider of the last lodging of the body, which properly beareth the name of belly, & which is the seate of these naturall powers and vertues of the soule, which we call *Vegetatiue* and nourishing, and is diuided into 3, kinds, namely, into the vertue of nourishing, of augmenting or growing, Three kinds of the Vegetatiue facultie in the soule. A profitable meditation. and of engendring. Now when we see this order and disposition in our nature, we ought seriously to thinke, that seeing GOD hath placed the heart between the head and this belly, the *Vitall* vertue of the soule between the *Animall* and *Nutritiue*, and the will between the vnderstanding and the most sensuall part in vs, therefore the heart, affections, & will ought to looke alwaies on high, & not downward, to the end they should ioyne to the most noble, celestiall and diuine part, and not to that which is most base, sensual, and earthly. Whereunto that also ought to induce and leade vs, which we learned before of the agreement between the highest and middlemost of these principall & more noble parts of the body, vnto which this last is inferiour in all kinde of excellency, beauty and delight.

The belly of which we are now to discourse, containeth all the members & instruments that serue for nourishment and generation: whereupon it is termed the Kitchen and Nursery of the body, and the seminary & wellspring of mankind. But before we enter into a particular

The office of
heate in man.

The power,
order & office
of the Vege-
tative soule.

A similitude
taken from
printing and
coynning.

A good lesson
for every one

particular consideration of these members and instruments, wee are to looke into the naturall powers of the Vegetative soule that is in them. And first we will note, that which wee speake of elsewhere, of the office of heate and moisture in the nature of the body, that as moisture keepeth heate within it, so heate drinketh and eateth vp moisture as much as it may, digesting and dispelling it by the vertue & action of it owne nature. Now whilest this moisture is thus digested by the heate, there is a separation made of that which is profitable in the body, from that which is superfluous, & consequently hurtfull to the body. That which is profitable for it, is the iuyce and humour that agreeth with it, in regard of the similitude & likeness that is between them. Whereupon it followeth, that all moisture that is greatly diuerse or contrary to the body, is hurtfull for it, as also dry matter, which likewise hurteth the health and life thereof. So that this vertue of the soule, which we call naturall, or otherwise Vegetative, and which comprehendeth vnder it the vertue of nourishing, of augmenting, and of engendring (every of which hauing sixe other tending all to one end as wee heard already) this vertue I say, causeth that which is profitable for the nourishment of the body, first to be distributed vnto the members, and then to be turned into the bodily sustenance of the liuing creature, because that vertue and power of the soule doth embrace and receiue it: acknowledging it already to be a part of the body. Therefore the vertue of drawing nourishment that is in the soule, hath for an helper the vertue of retaining and keeping, vntill there be a conuenient change thereof made by the facultie, and power of digesting, and as it were dressing of it.

For otherwise the attractive and retentive power, were to small purpose. Now when the meat is digested, so much of it as is pure must be separated from that which is impure, by the vertue of purging; & that which is impure, must be deliuered ouer to the expulsive vertue to be cast out, and the rest which is pure to the vertue of distributing, after which the vertue of incorporating executeth his office and duty.

Thus you see how all these particular vertues, seruing to the generall vertue of nourishing doeth their duties one after another according to that order, which nature hath assigned them. For except this agreement and order were kept, there would be great confusion, and the body could not receiue his due nourishment. Therefore doth one of them attend vpon and helpe another, yea all of them tend to one and the same end by diuers means. For after the meate is receiued, attracted and retained, it must be digested before it be separated: so that the expulsive vertue is to attend vpon this separation and distinction. Neither can the attractive or drawing vertue doe his office well, vnlesse the body be first emptie: neyther the vertue of concocting or preparing, if the body be not purged of the meate receiued before. And if any of these vertues doth not his duty, the residue are made more dull, slow and languishing. For there is such agreement betwixt them, and they are by such equall proportion tempered throughout the whole body, that nothing can befall any one of them, but the residue will feele it.

Neither can that which is wanting in one be supplied by an other. For GOD having assigned to every one his proper office, they deale not one in anothers affaires, but every one abideth in his own office, and goeth not beyound his appointed bounds and limites: as the like is to be seen in the printing house and amongst them that stamp money. For if the compositor faile in setting of his letters, the Printer that putteth ynke vpon the forms, doth not correct the faults of the Compositor. And if the Printer doth not distribute his ynke well, he that draweth the sheets from the presse correcteth not his fault. For every one hath his office apart, with which only he medleth. So likewise in Coyne, if hee that prepareth and fineth the mettall faile in his duty, he that cutteth it in pieces will correct nothing, but deuised it as it is deliuered to him. Then he that maketh it flat, that it may bee fit for him that stampeth it, doth nothing but that which is committed to his charge: and if he that stampeth it, findeth it not so flat or so round as it ought to be, yet doth he nothing but marke it, and so leaueth it as he found it.

Moreouer, we are to note well, how God giueth vs even in our nature, a goodly instruction concerning that order and concord that ought to be among vs all, by doing every one his duty, and helping each other so farre as we may. For we may learne three principall points in that order, which GOD hath set betweene vertues of the Vegetative soule for the nourishing of the body, which serue greatlie for the preservation of humane society. First, how every one ought to behaue himselfe in his office, and not leave others to performe that worke which is enioyned him. Secondlie, howe euerie one of vs ought

ought to keepe his ranke and order, not making ouer much hast nor beeing to slacke, and without any confusion of offices, or vsurping any thing of that which belongeth to others. Thirdly, the consideration of those inconueniences which may befall euery common wealth and society of men, if this order be not well kept and obserued. For the like will happen vnto it, that doth to a body, which is not nourished as it ought to bee, and in which the naturall vertues doe not their duty, as I haue declared. For from thence proceedeth all the confusion that is in the life of man, and all those miseries which wee dayly see therein.

Concerning the seates of these vertues of the nourishing soule mentioned by vs, wee are to know, that although they bee greater and more apparant in some parts then in others, yet they are spread throughout the whole body, but after a diuerse manner. For in perfect liuing creatures, the concoction of the meate is first made in the stomacke, that so it may be prepared for the liuer: the second is made in the liuer, that it may bee turned into blood: the third is in all the members, that it may be changed into their substance. So that there is no other end or stay in the body, of concocting, and consequently of purging the meate, and of casting out that which is superfluous. For the heate doth continually warme, and as it were seeth the moysture: neither is there any meate so pure, which hath not alwaies some excrements and superfluties, that are to be separate and eiected.

Heereof it is, that the whole body of liuing creatures is as it were bored through, and hath diuers pipes to the end there might be more open passages for the auoyding of these excrements according to that purging which is done day and night by the parts appoynted thereto, as we haue already touched it, speaking of those members whereby such purging is performed after a diuers manner, especially when wee spake of the braine. Now besides that purging which is vnder the arme-pits and in the groyne, wee see how the thinnest excrements voyde at euery part of the body, as we may iudge by that filth which dayly is seene in the head, hands, feete and in all the rest of the body. For wee cannot bulie our selues so much in washing and cleansing all the parts and members of the body, but still we may finde somewhat to wash & to make cleane. Therefore we stand in neede of daily nourishment, that whatsoeuer diminisheth continually from vs, may from time to time be restored and made good againe. But this vertue of nourishing, is the first and simplest of all the naturall vertues of the Vegetatiue soule. For there are two others necessary for the life and preservation of liuing creatures, of which we haue already spoken, namely the power of augmenting and that other of engendring. So that liuing creatures are not onely nourished by that foode which they receiue, but they growe bigger and begette their like. For there is no liuing creature that hath a bodie, but it groweth vp vntill it come to a certaine greatnesse and measure. For this cause the vertue of augmenting and growing was added to the nourishing vertue: and the vertue of engendering to them both, but so as they differ in maine poyntes. For first, although the vertues of nourishing and of augmenting agree in this, that they are both given to euery liuing creature, yet they differ heerein, that the vertue of nourishing continueth alwaies so long as the creature liueth, euen from the beginning of it vnto the end. But the vertue of growing greater, although it beginne with the other, yet hath it a set time limited, wherein it stayeth: and as before the creature waxed bigger and increased in greatnesse and vigour, so after it commeth to the appointed time, it beginneth to fall and to diminish, and as it were to retire backe, and to retrain it selfe. And as for the vertue of engendering, it differeth from both the other, first in that it is not given so generally to all liuing creatures as they are, and then in that it beginneth not so soone. For it commeth then when the liuing creature through nourishment and groweth, hath attained to those vertues that are necessarie for generation.

Besides, it hath this common with the vertue of augmentation, that it hath certaine limites and boundes, vnto which after it is once come, it weakeneth and in the ende decayeth vtterly. Wherein it differeth from the nourishing vertue. Now the vertue of growing greater hath as many other particular vertues vnder it for the execution of it owne office, as the vertue of nourishing hath according as was touched before. Whereby we learne, that bodies growe not greater, neither augment by the heaping vp of much matter outwardly applied, as when a house is set vp, wee see timber ioyned to timber, and stone to stone in the building of it; but this is done by the same hidden and secrete arte and cunning in nature, whereby wee are nourished. For in this point there is

Of the seates
of the natural
vertues.

How excre-
ments are
voided.

Of the grow-
ing of bodies

Wherein the
naturall ver-
tues differ
from others.

How meate
nourisheth
the body.

How mettals
and stones
grow

The true
cause of nou-
rishing in
creatures.

no difference betweene the vertue of nourishing, and that of augmenting, but only heerein that, in nourishment the meate is turned into the substance of the body, and in augmenting, the foode being thus turned, doth from within stretch forth the quantity of the body outwardly. And so this vertue of augmenting dependeth of the nourishing vertue. For meate nourisheth as it is a substance with qualities meete for nourishment, and augmenteth by reason of the quantie it hath. For this cause hath God created the bodies of living creatures with such a substance, that as they have sundry passages and holes in them like to sponges to the end to purge by them, so hee would that the substance they receive by their foode might passe by the same holes, that they might augment and grow greater. So that all of them have their pores and little holes albeit they appeare not to the eie, whereby nourishment entreth and extendeth it selfe in greatnes, length, and thickenesse. The consideration hereof hath caused some skilfull men, to place mettals and stones in the ranke of living creatures, because they grow in the earth, as the bodies of plants and living creatures doe. Neither is their opinion without some shew of reason. For we know that they grow and increase and that inwardly: which seemeth not to be done without drawing vnto themselves some inward nourishment, as living creatures vse to doe. Besides they have also their pores and passages to stretch forth and augment themselves by. Notwithstanding all this there is greater reason to place them in the ranke of those natures and creatures, which augment and grow greater, by adding and ioyning of matter vnto them, as wee see fountaines and rivers to increase: and so likewise fire. Which albeit it seemeth to be nourished & augmented with that matter which is put vnto it, yet is it not nourished as living creatures are by meanes of that foode which they receive. For they have their bounds of growing set them which they cannot passe, as we see the like also in plants: but fire hath no limits, as that which alwayes increaseth, as long as it findeth any matter to burne.

Whereby we may conclude, that naturall heate in man or in other living creatures, is not the cause of their nourishing and groweth, but onely the instrument: and that the true cause, in regarde of second causes, is in the soule next after God, who is the first cause of all things, yea the cause of causes. Therefore it is hee that hath allotted out to every man the terme first of his life and groweth, and then of his declining and death: so that according as he will either prolong or shorten our life, and cause vs to encrease or diminish, so he disposeth the second causes, and those meanes whereby he will bring it to passe. Now we must consider what instruments the soule useth to execute in the bodie of man, her naturall works of nourishing and augmenting it (of which we have now spoken) and after what manner shee useth them. First then we will looke into the ventricle and stomacke, and see what figure, what Orifices, and filaments it hath. This matter then, *A S E R*, belongeth to thee to intreate of.

What instruments the Soule useth in the body about the naturall worke of nourishing and augmenting: of the Ventricle or stomacke, and of the figure, Orifices, and Filaments it hath: of the coates of the stomacke, and of what substance and nature it is: of the causes of hunger, and appetite: of the inferiour Orifice. Chap. 61.

ASER. We should be very happy if, we knew how to follow that order in all our doings which God hath set downe in all his workes, and wherof he giueth nature vnto vs for a Mistresse. But if the simplicitie of our vnderstanding bee not able to attaine so high wisdom, at the least we may know how farre short euery one of vs commeth of our duty, and from whence proceedeth all the confusion that is in the life of man, and all those miseries which we commonly beholde. On the other side, nothing could hinder vs were it not a voluntary and malicious ignorance, in that we consider not, what a meruailous and excellent Workemaster, God the Creator sheweth himselfe to bee, in this part of the soule wherof our present discourses are, and in that order which he hath set therein, and in those vertues which he hath bestowed vpon it. For his worke is so excellent, worthy of so great admiration, that no wisdom or power whatsoever is able so much as to imitate it. Wherefore we are to account it a very great and noble blessing, to haue onely some knowledge of it. For there will be alwaies enough whereto maruile greatly, and namely in the consideration of those instruments, which the soule useth in the nourishment & groweth of bodies,

as we shall know in the sequēle of our discourses.

Therefore as heretofore we haue handled and spoken of the diuers powers of the soule, and of those instruments it hath in regard of the Animall and vitall parts, as of the braine, heart, head, and other externall members of the body, so now we are to consider of the internall instruments, which serue the naturall powers of the soule. And first, it hath the liquors and humours of the body tempered together by a certaine Law and reason of the Creatour that created them. Secondly, the other instruments of the soule, are those members both externall and internall, which are framed and haue their seuerall proportion, euery one as neede requireth, for the office assigned vnto them by God their Creatour. For before the soule bee cloathed with the body, these instruments are fashioned and made fit for it by nature in those things wherein it could doe nothing of it selfe. For the soule cannot create her body. But after that God hath created the body for it, and that by his appointment nature hath disposed and fitted the same soule, so farre forth as is requisite, before it can shew what vertue it hath, and settle it selfe to worke in the body; then is shee left to doe that which shee is able to performe by the powers of her presence, and to exercise her selfe therein, beginning alwayes at the least and basest of her offices, before shee apply her selfe to the chiefest, by displaying her principall powers. For whilest the childe is in his mothers belly, the soule practiseth vpon it her Vegetatiue and nourishing vertue by which it is nourished and groweth in greatnesse, as wee see the like in plants. And when it is borne, it receiveth besides from the soule the power of moouing and of sence, as wee see beasts haue: and last of all by little and little the soule displayeth her other principall vertues. But to speake of our matter subiect, and to handle particularly those instruments of the soule, which she vseth in the nourishing and augmenting of the bodie, wee will beginne at the Ventricle, commonly called the stomacke.

Now because this name is vsed diuersly, we are to note, that the Physicians, who distinguish the partes of the body more exactly and properly, apply this name of stomacke more specially to the vpper mouth of it, and call the whole by the name of Ventricle, whereof wee will speake anone. Oftentimes also they take the stomacke for the whole passage and pipe, called *Oesophagus* or the throte: but commonly the whole Ventricle is called by that name. Therefore I will vse it indifferently, thereby to apply my selfe the better to the vsuall manner of speaking. Wee are to know then first of all, that amongst all the members seruing to nourishment, GOD hath appointed this to be the first, as that which receiveth the meate and drinke sent vnto it by the throte. And to the ende wee may the better know the providence of GOD, in the offices and commodities of this member, I will first speake somewhat of the figure and forme therof, then of the situation of it, and last of all, of the substance of it. The figure of it is rounde and long much like to a bagge-pipe, as that which beeing somewhat larger at the bottome, and arising vpperwardes towards the left side, groweth narrower by little and little. For seeing it was to occupie the whole space that is betwixt the liuer and the spleene, it was requisite that it shoulde be long, to the ende it might not trouble that place which is assigned vnto them, but giue them place. Likewise it was requisite that it shoulde be round, both because the round forme is most capable, and also because it will not so easily be broken and marred as other formes will be.

Vnto the stomacke is ioyned this narrow pipe called *Oesophagus*, to the end it might receiue into it thereby, all kindes of meate and drinke, as we haue declared when wee spake of the pipes in the throte, & of meates & drinckes. For this cause there are two mouthes or dories in the stomacke, called *Orifices*, of which the one is called the higher *Orifice* or mouth because it is vppermost, and the other for the same reason is called the lower *Orifice*. The first is to receiue the meate that is sent to the stomacke by the *Oesophagus*. And this is that which the Physicians call by the proper name of stomacke, as wee heard before, although commonly it is called the heart. For when wee feele any weakenesse there, or any delire to vomite, wee commonly say that wee are ill at the heart, or that something lyeth vpon our heart. But this sence of griefe is not at the heart, but in that part of the Ventricle, which is called the vppermost *Orifice* or stomacke, whose seate and place is on the left side neere to the backe-bone. And this *Orifice* or mouth of the stomacke, is a great deale more large then the nethermost, because the meate is oftentimes not well chewed, besides many great and harde morsels that are swallowed now and then. Againe,

The instruments of the naturall powers of the soule.

How the soule vseth the instruments of the body.

Of the ventricle and stomacke.

Of the figure of the stomacke.

Of the mouthes of the stomacke.

How the name of the heart is abused.

this

The original
of appetite.

this part is very sensible, because there is the originall and place of appetite, by reason of those nerues of which it is chiefly made, that grow together like vnto nets. Heereof wee may note this, that the prouidence of God hath so well provided for all the members and instruments of nourishment, that there is not one of them, but it hath some small sinew to giue it sence, whereby it may feele and perceiue what humours are hurtfull vnto it, that by the griefe which it receiueth, men may be moued to haue recourse to such remedies as are able to releue it.

The doore of
the vpper o-
rifice.

Of the lower
Orifice.

of the small
strings of the
Orifices.

The stomack
comparad to a
pot on the
fire.

How the sto-
macke is pla-
ced.

of the sub-
stance of it.

How it is war-
med by other
neighbour
parts.

But to returne to our matter, we are to know, that the vpper Orifice hath the Midriffe ioyned vnto it, which is in steade of a doore to close and shutte it vp, that when it is full of meates and drinckes, they should not ascend vp againe by the throate. Concerning the nethermost Orifice it is both by the Greeke and Latine Writers called by a name that signifieth a Doore-keeper, being made to let out the meate concocted in the Ventricle together with the superfluties and excrements. Therefore also it is narrower then the vpper Orifice, and compassed about with a certaine kernelly flesh, to the end that nothing should passe by which were not well digested before, and that by meanes of the mouth of it made in the manner of a ring. It is situated on the right side vnder the hollownesse of the liuer, a little lower then the other Orifice. But it is not at the very bottome of the Ventricle, but a little higher, to the end the foode being retained and kept at the botome, might bee heated and digested there. So that after the stomacke hath received into it the meate and drinke, both these doores as well aboue as beneath are shut, that the heate within might be retained and kept close. For this cause there are certaine filaments or small stringes, of which some are direct and straight, hauing in them a maruailous secret vertue of nature to draw vnto them: others are ouerthwart, and passe cleane crosse the former through certaine little corners that lie long-wise. Thei office is to close vp the vpper part from the body of the stomacke. Besides, there are other crooked filaments, which through oblique corners passe alongst the sides of both the other: and these, because they close the whole body of the stomacke, haue power of retaining, and serue to shut vp the mouth of the stomacke. So that these filaments or threedes in regard of their office, may bee compared to the stringes of a purse whereby it is shut. And because the stomacke, being closed and shut vp, digesteth the meate a great deale better then if it were gaping and wide open, therefore nature hath provided in this sort. Wherein we see it resembleth a pot set to seething, which retaineth the heate, and seetheth that which it containeth better when it is close couered, then when it is without a couer.

Now we are further to know, that the stomacke is made of two coates or skins one within an other, consisting partly of a fleshy, & partly of a sinewy substance. The innermost is fuller of sinewes & thicker, hauing straight filaments within, wherewith as it were with fingers, it draweth the meate downward: and without, it hath certaine oblique filaments, which compasse it about, and serue to holde it in. The outward coate, which is more fleshy, hath ouerthwart filaments that serue for expulsion. For when the stomacke is sometime overcharged with meate, so that it is not able to embrace & keepe it for digestion, the by means of the expulsive vertue, it driueth out that which is superfluous, & prouoketh a man to vomite, to the end it be not filled through the waight & burthen of the meate it beareth. For this cause the throate is a pipe appointed for the moouing of things vp and downe, not hauing any attractive force in it, but being onely a meere way and place of passage, through which meates and drinckes passe to and fro as neede requireth.

Concerning the seate of the stomacke, it is placed in the middest of the body betweene the liuer and the splene, and that in such sort that the liuer embraceth & warmeth it on the right side, and the splene doth the like on the left side. As for the substance of it, it is of the nature of sinewes, that is cold and dry. For it is very conuenient it should be so, first, because of the sence and feeling, that it might be inticed by such things as agree with it, reiecting al others: secondly, in regarde of appetite, that it might bee the greater and of more efficacie. Moreover, it was requisite that it should be of such matter, to the end it might be the harder, and receiue the lesse hurt from the hardnesse and sharpnes of meates. And besides the naturall heate which it hath of it selfe, it is heated also by the neighbour parts, to the end it may the better performe that duty that lieth vpon it. For this cause it hath on the right side the liuer, which is vnto it in steade of a boyling pot or cauldron: and on the left side it hath the splene for the same purpose: the muscles of the chine bone are behinde it, and before is the skinne commonly called the *Kell*. Likewise as the heart is not far from it

so the midriffe lying ouer it, doth greatly heate it by continuall motion. Whereby we see, how the prouidence of God hath well fenced and cloathed it on all sides, that it might haue as much heate as is needfull for it. Touching this skinne called the *Kell*, it is a double coate or covering, spreading it selfe wholly ouer the intralles, being in fashion like to a purse, by reason that it is double and wouen like to a nette, consisting of fatte, of veines, of arteries, and of a skinne. Moreouer, the stomacke is warmed by the spirits that enter into it in great abundance, by reason that it is knit vnto the neighbour parts by veines and arteries. Now because it serueth to the nutritiue facultie, the naturall vertue thereof is to desire foode, the sense and feeling of which appetite is in the vpper Orifice, into which many sinewes are wouen that come downe from the braine. Therefore when the members of the body being empty desire nourishment, and labour to draw it from the veines, and the veines from the liuer, and the liuer from the stomacke, and the stomacke from the Orifice, then is there a certaine contraction & wrinckling as it were of the Orifice, by reason of the veines that sucke it. In which contraction and gathering together of the stomacks mouth, there is by meanes of the nerues a kinde of sence and griefe, which wee call *hunger*, whereby liuing creatures are stirred vp to seeke after foode and nourishment. I make no repetition here of that which hath bene spoken before, namely, of the *drawing, retaining, altering, and expulsiue* vertues of the *Vegetatiue soule*. For by our discourses we easily vnderstand, how every one of them doth his duty both in the stomacke and liuer, and in all the other members of the body. But the *altering* vertue is the chiefe, whose office is to change in the stomacke, and to conuert into iuyce and liquor, that meate which it hath receiued.

Of the Kell
or Kall.

The causes of
appetite in the
stomacke.

The originall
of hunger.

This liquor is called by the Physicians *Chylus*, which is a Greeke word, and resembleth the creme of a ptisane: it is concocted in the stomacke, vntill it be so wel prepared that it may be sent vnto the liuer. Which concoction is first & principally made by the naturall vertue of the stomacke, as it appeareth in this, that euery stomackedoth after a wonderful manner embrace and warme al the meate which it receiue, even as the whole wombe embraceth her burthen and fruite vntill it come to ripenes: & when the time of birth is come, the expulsiue vertue thereof driueth it forth. So fareth it with the meate in the stomacke, excepting this difference, that the stomacke needeth not so long a time to finish his worke in, as the wombe doth. Afterward this naturall vertue of the stomacke, is holpen and warmed by those meanes before declared. And when the stomacke hath finished this first concoction, whereby the meate receiued is so dulle prepared that it may be sent into the liuer, then the lower Orifice and doore called the Porter, openeth it selfe, and sendeth this liquor into the intralles and bowelles, which are ordained as well to receiue it, as to purge forth the superfluities and extrements. Therefore, *AMANA*, thy speech shall be of these, that so we may goe forward with our matter of those instruments of the *vegetatiue soule*, which she vseth in her naturall workes.

The stomack
compared to
a wombe.

The office of
the lower
Orifice.

Of the intralles and bowelles, and of their names and offices: of the nature of the three smaller guts, and of the other three that are greater: of the instructions which we may learne by these things. Chap. 62

A*MANA*. If there were no other reason but this, that the poorest and basest persons among men are the creatures of GOD, and created after his image and likeness, as well as the richest, mightiest, and highest in dignities and honours, and that as well the one as the other, are members of the body of mankind; it were enough to withhold vs from contemning any person, of what condition, estate or quality soeuer he be, so that his vocation be of GOD, and profitable for mankind. For in contemning any creature and his estate, GOD who created him and ordained his vocation, is contemned and iniured thereby, considering that he is his worke, which cannot be mocked, but the workemaster that framed it must needs be scorned. Besides, we are to consider, that many of them that are taken to be the vildest and basest persons, are a great deale more profitable and necessarie, and so likewise their callings and offices, then many others that are in greater reputation, and more honourable according to mans iudgement, who notwithstanding might more easily be spared, then those of whom there is lesse accompt and reckoning made.

The poore
soit are not to
be contem-
ned.

The like may be saide of the vse of the members of our bodies, and of the necessitie and neede which we haue of them, that are accompted most vile and abiect, which albeit they

be

The necessity of the bowels be lesse honourable then the rest, yet are they more necessary for this life of ours, then many others that are a great deale more noble and more excellent. For wee may liue without eyes, without eares, without hands, without feete, and without many other goodly members : but not without the intralles and bowelles, which are but the sinkes and wide-draughts of our bodies, although there be but one of them wanting. For there is not one of them but is profitable, yea necessarie for vs, inso much that no other can doe that office which lyeth vpon it : the Lord hauing so disposed it, that every one of them must discharge his owne office by himselve.

The number and names of the guttes. Of these intralles and guts there are fixe in number, neere vnto the stomacke, namely, three small and three great ones, being all of a round and hollow figure, according to the greatnesse and thickenesse of euery one of them. They are called the instruments of distribution and purgation, because they distribute the foode, and send forth the superfluities and excrements. Now to containe all these in their place, they are couered and wrapped about together with the other entralles of the naturall parts, with two coats or coverings, namely, with that which is called the *Kel*, wherof mention was made in the former discourse and which couereth the bowelles, stretching it selfe euen to the priuy parts : so that it executeth the same office vnto them, that it doth vnto the stomacke, as wee were giuen to vnderstand.

Of the Peritone or inner rine of the belly ioyned to the kall. The vses of it.

Besides, there is an other coate or skinne called *Peritone*, because it is spread round about the lower belly, and enuironeth the stomacke, the bowelles, the kall, the liuer, the spleene, and the kidneis : in a word, it couereth all the members from the midriffe downe to the sharebone. The vse of this is great. For first, it serueth for a covering to couer all the members : then it serueth also for the muscles that are laide vpon them. Moreouer, it causeth the superfluities of drie meates to descend more speedily. Fourthly, it keepeth the stomacke and bowels that they swell not easily : and fiftly, it knitteth together and conioyneth all the members within it, as we haue seene how the other parts of the body are separated and clothed with skinnes and membranes. For this cause it is framed and fashioned like to an egge, and hath his beginning from the ligaments, which binde together the turning ioints of the reines, and is knit vnto them. So that the vse of it is to tie and knit vnto the backe the members of the inferiour belly. Now concerning the intralles and bowels, although they bee vnited to the stomacke, and so ioynly follow each other, they differ in figure, in situation, and in offices. True it is, that their substance differeth little from that of the stomack. For they are of a certain whitish flesh, hauing no blood in any of them : neither is there any other difference, but onely in this, that the bigger guts are more full and fat, the smaller are otherwise. Again, they haue all this in common together, that they are made of two coates, which God hath giuen them for the greater preservation of them, and of the life of living creatures. For oftentimes vlcers and sores breed, chiefly when some great inflammation hath gone before, so that they putrifie and fret, and one of the coats be spoiled. Neuerthelesse a man may liue by the other that contineth sound and dischargeth well enough all his duties.

The substance of the bowels

The bowels are made of two coates.

Of the three small guts.

Of their names. The duodene or stomacke gut.

The hungry gut.

Now forasmuch as they are instruments appointed for the purging of the body, the fibres or little strings both of the inner and vtter coates, are all in a manner crosse wise, except some few intermingled longwise, to the end that the purging might be moderated in such sort, as that it neither be too much nor too little. The three smaller are placed vppermost, which because they were made that the meat being turned into liquor might be conueyed through them, therefore it was requisite they should be so slender, and that chiefly for two causes. The first, to the ende the passage might be more easie : the other, because that in the very passage some concoction is made of the liquor and foode : so that they are the sooner warmed, by reason of their slender and thinne making. Now concerning the name and peculiar office of euery one : the first is called *Duodene*, because of the length of it, which is without any folding or turning. It is as it were a part of the stomacke hanging down, or as a changing of the stomacke into a gut, being twelue fingers long, whereupon it was so called by the ancient Physicians, although now there is none found of that length. It beginneth at the porter of the stomacke, and is so seated besides the liuer, that looke where that leaueth, and the other following (called the hungry gut) beginneth, there is a passage from the bladder of gall, and to bring the yellow humor thither called choller, to the ende it might helpe forward the meate, and make cleane the gut. The second, called the hungry gut, is so termed, because it holdeth but a little food in regard of the other following, so that it may be said after a sort to fast : whereof there are three causes. The first is, the great

great number of Meseraicall veines and arteries, which are in greater number about that gut then about the rest. Whereupon they sucke out more speedily the liquor and food which passeth through that, then if they were fewer in number. The second cause is, because the liuer, which is neere to that gut, doth likewise drawe nourishment from it, which is sooner done then from the rest that are farther off. The third is, the falling downe of the cholerike humour into it, which intermedleth not it selfe with the liquor and foode, but glideth downe by the side of this gut vnto that which is called *Colon*, to the end it may thrust forward the excrements and purge the humours: which it performeth because it is sharpe and biting. Now by reason it continually prouoketh this gut to expulsion, it falleth out to be more empty then the residue.

Then followeth the third smal intralle called *Ileus* by the Gracians, both because it hath many foldings, as also for the manifold knitting of it to the *Mesenterium* from whence sundry dry veines come into this. The hungry gut and this haue both one office: onely heerein they differ, that the hungry Gut is sooner sucked then this, which retaineth a longer time that liquor and foode that it receiue. For this cause it is of a greater length, and hath more foldings and turnings, to the ende it may the better concoct the liquor, and be tempering with the foode the longer time: whereby it shall not neede to bee filled, and stuffed presently with other meates. And herein we haue to note the good forecast of nature. For if we were presently to returne againe to the Table after we had taken our meate, we should doe nothing all our life time but eate and drinke. Therefore some of the ancient Philosophers haue in this respect acknowledged the prouidence of God, saying that these foldings, plites, and windings, were made to this ende, that men might not liue ignorantly as beasts that are destitute of all knowledge: which would follow vndoubtedly, if they were of necessitie to attend alwaies vpon the belly.

Now let vs speake of the other three great Guts, which follow the small ones. These then are lower, more fleshy and thicke, because their chiefe office is to receiue the excrements of the aboue named Guts, and to reaine the same vntill the iust time come to send them forth: even as it is the office of the three former to distribute the liquor and foode by the Miseraicall veines. The first of these great ones is called the blinde Gut, because that being large and great, it hath but one way, both to receiue in, and to let out the matter receiued whereupon it is commonly called by some the Sack or Budget Gut. His office is to receiue the excrements from the last lesser Gut: & hauing drawne out some nourishment from them to cast forth the rest to the other Gut called *Colon*. For this cause the doores and holes of these three last Guts, concur well together in a hollow place.

Now because this blind Gut is wide & round, & hath many foldings, among other things it standeth in steade of an other stomacke, to keepe and to preserue meate in it against some want and necessitie to come, and to distribute it to the neighbour members after a long hunger. Whereunto the Gut called *Colon* doth also helpe, both by reason of the capacitie of it, as for the oblique situation thereof, as also because it keepeth within it foode and nourishment. Concerning the name of it, the Greeke word from whence it is taken signifieth *Gain*, because it is greater and more capable then any of the rest: or else it may signifie as a man would say *Cut*, because it is as it were cut into sundrie holes and hath diuers turnings. For it receiue the excrements, and to ende they should not passe away by and by, it sendeth them by little and little through straight passages. The cholerike humour descendeth out of the hungry Gut into this, whereby the dirt is both coloured and driven forth.

Of this Gut called *Colon*, the Colicke passion taketh the name: as the *Ileaca* passion doth of the Gut *Ileon*. Now because this gut is puffed vp more then any of the rest, and is very painefull to them that haue it stopped, it hath certaine straight threds woven amongst the ouerthwart *Fibres*, which strengthen the coates and skinned thereof to the end they should not breake or cracke, when they are blowne vp and strained. Whereby we see againe how the counsell of Gods prouidence hath notably provided for all things, whose excellent maiestie hath not despised these most base, earthly and brute parts.

Now it remaineth that we should consider of the third Gut, called the straight Gut. For although it proceede from the Gut *Colon*, yet it differeth from it both in place and figure and is called the Straight Gut, because of the straightnesse of it. Some call it the Fatte Gut, because it is passing fatte in beasts. It reacheth vnto the very fundament at the ende whereof is placed a Muscle, being fashioned round like to a Ring,

The Ileon or folded gut.

Of the three great Guts.

The blind Gut.

The first Gut called Colon, or the great gut.

The colike and Ileacke passions.

The straight Gut.

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The vse of it. Gut is to keepe in, and to retaine ventositie and excrements vntill nature please: to this end that expulsion of them might not be made vpon euery occasion, and in euery place indifferently, against our wils, and contrary to naturall and ciuill honesty. For the vse of the straight Gut is to carry and throw forth cleane out of the body the filth, dregs, and grossest excrements thereof, being such as are altogether vnprofitable and hurtfull to the body. Now for as much as it is the lowest gut and most burthened, by reason that it must hold all the grosse excrements of whatsoever entred into the body by the mouth, and is oftentimes very much blowne and stretched vp, therefore the diuine prouidence hath giuen vnto it more thredes and fibres of all sorts then to any of the rest, and hath made it strong and able to beare the charge. So likewise his heauenly counsaile hath provided, that amongst all the members of the body, those should bee strongest, that haue the greatest burthen and streesse to beare. And for this cause also this straight gutte hath this muscle, which the Philistions call *Sphincter*, being taken from a Greeke word that signifieth to restraine and close vp, because it is an instrument of voluntarie motion, that openeth and shutteth as we will, when neede requireth.

of the muscle
Sphincter.

A lesson a-
gainst pride.

Against the
contempt of
inferiour
persons.

Now for the ende of this speech, if wee consider well of those parts whereof wee haue spoken, we shall find that we carry about with vs sundrie sorts of sinkes, which are oftentimes ill fauouredly looked vnto. And this ought to put vs in minde of our infirmities and of those goodly shops wee haue in our bodies full of stinking drugges, which ought to take from vs all matter of pride. Moreover wee may learne here, that which was spoken of in the beginning of this discourse, namely, the vse of these members, and the necessitie of the basest and lesse comely parts. Therefore if there were no other respect to be had but this of necessity, we ought to be so far from despising them, especially the workmaster that hath made and disposed them, as that we ought rather thereby to acknowledge his great prouidence, and the care he hath had of vs, seeing it hath pleased him even from the high degree of his maiestie, to provide for the least and last necessities and infirmities of our bodies. So likewise by admiring his so great bounty and goodnesse towards vs, wee haue good occasion by his example, to do the like one towards another, in the performance of all dueties appertaining to a holy and true friendship. Now that we may prosecute our matter subiect, let vs looke into the other naturall powers of the soule. First let vs consider of the *Mesenterie*, of the *Meseraicall* veines, of the sweete bread, of the liuer, and of their natures and offices. The handling of these things belong to thee. *ARAM.*

Of the Mesentarie and Mesareon: of the meseraicall veines, of the Pancreas or sweet bread, and of their nature and office: of the liuer, and of his nature and office: of the rootes, bodies and branches of the veines: of their names and vses, and of the similitude betweene them and the arteries.

Chap. 63.

ARAM. When wee consider how the prouidence of God of reacheth so farre vnto those things that are profitable and necessarie in our bodies, that it forgetteth not, neither omitteth the least thing that is in them: wee should bee very blinde of vnderstanding, if wee doubted that our God provided not as well for all things that are profitable and necessarie for our soules, for the spirituall foode and growth of them, and for their perfect purging and saluation. For albeit there is no superfluitie or excrement, in that spirituall foode wherewith the soule is nourished, yet is it requisit and needfull, that the soule bee purged from those excrements and filthinesse of sinne, wherewith the diuel hath infected and filled it. And so indeed is it purged in Iesus Christ, who hath washed and clenfed vs from our sinnes by his blood, and doth daily purge by his holy spirit, and by those meanes which hee hath ordeined in his Church. Therefore I am out of doubt, that God meant to put men in minde of these things, by the order and necessitie which he hath appointed in the nature of their bodies, both in regard of their foode, and of their nourishment: and that we shal alwaies finde good & holy instructions for the soule, by considering the nature and office of euery part of the body. Let vs then consider of other instruments of

Of the Mesentery and Meseraicall veines 521

of the naturall power of the soule, then hitherto we haue spoken of.

After the entrals and guts, the *Mesenterie* followeth, which is placed in the midst of them, whereupon it is so called of the Græcians, as if you would say, *dwelling in the midst of the guts*. And because it is caried and lift vp into the middle of al these vessels, it is also called by some *Mesareon*, which name signifieth the selfe same thing in Greeke. Others take *Mesareon* to be the highest part of the *Mesentary*, which is also called *Calcreas* by the Græcians, because the flesh of it is very pleasant to eat, according as the name giueth vs to vnderstand. So that it is no entrall or gut, but a coat and foulded covering in the midst of them: or rather a thicke white flew of a snowie & kernelly substance, that beareth fat, distinguishing the entrals, and knitting them vnto the backe. But it was chiefly created to beare vp and sustaine the *Meseraicall veines* and *arteries*, with the sinewes that are in that member: which because they are in danger of breaking, through the vehement motions of the body & such other accidents, therefore the prouidence of God would not haue them with a foundation, prop & defence to countergard them. For this cause he hath fortified and fastened the branches and diuisions of the veines, by such a member & instrument, which serueth in stead of a band & stay both to the great & little ones. Besides, this action and vse also is to fasten and keepe the entralls euery one in his place, and to conuey vnto the liuer by the *meseraicall veines*, that are called the hands thereof, that liquor which the Grecians call *Chylus*, of which we haue already spoken. For as the bodies of trees haue their roots, which spread abroad in the earth to draw nourishment from thence, euen so there are branches dispersed throughout the *Mesentery*, and deriued from the liuer veine, which are ioyned to the bowels, as it were small rootes to draw foode, being much like to haire or cobwebbes. These branches or small rootes are the *Meseraicall veines*, so called, because they are placed in the vpper part of that member and instrument that is called *Mesareon*, whereof I spake euen now. Their office and nature is to draw & suck out nourishment from the guttes, and to carry it to the liuer, from whence they haue all their beginning, as appeareth by *Anatomic*, howsoeuer there are that think, that some of them come not from thence. The flesh of the *Mesentery* is kernelly and fatty, not onely seruing in stead of a munition and defence, as hath bin said, but also to moisten the entralls and guts, and to preserue the heate both of the bowels and veines. So likewise the arteries are ioyned to the veines, to giue them heate, and to the guts also to concoct the liquor and nourishment. Besides, the nerves and sinewes there, serue to giue sense to the guts. There is moreouer a kernelly flesh, which the phisitions call *Pancreas*, because he doth wholly resemble flesh, as the Greeke name importeth. It is placed in hollow part of the liuer, that it might be as it were a cushion vnto it, and a perseruer of the diuided parts thereof, by filling the void places that are between the stomake, the liuer and the spleene, to the end it may vphold and protect the *Meseraicall veines*, and keepe every thing from breaking either by falles or by violent motions. Now touching the liuer, it is a very noble member. For it is the principallest member of all the naturall parts, and the chiefest instrument belonging to the vegetatiue and nourishing power of the soule. It is the first of the nobler parts that is made perfect, when the childe is framed in the mothers wombe, it is the author, shop, and forge of the blood, the original & fountaine of the veines. Therefore the substance of it is a soft & red flesh, like to blood newly pressed out and clodded, Neuerlesse in it owne nature it is perfect flesh, hauing sundry different veines dispersed throughout as it were threedes, and arteries also ioyned vnto the for their refreshing. Now after the stomack hath finished the first concoction of meat, and turned it into liquor as it hath bin declared vnto vs, the second is made in the liuer, after it hath received this liquor so prepared by the stomack & guts as we said, and turned it into blood. This concoction is perfect in the small veins, that are dispersed throughout the body of the liuer. And because God hath ioyned this office to this member, he hath compounded it of such a flesh & matter, as hath given vnto it this proper & peculiar vertue, to conuert into blood that food and nourishment that is brought vnto it, to the end it may be the instrument of the generation of that thing wherwith the body is nourished. Hauing thus transformed the liquor received, it maketh it red like vnto it selfe: as contrariwise, blood is made white in the breasts of womā, both by reaso of their nature & substance, as also for other causes touched by vs. The temperature of the liuer is hot & moist, such as becometh the blood and concoction it hath to perform, which is like to boiled meat. Now for asmuch as this instrument & member is the chiefest in the kitching of mans body, God hath giuen vnto it such a nature & property, as if there were in it a harth, a table, a knife, & a wagoner, as some name the, hauing regard to the diuers

Of the Mesentery.

Of the Mesareon.

The chief use of it.

Other uses of the Mesentery.

Of the Meseraicall veines Their vie.

Of the Pancreas or sweet bread.

The uses of it.

Of the liuer and excellencie thereof.

The second concoction is made in the liuer.

Four degrees of concoction in the liuer.

The fountaines of the blood, and veines, spirits and arteries.

Our life compared to a lampe.

Two great veines in the body.

The Port-veine.

The hollowe veine.

Eccles. 12. 6.

A place of Salomon expounded.

actions therof, & to the sundry degrees of concoction made therein. They call the first actiō or degree of concoction by the name of a harth, because it serueth to heat the foode, as a harth doth in a kitching. The second is called a table, namely, when the food beginneth to gather it self together in the liuer, & is there placed as it were vpon a table to be sent vnto the members. The third action hath the name of a knife giuen vnto it, because it diuideth & maketh a separatiō of the humors. And the fourth is as it were the wagoner, because there is the carriage and conueiance of all from thence into the hollow veine. For the naturall vertues and powers gouerne the humors very wel, conducting and leading thē to their due places. For this cause the liuer is the fountaine of blood, & the spring of all the vaines by which it is distributed throughout the body as the hart is the fountaine of the vital spirits, & the originall of the arteries, whereby the spirits necessary for the body are conueied into it, as the blood from the liuer. Wherefore euen as the arteries are a kind of vains to carry & to distribute the aire, breath, & vitall spirits: so likewise the vaines proceeding frō the liuer, are ordained to distribute the blood into all parts of the body. These two are linked together with such a neere alliance & agreemēt, that the vaines administer matter to the vital spirit, which is engendred in the hart of the purest & most spirituall blood as the spirit likewise helpeth the blood by his heat in the arteries. Therefore they haue mouths ioyning each to other, to the end the spirit, as it were a little flame, may receiue nourishment out of the veins, & that the veines may draw spirit & heat from the arteries. For as we haue already touched, our life is much like to a flame in a lampe, that receiue food from the oile put into the lampe, euen so the vital spirit, which is as a flame within vs, draweth & taketh nourishment from the veins. Wherein we haue a goodly example of that mutuall society, which we ought to haue one towards another in this life. Now of those veins that deriue their original frō the liuer, there are 2. principall ones that are very great, of which the others are but as it were branches, that from the liuer spread themselves vpwards & downwards through all the parts of the body. These two veins coming out of the liuer take their beginning from many little veins, which being as it were their roots, ioyne together afterward into two trunks or great bodies, that diuide themselves againe into diuers boughs & branches, whereof some are greater and some lesser, after the maner of trees. The first is called the *Port veine*, because it is as it were the doore of the liuer out of which it proceedeth, being placed in the hollow part thereof. The vse and profit of it is to receiue nourishment prepared by the stomach & guts, & then to keep it vntil the liuer hath turned it vnto pure blood, for to send it afterward to all the body by the other great veine called the *Cave* or hollow veine. And this proceeds from the outside of the liuer, resembling the body of a tree, and diuiding it selfe into two great branches, of which the lesser ascendeth vnto the vitall and animall parts, & to the ends of them, and the bigger branch descendeth down alongst the hinder part of the liuer, vpon that part of the chine bone that is between the kidneys, & so goeth to those parts that are contained vnder them. Forasmuch therefore as the arteries & veines are the principall instrumēt, whereby the soule giveth life vnto the body, some learned men expound that of the vital & naturall parts, which *Salomon* speaks of the siluer coard not lengthned, of the golden ewer broken, of the pitcher broken at the well, & of the wheele broken at the cisterne. We haue already spoken of the siluer chaine and of the golden ewer, when wee discoursed of the chine bone of the backe, and of the marrow of it. Touching the residue, they vnderstand by the well the liuer, which is the fountaine of blood: & by the pitcher, the veins because they are the vessels whereby the blood is taken out of the liuer & drawne thence, that it may be distributed to all the body: and by the cisterne is vnderstood the heart, and by the wheele, the head. For we may already perceiue by that which we haue already said of the heart, how seruiceable the liuer is vnto it, considering that the heart is the fountaine of the vitall spirits and the originall of the arteries, (as the liuer of the blood and of the veins) and that the vitall spirits are engendred in the heart of the purest and most spirituall blood, which it draweth and receiue from the liuer. Moreover, these vitall spirits are by means of the heart sent vnto the braine and the head, to serue the animall powers that haue their places and instruments there, and to serue all the senses as well spirituall as corporall. Therefore the head is aptly compared to a wheele, both for the roundnesse of it: as also because it draweth and receiue the vitall spirits from the heart, which sendeth thē vnto it as the water is drawne from his fountaine, well, or cisterne by means of the wheele. Further, as it is a needefull, that there should be a coard to reach from the wheelle downe to the well, and a pitcher or bucket at the end of the coard to draw water withall.

so the arteries reaching from the heart vp to the head, are like to the coarde and pitcher, whereby the braine draweth vitall spirites from the heart. For the great arterie, called *Aorta* Of the artery
Aorta. by the Physicians, which commeth out of the heart, and is diuided into two great branches, of which the one goeth vpward, to carry the vitall spirit to the superiour parts, and the other downeward to doe the like below, forasmuch as it ioyneth vnto the heart, may be taken for the pitcher that draweth from thence the vitall spirits, as from a well; and the branch that ascendeth vpward may be taken for the coard ioyned vnto the wheele.

The like may be seene in the liuer. For the great veines of it are as it were the pitcher, & the veines that ascend vp vnto the head, as likewise the arteries, are the coarde that draweth vp the blood from out of the liuer. If then we ioyne that which we haue already heard of the siluer chaine or coarde, and of the golden ewer, with that which wee speake now of the pitcher and of the well, of the wheele, and of the cisterne, we may well be assured, that *Salomon* hath most wisely comprehended in so small a number of wordes, all the internall parts of the body, and all the powers both *animall*, *vitall* and *naturall*, together with all the instruments which they haue in the body and in the members thereof. For first behold the braine signified by the golden ewer: then the pith of the chine bone and the chine bone it selfe by the siluer coard; next, the liuer by the well, which hath also his pitcher: and lastly, the heart which is signified by the cisterne. As for that particularly spoken of the pitcher and wheele broken, which draw water out of the well and cisterne, it is all one as if he had said, that when the fountaine of blood in the liuer waxeth dry and decayeth, the wheele above, namely, the head, is broken, because all the senses both exterior and interior and the animall vertues faile in the body. For the soule wanteth sound instruments to giue life, motion, and sense vnto it, they being worn and consumed by those meanes and causes, which we shall vnderstand hereafter. But to follow our purpose, and not to depart from the matter, we must intreate of the nature of blood, and of other humours in the body, and of their diuersitie and nature. This then *ACHITO B.* shall be the matter subiect of thy discourse.

Of the blood and of other humours in the body: of their diuersitie and nature, and of the agreement they haue with the elements: of the similitude that is betweene the great garden of this great world, and that of the little world, touching the nourishment of things contained and preserued in them. Chap. 64.

ACHITO B. If in many of our discourses we saw great testimonies of the image of the great world in man, the matter we haue now to handle wil set before our eyes such as are most cleere and euident. For looke how the sea is as it were the great fountain & womb of all waters, and of the floods and riuers that issue out of them to water the whole earth: so likewise the liuer is as it were the fountaine of the blood and veines, which are like to brookes and riuers, to carry and distribute the blood throughout the whole body, to the end that all the parts of it might be moistened, soaked, and nourished according to their severall natures. So that the liuer in mans body, and in man, who is the little world, is as the sea in the great world, and the veines are like to the floods and riuers. Neither are the parts of the body by this means moistned, watred, & norished with blood onely, but also with all the other humors, wherwith it is tempred, & without which the body can not liue. For the blood carieth al the rest with it. But that we may the better vnderstand this matter, & what is the proper nature of blood, we must first know what a humor is, and how many kinds of it there are. A similitude.

We vnderstand by a *Humour*, a liquide and running body into which the foode is conuerted in the liuer, to this end that bodies might be nourished and preserued by them. And as there are foure elements of which our bodies are compounded, so there are foure sorts of humors answerable to their natures, being all mingled together with the blood: as we may see by experience in blood let out of ones body. For vppermost we see as it were a little skim like to the skoure or working of new wine, or of other wine whē it is powred forth. Next we may see as it were small streames of water mingled with the blood. And in the bottome is seene a blacker and thicker humor, like to the lees of wine in a wine vessell. So that if we know how to consider wisely of these things, it wil be easie for vs to vnderstand the distinction What a humor is.

Of the nature
of blood.

of these sundry humours, and their nature. Now concerning the first of them, we are to know that the proper nature of blood is to be hot and moist; wherein it answereth to the nature of the aire. It is remperate, sweet, and fatty, as also the best and chiefest part of nourishment. For albeit all the other humours doe nourish likewise, and are carried of the blood, neuer thelesse that humour which is properly called blood, is the chiefest part of nourishment. For it is requisite that nourishment should be sweet, or at leastwise tempred with sweete liquor.

Of the chole-
ricke humor.

Next, that thin skim which is scene on the top of it, resembling the floure of wine, is that humour that is called yellow choler, or the cholericke humour which is hot and dry, of a bitter taste, and answering to the nature of fire, which is of the same nature. For it is bred of

Of the flegma-
ticke humor.

the hottest and driest parts of that liquor, in which the nourishment of the body consisteth, when through their great heat they boyle together. Moreover, those small streams of water, which we see mingled in the blood, proceede of the flegmaticke humour that is cold and moist, like to water of whose nature it holdeth. For this humour is in part concocted for the turning of it into blood, but not wholly perfected. Hereof it cometh that the colour of it remaineth white, much like to water, and without taste, or as some affirme, it is somewhat brackish, but not fatty. Lastly, the blacke humour and most earthy, which looketh like the very bottome of a deepe, red, and thicke wine, or like the lees in a vessell full of wine or oyle, is the melancholike humour, or as some terme it, blacke choller, being colde and dry like to the earth, with which it hath some agreement, & of taste somewhat sharpe.

Of the melan-
cholicke hu-
mour.

The agree-
ment betwixt
the humours
and the ele-
ments.

Now in this diuersity of these humours mingled altogether with the blood two things are worthy to be well marked. First the agreement & conformity which they haue with al the elements of which the body of man is compounded: so that each of them hath his proper element agreeable to his nature, to the end they may nourish and preserue al the parts of the body, according to the nature of the elements of which they hold. The other point is, not on ly the disagreement but euen the manifest contrariety that is betweene all these humors, as ther is betwixt the elements: & again the vnion that appears to be between the in the midst of this contrariety, as the like is among the elements, whose nature they follow. Moreover we see, that between light & darknes, day & night, colde & heate, drynes & moisture, between the diuers & contrary seasons of the yeere, besides sundry other such contrarieties that are in nature, and in all other things, I say betweene these so contrary, God frameth notwithstanding such a wonderful concord, tempering and knitting them in such sort one with another, that they are so far frō defacing & destroying each other, as contrariwise they could not possibly be preserued, except they were tied together with such a knot & coniunction.

How the hu-
mours and e-
lements agree
in places.

Now beside that which we haue here spoken of the nature of these humors, we haue further to note, that they do not on ly agree with the elements in qualities, but also in regard of their places in mans body, I meane in the whole masse and distribution of the blood, and in the coniunction they haue together, euen as the elements haue their places each after other. For as the fire of it owne nature is light, & therefore laboreth alwaies to ascēd vpwārd, to attaine to his naturall place: so the cholericke humour, which ageeth with the nature therof, occupieth the highest place among the humors mingled with the blood, as we may perceiue by that that hath beene already spoken of the floure and skim of blood, according to that comparison which wee made betwixt blood and wine. The like may bee saide of the rest. For as the aire is lightest next to the fire, and the neere element vnto it and to the rest of the celestiall fires: so the blood properly so called, keepeth the place of the aire among the humors of the body. For it is not so light as the fire, nor so heauie as the water or the earth. And so consequently the flegmaticke and melancholike humors occupy the lower places according to their degrees, as the water, and the earth doe in this great world. For this cause all these humors besides their common offices & effects, haue others more specially agreeable to their nature, as (God willing) wee will declare hereafter. And namely, the flegmaticke humor that holdeth of the nature of the water, is to be considered of. For as in this great visible world, there are waters both aboue and beneath, I mean those that are contained and retained within the clouds in the aire, and those that are in the sea and in riuers, kept within their bounds assigned them for their course: so the like is to be found in the little world, which is man.

Nowe hitherto haue wee learned, how the water and the other humors are carried with the blood throughout the body, as well vpwārd as downeward, by meanes of the veines which water all the partes of it, how high or lowe soeuer they be, and therewithall carry vnto them their foode and nourishment. And this agreeth fitly to the wonderful

derfull worke of Gods providence in nature, which, of the vapours arising out of the earth, gathereth the cloudes together, and these like to sponges sucke vp vapours from the waters of which themselves are engendred, and which afterward they carry about (as it were in chariots) to distribute them into all quarters of the world, according as it shall please God to dispose of them, by sending his blessing vpon the earth by the meanes of raine, where, with being watred, it nourisheth all those herbes, trees, plants, and fruits which it bringeth forth not onely for the sustenance of men, but also of beasts. Let vs then imagine before vs a garden wherein is infinite variety of trees and plants of all sorts, and that this garden it watred either by raine from heauen, or by pipes & conduites wherby the water is brought thither and dispersed in all places thereof. We shall see that in this great diuersitie of nature, there is but one and the same nourishment for them all, and but one place. And albeit the liquor that affoordeth this nourishment to so many sorts of plants be but one; neuertheless it is conuerted into the nature of all those things which it nourisheth, so that the nature of it is changed according to the distinct property of each of them. For there are plants and herbes of all qualities, and of all tastes and colours. Some are hote, others cold, some drie, others moist, either in the first, or second, or third, or fourth degree, or else are tempered and intermingled according to their severall natures. As for their tastes, some are sweete, others sharpe, or bitter, or of no certaine taste. In a word, there are of all kindes of tastes, both simple and compound. And yet the humour or liquor is but one that receiueth all these qualities, as in wormewood it becommeth bitter, and in the Vine or Figge-tree sweet. And if the herbes be either for foode, or for Physicke, or of a poisonfull nature, the same may be said of the humour that nourisheth them. The like is seene also in colours. Neither doe we obserue all this by experience onely in some great diuersitie of trees, and of all sorts of plants, but euen in each of them severally. For I pray you what difference is there in euery herbe, or in euery severall tree, I meane between the roote and the stalke, the body and the branches, the boughes and the leaues, the flowers, seeds and fruits? And yet all these sundry parts receiue nourishment from one Mother, and from one and the same substance and liquor. Moreouer we see that as man, and all other liuing creatures, haue their heart in the middest of their bodies which is the fountaine of life, so all trees, herbes, and plants haue their heart in the midst of them according to their nature, without which they could not liue. For we call their heart the inward part, within which their pith remaineth, which is vnto them as the heart is to liuing and sensible creatures. Whereupon we haue further to note in regard of those herbes that haue weake stalkes, especially hollow ones, or such as haue straws instead of stalke, that the providence of God hath giuen vnto them knots, seuered as it were into sundry small knees which are vnto them in place of their stomacke, & of their nutritiue members to retaine their nourishment the longer, & to concoct it the better, as also to strengthen the thereby. And this we may evidently see in all sorts of corne & pulse. Euen so doth nature, or rather the prince thereof worke in a mans body, which is as it were a garden that hath a soule. Wherein the Creator of this whole frame sheweth himselfe no lesse wonderfull, nay rather much more then in this great garden of the whole earth, & of the great world, of both which he is the Gardener that watereth them, to nourish all the fruits they bring forth, & to cause the to grow. For from whence proceede, or are nourished the bones, gristles, ligaments, sinews, arteries, veines, flesh, kernels, fat, together with all the other parts of which the body is compounded? May not the like be said of the eies & of their coats & humors, of their eares, nose, tongue, teeth, belly, stomacke, guts, liuer, spleene, kidneis, & of al the other bowels, & inward parts? And if we come to the hands & feet, & to the other outward members, & to all the other parts called *instrumentall*, & distinguished according to their office, we shal find that only through the alteration of their food into liquor, they all receiue such nourishment as is proper to each of them. Yet notwithstanding one & the same substance is offred to so many sundry members, being made familiar & of the same nature with that part vnto which it is ioined. For if it go to the eies, it becometh of the same temperament, that the nerves and spirits belonging to the sight are of, which bring the faculty and vertue of seeing vnto the eies: as likewise it is of the same temperament with the coats & humors of which the eies are compounded, being diuided and distributed to each sundry part by a naturall property inherent in them. The like is done in the eares, and in other members and instruments of the corporall senses, and in all the other parts of the body, euen to the very nailes and haire thereof. Wherein truly we see wonderfull alterations, and a most admirable worke of Gods providence, whether it be considered

Agreement betwixt the great garden of the world, and that of the little world. A godly contemplation in nature.

Of the heart of plants.

The body of man compared to a garden.

Mans life in
the mist of
two waters.

considered in the whole earth, and in this great world, or in man, who is the little world. Now for the sequels of our speech, before we come to speake of the speciall offices and effects of the three humors ioyned with the blood, of which we haue beere spoken, wee are to consider besides this distribution made of the nourishment by meanes of the veines, as it hath beene told vs, of another meane by which these humors, and especially the flegmatike, ascend vp vnto the braine: whereby it commeth to passe that in man, as well as in the great world, there are waters aboue and below, which are the cause that mans life swimmeth in the midst of a great danger. Also wee are to know why the soule and the blood are often taken each for other, and to be instructed in the temperature of the humors, necessarily belonging to the body for health and life thereof: as likewise to consider of the causes of health and sicknesse, and of life and death. But this shall be for to morrow, when thou *ASER*, shalt vndertake the discourse of these things, so farre forth as is requisite for vs to know.

The ende of the eighth daies Worke.

The ninth daies worke.

Of the vapours that ascend vp to the braine, and of the waters and cloudes contained therein, and in what perils men are thereby: why the soule and blood are put one for another: of the temperature of the humors necessarie for the health and life of the body: of the causes of health and of diseases, and of life and death.

Chap. 65.



ASER. It is the saying of an ancient Philosopher, that they which saile vpon the water, are not aboue two or three fingers breadth distant from death: namely, so farre off as the thicknesse of the planks and timber of the Ship is, in which they are caried into the Sea. For if that timber were taken from vnder them, they cannot auoide drowning vnlesse they can swimme like fishes. But not to saile on the Sea, or vpon a lake or riuer to approach neere to death, wee haue it a great deale neerer vs when wee carry about vs infinite causes and meanes, whereby we are euery houre in danger of stifling, and as it were of drowning, and that both waking and sleeping, eating and drinking, within doores, and without, at all times, and in all places wherefoeuer wee become. Insomuch that of what estate and disposition soeuer men are, wee are oftentimes astonished to heare tidings of a mans death, sooner then of his sicknesse, whom wee saw not long before, meery, cheerefull and in good health.

Vapours ascending vp to
the braine.

Watry clouds
in the braine.

Now we may learne some chiefe causes hereof by this daies handling of that matter Subiect, which was yesterday propounded to bee discoursed vpon. And first wee must know, that besides the distribution of the humors together with the blood into all parts of the body by the veines, & that for the causes before learned, there is yet another meane whereby these humors, especially the flegmaticke humor, which is of the nature of the water, ascend vp vnto the braine by reason of vapours arising vpward out of the stomack, like to the vapour of a pot seething on the fire with liquor in it, and like vapours that ascend vp from the earth into the aire, of which raine is engendred. Now when these vapours are come vp to the braine, they returne to their naturall place, and into the nature of those humors of which they were bred, as the vapours that are held in the aire turne againe into the same nature of water of which they came. Therefore as the waters are contained within the cloudes in the region of the aire allotted vnto them, so is it withour braine which is of a cold nature, and of a spongie substance fit for that purpose. So that we alwaies carry within it as it were cloudes full of water, and of other humors that distill and runned downe continually by the members and passages, which God hath appointed to that ende, as wee haue already heard. And these places albeit they serue especially to purge feuerall humors;

as hath bene tolde vs, yet oftentimes they voide them altogether, both by reason of their mingling and coniunction, as of their ouer great abondance. Yea many times they are so plentifull, namely, the flegmaticke humour, that because the braine cannot sufficiently discharge it selfe of them by the ordinarie way, these humours ouerflow on all sides where. soeuer they can finde any vent and issue, euen as when a thundering cloude bursteth asunder. So that the water runneth not down as it were a milde and gentle raine, but as mighty flood that bringeth great ruines with it, or as a riuer passing his ordinary course, breaketh downe both banke and wall, and ouerfloweth euery where. Therefore wee may well say, that many times we haue floods of water enclosed within our heads & braines, when wee neuer thinke of it, nor yet consider in what danger we are. Which the more secret and vnknowne it is vnto vs, the more perillous it is, and greatlier to be feared, especially considering it is so neere vs, and that we haue fewer meanes to auoide it, as we haue daily examples in many, who being in health and mery, are suddenly choaked by *Catarrhes*, which like to floods of waters, runne downwards, as the very name deriued from the Græcians doth import as much: or by some sodaine *Apoplexie*, how healthy soeuer before they seemed to be. Others also there are, who if they be not presently choked with such floods frō the brain, yet they are taken with palsies, lameness, and impotency in all their members, or at leastwise in some of them, as if some water flood had carried them away, so that nothing had been saued but the bare life, and that more fraile and miserable then death it selfe. I speak not of gowty persons, who although they be not assaulted with such great & vehement floods of waters, and with euill and superfluous humours, so that some few drops only (of which they are so called) fall vpon some parts of them, yet are they greatly tormented and constrained to crie out, and that oftentimes in extreme distresse. Which consideration ought to stirre vs vp to know wherein our life and preservation thereof consisteth, and of whom we hold it. And on the other side, although wee had no examples of floods and inundations of waters, of earthquakes, and such other iudgements of God whereby he punisheth men, neuertheless these waterfloods which we alwaies carry about vs, ought to admonish and induce vs to feare him, to call vpon him by praier, and day and night, yea houely to recommend our life vnto him seeing he can take it from vs by stopping our breath, yea by a very small matter: or at least depriue vs of all motion and sense, as though our bodies had neither soule nor life in them, but were like to poore dead carcases. For the doing hereof he needeth not to thunder or lighten from heauen against vs, but only to cause a small shoure of water to powre downe from our head, which is the highest, the goodliest and most noble part of all the body, and as it were the heauen of the litle world: or if it please him to cause a few drops only to distil downe vpon the sinewes and ioints, it will torment men more grievously then if they were in some continuall torture, as the dayly songs of such gowtie persons do testifie who are impatient and voide of the feare of God. Now besides this profitable aduertisement, which euery one may take by that which hath bin here vttered, we ought on the other side to consider the providence and goodnes of God towards men, in that as hee holdeth vp in the aire and cloudes, the water that hangeth ouer vs, not suffering them to break downe vpon vs all at once to ouerwhelme all the earth by them, with all the beastes and other creatures contained in it, but distributeth them by good & iust measure, so dealeth he with the humours that ascend vp continually, and are kept in our braine, where they haue their vessels to retaine them in, as it were in sponges, which yeeld forth water according as they are either loosened, or restrained and closed together. And as for that which is said of the testimony which we haue of the frailty of our life, appearing in the principall and most noble part of our body, as the like was shewed vs before in that instruction, which we learned by the office that God assigned to our lungs, and to the passages allotted by him for the taking in and letting out of the aire: so we haue a very notable lesson in the consideration of the liuer and of the blood, of which that is the forge and fountaine, and of the distribution thereof into all the parts and members of the body by meanes of the veines, as wee heard yesterday. For as a man may iudge by outward appearance that the life of man consisteth in breath, and that he giueth vp both soule & life when he dieth, as it were in going vp the last gaspe: so it seemeth also that it is placed in the blood, as that which goeth as it were with the blood, so that when the blood is drawne out of a mans body, the life also may seeme to be drawne out therewithall. Hereupon as the soule is oftentimes in the holy Scripture put for the life, because it giueth life to the body, so it is also put for the blood, and the blood likewise called soule, because it is the instrument and meanes whereby the

Inconueni-
ces that come
from the
braine.

Instruction
for euery one.

Testimony
of the prou-
idence of God

soule

Gen. 9. 4. 5.

soule giueth life: and when the Lord forbiddeth his people to eat *the flesh with his soule, that is the blood thereof.* Whereby his meaning is to teach men to abhorre the effusion of mans blood & therefore he saith further, *I will require your blood, even the blood of your soules.* Wherefore he that sheedeth blood, doth as much as if he drew the soule out of the body. Now forasmuch as the blood is so necessary vnto life, we are likewise to vnderstand, that as it is either pure and sound, or vnpure and corrupted, so is it disposed either to health or sicknes, and to life or death. For as the naturall life of man consisteth especially in heat and moisture, so a man may easily iudge, that as euery thing is bred by meanes of them, chiefly living and sensible creatures, so nothing can bee preserved in this bodily life without these two qualities, that are proper to ayre and to blood, as wee haue already heard. But these qualities must be so tempered, that there be no excessse on either side. And for this cause

The mixture
of the hu-
mors neces-
sary.

The causes of
health and of
sicknesse.

G O D would haue all the humors to be mingled together with the blood, that so it might be tempered as is requisit for the life of man. For if it be too hote and drie, or too moist and cold, it cannot doe that office, for the performance whereof it is ordeined: but in steade of bringing health and life, it will breed diseases, and in the ende cause death. For naturall death commeth onely of diseases, amongst which olde age is to be reckoned, which is an incurable sicknesse that lasteth vntill death. Neither doe diseases proceede but onely of the distemperature that is in mens bodies, and in the humours of which they are compounded. For as long as the are in a good, moderate, and proportionable temper, and are distributed to all the parts of the body, according as neede requireth, so that none of them exceedeth, then is there an equality in all the body, which doth not onely preserve it in life, but in health and good disposition. For there is the like concord and harmony betweene these humours, that is betweene the parts of a good consort of Musicke agreeing well together, or of an instrument of Musicke well tuned, from which you shall heare nothing but pleasant melodie. Whereas if all the parts thereof agree not well together, there will be no muscical harmony, but onely a very vnpleasant discord. The like may be said of all the concords and discords that may fall out in the humours of our bodies.

Sin the cause
of all the dis-
cord in the
world.

And therefore God had so tempered them in the first creation of man, and was requisite, so that hee would haue preserved him in a perpetuall life, if by true obedience hee had alwaies beene knit and vnited vnto God his Creatour. But since man fell at variance with G O D through sinne, all this goodly concord, which God had placed not onely in mans body, but also betweene the rest of his creatures, hath beene troubled and turned into discord by meanes of sinne. So that all this goodly temperature and harmony of the humours in which mans body was created, was dissolved, and broken asunder, and that in such sort that it was neuer since found and perfect in any man, of how good constitution soeuer it hath beene. For euery in the best complexions there is alwaies some defect or excessse in some of the humors: so that if there were no other cause, yet no body could naturally be immortall. For alwaies in the ende the excessse or defect that is in it would cause it to decay, and finally bring it to corruption. But besides this, there are so many other wants and superfluities throughout the whole life of man, whereby this euill already become naturall, is so much augmented, that there die moe without comparison of ordinarie diseases and of violent death, then of olde age and naturall death: and all this by meanes of sinne.

The causes
of death.

Therefore we may well conclude, that health is the effect and fruit of peace and concord between all the parts & humors of mans body, and so consequently is life: as contrariwise, sicknesse and death proceede of discord, dissention & war between them. For as concord bringeth peace, and peace all good things with it, so contrariwise, discord breedeth warre, and warre a heaped measure of all miseries and euils. Wherefore a sound body of a good constitution is like the body of a whole people and societie, that hath the members agreeing well together, so that euery one keepeth his ranke, not hurting one another. But a sick and diseased body is like to the body of a mutinous and seditious people, that breaketh the order it ought to keepe, and goeth beyond the appointed bounds. Therefore wee haue a goodly image of peace, and of that peaceable life whereunto men are created and borne, in the disposition and the temperature of the humors and members of our body, whereby we ought to learue what great account we are to make of peace, amitie and concord, and how we ought to hate and abhorre all warre, discord and dissention, seeing the one is as it were health and life, and the other as diseases and death. Now let vs see the vse and profit, the particular

A politike in-
struction.

ticular and speciall properties of the humours ioyned with the blood : and what vessels are assigned vnto them, together with their nature and offices. It belongeth to thee, *AMANA*, to handle this matter.

Of the vses and commodities of the humours ioyned with the blood, and what vessels are assigned vnto them in the body, and of their nature and offices : and first of the cholerike humorr, of the gall and vessell thereof: next of the melancholike humour and of the spleene: then of the flegmatike humorr, and of the kidneis and other vessels, which it hath to purge by. Chap. 66.

AMANA. As we ought to labour to cut off all discord, and to nourish all concord, that we may enioy peace and those benefits that proceed thereof: so we must be very careful to preserve all the parts of our body in such a temperature, as may keepe the in a harmony and concord, that we may live in health. For this cause as God hath tempered all the humors one with an other, so he hath assigned to every one his proper place and seate, both to withdraw it selfe therein, and to performe the office enioyned vnto it, and also to purge and cleanse it selfe, and to discharge the body of superfluities and corruptions that otherwise might hurt it. Now we have already heard, how he hath assigned the liuer to bee the seate of the blood, because he hath appointed the blood to water all the body, and to give life and nourishment vnto it, out of which also the vitall spirits arise, as small and milde windes proceede out of rivers and fountaines.

As for the cholerike humour, it is ioyned with the blood for the concoction of humors that abound, and to awake and stirre vp the body least it become heavy, sleepy and dull, as also to penetrate and open the passages when it goeth with the blood, and therewithall to nourish those members that agree with the nature of it, as the lungs with whose nourishment cholerike blood doth better agree then any other. Whereby it appeareth evidently, that this humour holdeth of the nature of fire, which giueth vnto it this quickenesse and verue. And because it is hote and drie, it serueth also to temper the moisture of the blood, and to meete withall cold that might come vnto it, and helpeth to preserve it in his naturall heate. Now for as much as it is not all carried and distributed with the blood, but the greatest part of it remaineth for other vses, God hath assigned a vessell vnto it, into which it retireth and is contained therein so far forth as is requisite. The end hereof is, that the blood should not be infected with too much choler mingled therewith, as also that it might descend into the guts, by those passages that are giuen vnto it to that purpose to bee voided by them, and to prouoke them to discharge those excrements which they receiue, and so to purge the whole body. For this cause there is a bladder in fashion like to a long Peare, placed vnder the middest of the Liuer, about the hollow part of the right side of it, within which it is halfe hidden. This bladder is the vessell into which that yellow humour withdraweth it selfe, and is contained therein which we call *Gall*. And as this bladder hath his filaments and threds, both to draw vnto it and to retaine, as also to expell forth, so it hath two branches comming out of the necke of it, the one xward to draw away the cholerike humor in the purifying of the blood, the other downewards towards the guttes to carry this humour vnto them, both for the thrusting forward of nourishment, and for the casting forth of the excrements. For it was necessary, that the great abundance of this humor should retire into some place in the purging of the blood: and therefore it was as requisite that it should haue a fit vessell to retire into, wherein it was not to remaine vnprofitable. For beside the vses already spoken of, it serueth not only to cleanse all the guts of ordure, but also to heat the liuer, and to hinder the putrefaction of the blood. Besides, experience sufficiently sheweth, how needfull it is that the blood should haue such a vessell wherewith to purge it selfe. For when the passages thereof are stopped, great diseases follow thereupon, as inflammation of the liuer, and the dropsie, but especially the yellow laundies. For when this humour is not duely separated from the blood, so that it is not purged thereof as nature requireth, then doth it beginne to corrupt: whereupon it cannot send such food to the members as is necessary for them, but that which is corrupted by this gall, whereby they are driven out of their naturall disposition. And this wee may see chiefly in the yellowe laundies

Of the cholerike humor.

Of the gall & of his bladder

The vses of the cholerike humor.

Of the melancholike humor.

Of the spleene

What effects follow the operation of the liuer.

The commodities of the melancholike humor.

Of the flegmaticke humor and profit of it.

Of the kidneys.

iaundies by reason of this yellowe and bitter humor, that maketh the body yellowe, into which it is disperfed by meanes of the veines, in steed of being nourished with good blood. The like may bee sayde of the melancholike humor, which is as it were the lees of the blood. For if the blood be corrupted and infected, great inconueniences ensue thereof vnto the whole body, through which this humor is disperfed after the same manner that the cholericke humor is: inlomuch as it becommeth blacke thereby, as the cholericke humor maketh it yellowe, and for the like cause, breeding the like disease, the difference of humours onely excepted. Now because we haue not in our vsuall speech a speciall name to declare this difference, this disease is commonly called the blacke iaundies. Therefore God hath assigned the spleene for a seate to this black humor, which being placed on the left side containeth this humor in it: hauing proper pipes and passages, both to draw from the liuer this dregges of the blood, and also to communicate the same vnto the stomack, thereby to prouoke appetite, as likewise to purge it selfe by diuers meanes. The chiefe vse of it is to receiue the grosse and muddy blood, and to that end there is a great veine, which being the pipe of this blood, goeth from the *Port veine* to the spleene, which is nourished with the best of it, and concocteth the abundance of this humor. Therefore God hath created it with such a flesh as is meete and apt for that office: and further hath holpen it with certaine arteries, whereby it is heated and made warme. And when it hath taken so much of this grosse blood to nourish it selfe withall as is requisite, the rest is partly retained still, and partly thrust out and sent to the bottome of the stomacke, by a veine seruing for the same purpose, to the end that from thence this humor may be voided out of the body.

Now when these veines are stoppt, dangerous diseases follow thereupon, chiefly, when this happeneth to the first veine whereof I spake euen now. For when the liuer is not purged, his whole office is hindered, and it selfe decayeth by little and little, by retayning still the excrements thereof: from whence the vapours ascending vp to the braine trouble it very much, and cause it to fall into very strange & foolish conceiptes. And when the body is burthened with this humor, it causeth that man to be very melancholike, and sadde, and many times bringeth that yrkesomenesse vpon him that hee desireth nothing but death. It was very requisite therefore, that God should giue both a vessell and passages to this humor, which is not without his great commodities, if it be tempered and distributed as it ought to be. For it serueth to stay and to retaine the floating spirites, which arise out of the blood, least if they should be made more pure and subtil, then is expedient for the bodie, they vanish and passe away altogether. It is profitable also to thicken the blood, and to helpe to restraine and keepe it from running ouerlastily: besides, it nourisheth therewithall the melancholike members, which holde most of the nature of that humor, as namely, the bones and the spleene.

Likewise, the driness both of this and of the cholericke humor standeth the blood in some steade: and the coldnesse thereof serueth to coole and moderate the heat of the blood, and of the cholerike humor. As for the flegmaticke humor, which is also called *Pituita*, it is not without his commodities. For first, it is the matter wherof the blood is made, when it is by little and little concocted better: it mittigateth the heate of the blood, and is vnto it in place of nourishment, and in steade of a bridle to restraine the burning and deuouring heate thereof from present consuming of all. Besides, it keepeth the blood from being too thicke and drie: and being carried with the blood, it nourisheth the flegmaticke and cold members, such as the braine is. And as the other humours ioyned with the blood, haue their superfluities and vessels to keepe them in and to purge them, so is it with this.

For this humor is not onely carried with the blood to keepe it from ouermuch thickenesse, that it may the better passe through the veines: but there proceedeth also from the whole masse of blood, an excrement like to very thinnewater which by reason of the thinnesse of it, can no way be profitable to the body. For it is a water that differeth as much from blood, and from the flegmaticke humor ioyned with it, as whay doth from milke when the Butter and Cheefe with all the substance that can bee had from it is drawne out of it. For it is like to sweate, with which it hath some resemblance. Therefore it hath his proper place assigned vnto it in the Kidneis, which drawe to themselves the watrish matter from the blood, thereby purging it from water that would corrupt it; and fill the Veines in steade of good blood: as wee see it in the dropsie, which

which bloweth vp the body that is stuffed with water in stead of good nourishment which by the veines it should draw from the blood, if the liuer were well affected, and if all the other parts that ought to help it, did well performe their duties. And to the end, that the Kidneies may the better doe their dutie, God hath not onely created two, but hath so placed them by his prouidence, that the right kidney is higher then the left, so that they doe their duties one after another. For if they wrought both together, if they were both in one place, & if both drew vnto themselves with equal force, in stead of mutual help, they would greatly hinder each other: which inconuenience the prouidence of God doth very well meet with. And as all the inward parts, of which we haue hitherto spoken, haue their pipes both to draw from the liuer that humor that is meet for them, and to send it where neede requireth, and also for to purge themselves: euen so the kidneies haue their passages apt & meet for the performance of all these things. For first they haue *Emulgent* veines, so called *Emulgent* because they draw this waterish superfluity, as a child sucketh milke out of the breast, and haueing receiued this water seperated from the blood, they send it vnto the kidneies. It is true, that a little blood passeth together with it to nourish the kidneies withal, with which there is some yellow choller mingled, that serueth afterward to help expulsion, and the water being coloured therewith, is made yellow and brackish, and then it is rightly called *Vrine*. Now after the kidneies haue drawne from the liuer this water, whereby the blood is purged, and themselves also in part nourished with some little of the blood, and that by meanes of the veines and passages giuen vnto them for that purpose, they haue two other passages, called *Vreteres*, or *Vrine pipes*, whereby they purge and discharge themselves of that water that is called *Vrine*, after the blood is wholly seperated from it. This done, these pipes send the water vnto the bladder, which is a vessell meet for the receipt thereof, and which doth as it were distill the same by litle and litle through these pipes that enter into the bladder, both on the right side and on the left. Moreouer the bladder hath a neck and passage neere to the vrine pipes, wherby it dischargeth it selfe of this humour, after it hath kept the same a while, voiding it forth of the body as a superfluous excrement. For if this were not so, after the body were full of this water ouerflowing in it, not onely many parts and members would be broken, but also men should be stifled, by reason of the compression & contraction of the Midriffe. I speake not here of the stone which we carry in our kidneies, or of that which oftentimes breedeth both in the Kidneies and in the bladder, I meane of such stones as bake there as it were in a Tile kill, or potters fornace. I omit al the passions of the kidneies, and the extreame paines proceeding from thence, which are further instructions vnto vs of our infirmities and miseries, and of the frailty of mans life: but th handling of these things properly belongeth to the Physicians I wil only adde to that which I haue spoken of the necke of the bladder, where the Vinary pipes end, that the hole thereof is full of wreathings and turnings, to the end it may the better holde and keep in the water. And for this cause also it hath a muskle, as wel as the fundament, to open and to shut, & to yeeld and retaine the vrine according to natures will, euen as it is with the other excrements that are purged by the bowels. We propound these things as it were a generall Anatomy of the body, because if I should lay them open at large and by peece meale, each member hath in it sufficient whereof to make a great booke. For as I haue already declared, the artificiall workmanship of mans body is incredible and incomprehensible, if a man consider all the parts of it. For there is nothing, be it neuer so smal, but the work of it is very marueilous, the vse great, & so fitted to the purpose as cannot possibly be better. But we need not discoure more particularly of the composition and nature of mans body, and of the parts of it, seeing our inteut is not to become Physicians, but in some sort naturall diuines, by learning to know the prouidence of God in his works, especially in our creation, composition, nourishment and preservation, that we may glorifie him in them, as becommeth vs. Now in all that we haue hitherto propounded of the foure naturall humors of the body, we haue spoken of them according as naturallly they are, and ought to be without corruption, and such as are necessary for the life of man. But forasmuch as they are of great vertue and power in regard of the affections & maners of men, whether they abide in their right nature, or whether they be corrupted, we must speake somewhat of their corruption, and of the hurt that commeth thereby, not onely to the life and health of the bodie, but also to that of the soule considering withall what are the fundrie naturall temperaments of men. Marke therefore *ARAM*, what you haue to say vnto vs concerning this matter.

Emulgent
veines.

How the vrine
is made yellow

Of the Vre-
tes & of the
bladder.

Of the necke
of the bladder

What it is to
be a naturall
Diuine.

Of the names whereby the humours of the body are commonly called, with the causes wherefore: of the comparison betweene the corruption and temperature of the humours of the body, and betweene the manners and affections of the Soule: of the meanes whereby the humours corrupt, and of the Feuers and diseases engendred thereby: of the sundry naturall temperatures in every one. Chap. 67.

What communion ought to be among men.

ARAM. The nourishment of mans body hath many degrees, & passeth through many pipes and vessels, before it be perfect and converted by true generation into the proper substance of every member whether it is carried, as we may iudge by that which we haue already heard to this purpose. But there is such an accord betweene all the members of the body, whereby every one executeth his office, and such a communion of all their powers, that each member keepeth his ranke and order, neither doth any one retaine and keepe to it selfe more nourishment then is requisite, but sendeth as much as is needfull vnto therest, even vnto the nayles, and haire and vttermoſt excrements. Now if through some defect or corruption falling out in their nature, any of them breake the order of this equall distribution, a common detriment seizeth vpon the whole body, and vpon all the members generally, so that those parts also taste of the hurt, that offered wrong vnto the residue. For they can not liue alone, nor without helpe from others. The like is seene in the Common wealth, and in the members thereof. For what is the cause that some are ready to burst for fatnesse and multitudines of meates, whereas others are empty and die of hunger? that some haue so much wealth, that they are greatly troubled therewith and others are so poore? Nay, what is the cause of all the confusion in the world, but that every one taketh to himselfe, and no such equality and communion is obserued, as becommeth the estate of every one; Wherefore as sundry diseases are bred in mans body whereby in the end it is vtterly ouerthrowne, when there is no such communion between, the members thereof, nor any such distribution of the nourishment as there ought to be: so is it with the body of the Common wealth, when some oppresse others, and when every one hath not that that belongeth vnto him. For: first there followeth great confusion, and of confusion, subuersion, as diseases follow faults committed by the members, and after diseases death it selfe.

The cause of mens ingratitude.

Now the infinite number of infirmities and ordinary diseases, whereby moe violent deaths are procured then naturall, by reason of the defects and excesses brought in by sinne into the whole life of man, causeth men to speake diuersely of the foure humours of the body, necessary for the preservation and nourishment thereof. For they are more often taken for the vices and excesses, whereby they are corrupted, then for the true naturall humours, which are the chiefe instruments of the soule, whereby it giuerh life and nourishment to the body. The cause whereof, as I thinke, is because men doe sooner and more easily perceiue and marke what is euill and hurtfull vnto them, then that which breedeth their good and profit. And indeed it falleth out commonly, that they know not the good things they haue vntill they haue lost them, or else are become hurtfull vnto them. No marueile then if they know not from whence these good things come, or of whom they haue receiued them & so become ingratefull towards GOD. Wherefore let vs not wonder when God withdraw eth them from vs, or suffreth them to corrupt and to be spoiled that they might hurt vs instead of helping vs, to the end that by this means wee might learne to acknowledge that good which before wee knew not, and not to despise it when wee haue it, I meane that wee should learne this by the euill that succeedeth after wee haue lost the good. For we are such schollers as cannot otherwise imprint in our minds those good thinges which God bestoweth vpon vs, but by being deprived of them, and by our own hurt.

Hereof it is that we alwayes learne to our owne cost, as we say, because we can not conceiue so well, as we ought to doe of the free goodnesse of God. Nay, it were well if all could learne a right by their owne harmes. For there are but few that profit thereby as they ought. How many are there that in steede of amendment, waxe through the chastisements of God? But in the meane time our vsuall manner of speaking teacheth vs, that

men.

men haue more knowledge of corrupt humours that hurt them, then of the good ones that nourish them, and continue in their naturall soundnesse, seeing their names are more often taken in the euill part then in the good. Now when wee spake before of these humours in the body, it was as they are and ought to bee naturall, and such as beeing voyde of corruption, are necessary for the life of man. And forasmuch as they are of great force in regard of the affections and manners of men, whether they abide in their owne nature, or whether they be corrupted, we will speake somewhat more of their corruption, and of those hurtes which they bring to the health and life of the body: afterward we will consider of their effects in the soule. But we must here call to mind what we heard before of the agreement betweene the manners and affections of the soule, and the temperature of the body and how the one serueth the other. Whereby wee may gather, that it is so with the affections in regard of the soule, as it is with the naturall humours in regard of the bodie. For according as these humours are well or ill tempered, so is the body well or ill affected: & according as they increase or diminish, so the health of a man is more sound and stedfast, or more crasie and inconstant, and so ready to turne into more grievous and dangerous diseases. The like may bee said of the stayednes or vnstayednes of the affections of the soule, and of the spirituall health and diseases thereof. For this cause, if we ought to be so carefull to reduce our body to a good temperature when there is any defect: and being so, to preserve it in the same estate still, and so likewise for the equality and agreement that ought to be between the humors from whence it commeth, so that we desire to obtaine health when we are sicke, and to keep it wel when we haue it, then ought we to be much more carefull for the temperature and moderation of the affections of the soule, and of the spirituall health that proceedeth thereof. And therefore in the corruption of the bodily humors, we are to consider diligently, of the corruption of manners, and of the affections of the soule. For there is great agreement betweene the one and the other.

The agreement betweene the manners and humors of the body.

But to come to the chiefe point of this present speech, we are first to note, that the naturall humors corrupt two manner of waies, when they leaue the order of nature & change their natural properties. For that commeth vnto them, either because their proper substance degenerateth without any mixture of other humors, or through the mixture of some other vicious and corrupt humor. Now how much the more requisite the humor is, and necessary for the body of man being in his naturall soundnes, so much the more hurtfull is it when it is corrupted. Therefore forasmuch as the blood, which is properly so called amongst the humors of the body, is more conuenient, apt and necessary for the life thereof, then any of the rest, as hath bin declared vnto vs, it followeth that the corruption thereof is more dangerous then of any other humor.

By what means the naturall humors corrupt

Now it degenerateth from his owne substance when (the dores being shut) it putrifieth within the veines, and is tyned into a certaine cholericke humor, not naturall but corrupted: whereupon the continuall Feuer ariseth. Besides, it corrupteth after another manner, namely, through the mixture of some other humor, as when the first masse of blood is corrupted through the aboundance of a raw humour that is not well digested in the liuer, whereof the dropsie followeth, as likewise the yellow jaundies is bred of the blood corrupted through too great aboundance of the chollericke humour.

The originall of Feuers and other diseases

In like manner the flegmaticke humour is corrupted in his substance, when it overfloweth and giueth vpward in mens bodies, and continueth rawe for want of good concoction and digestion: it being sometimes more thin, and sometimes more thicke. From hence commeth spittle, snattinesse of the nose, catharres, and distillations, and oftentimes vomiting, when it is grosse and thicke. Besides this flegmaticke humour corrupteth through the mixture of the colericke or melancholicke humor: and then it waxeth salt or sharp, according to the humor that is mingled therewith. And as the continual feuer is bred of blood corrupted in substance, so the quotidian ague proceedeth of the corruption of the flegmaticke humor. As for the cholericke humor it degenerateth of it selfe, when it burneth & is turned into a vicious melancholike humour that is like ashes, thick & biting. And because this alteration groweth by little and little, either by reason of age or of violent motions in them that are naturally very cholericke, it cometh to passe that such persons are in their old age subiect to a furious kind of anger. On the other side, this colericke humor corrupteth when it is mingled with some other humor, as when it is mixed with flegme, which as it is either more thin, or thicker, so is the colour of the choller more or lesse yellow, pale, or greene.

The corruption of the flegmaticke humor.

Of the cholericke humor

greene. The like may be said of the mixture of all the other humours.

From whence
all sorts of a-
gues proceed.

Now as the tertian ague, I meane the right and perfect tertian, is engendred of the cholerike humour corrupted in his substance: so the bastard tertian is bred of the same humour, when it is mixed with a vicious and corrupt flegmaticke humour. And truly this is very strange, that the corruption of every feuerall humour doth in this sort breed sundry kinds of agues according to the diuersitie of the humors. For as there are foure sundry sorts of humors, so there are foure kinds of ordinary agues that haue their feuerall relations to each of these humours. So that as the continuall feuer is bred of blood corrupted, and the quotidian of flegme, and the tertian of the cholerike humour, so the quartane proceedeth of the melancholike humour corrupted.

The corrupti-
on of the me-
lancholike
humours.

From whence
madnesse
commeth.

Now besides these ordinary feuers, there are others mingled and compounded, according as the putrified humours of which they are bred, are mingled and compounded together. From hence spring demy and double tertians, and quartanes and such like. And sometime one and the same man shall haue sundry sorts of feuers in one disease, according to the diuersitie & abundance of corrupt humors that are in him. We may say as much of al other diseases that are bred of corrupt humors, according as they are either simpler, or more mingled and compounded. Therefore as the other humours corrupt in such sort as wee heard before, so when the melancholike humor putrifieth, either it burneth of it selfe, or else by the mixture of other humors, in so much as it waxeth grosse and biting, and holdeth of the nature of ashes.

Now when a body subiect to choler, flegme, or blood waxeth melancholike, that man by reason the fumes cannot euaporate and get out, falleth into frenesies and mad fits, and those of diuers sorts. For as the melancholike humour is mixed, either with blood, or with flegme or with choler, so is the melancholike person more or lesse merry or sadde, heauy or lighter, colder or hotter, and his fits and furies either more moderate, or more vehement and violent. But howsoeuer it be, we see by daily experience, that there are many sorts of melancholike persons, of mad, senselesse and furious people. And besides the mixture of vicious humours, we must consider also the sundry naturall temperaments of every one. For as we see that wines are diuersly tempered according to the variety of countries, lands, and aire where they grew, and that albeit they are alwayes wine, yet there is great difference in the one from the other, both in substance, nourishment, colour, smell, vertue and strength: euen so is it with the humours of the body. For the same humours are more pure, or more moderate, or more noble and exquisite in some then in others, according to the nature of their bodies, and not onely of their own, but also of their parents bodies from whence they were deriued. For children commonly take much after their parents. I speake nothing of that which the temperament may take of the heauens, and of all the celestiall bodies, and chiefly of the special grace of GOD, the prince of nature, who ruleth ouer al temperaments, and complexions. But it is time, that following our purpose, we consider what effects the humors haue towards the soule, and that we looke into the diuersities of the temperatures and complexions of men, according vnto the nature of those humors that raigne most in them, and to that disposition which naturallly they doe worke in them either to vertues or vices. This we shall learne of thee *ACHITO B.*

Of the diuers temperatures and complexions of men; according to the nature of humours that beare most sway in them: of the disposition whereunto they are naturallly moued by them either to vertues or vices: of the meanes to correct the vices and defects that may be in our naturall inclinations. Chap. 68.

Three chiefe
workers of
mens actions.

A*CHITO B.* It is not without great shew of reason, that the Phylosophers made three principles and beginnings that affect mens actions, namely, powers, habits, or qualities, & affections, or passions. For we see plainly by experience, of how great force these things are in man so long as he liueth. Concerning powers, they come to vs by nature, and are effective principles of all actions both good & bad, yea by them we knowe in children, during their young yeares, the signes and tokens of some vertue or vice, that will raigne most in them afterwards, which we commonly call, *Inclination or Disposition*. The passions and affections

likewise naturall in vs, being forcible prickes to prouoke men to embrace either good or euill, whereof wee haue already spoken sufficiently. As for the *habites* or *qualities*, they are accidentall in man, as they that are gotten by a long and continuall custome of doing good or euill, whereupon also they take the names of good or euill *habits*. Now we commonly see some to be naturally enclined to one vertue and not to another, or to one vice and not to another. For it seemeth sometimes that nature hath bred some to be temperate, others to be liberall, and contrariwise. And when a man endued with naturall powers tending to good, obtaineth qualities answerable thereupon, he is worthy of commendation, because vnto his inclination he hath added greater helpe, namely, care, and study, by meanes whereof he is come to some perfection. So likewise he that naturally being borne impotent, attaineth to those vertues that are contrary to his impotency, deserueth greater praise, because fighting as it were with nature, he remaineth conqueror ouer himselfe, and becommeth vertuous with greater difficulty. But contrariwise, if a man that is naturally ill disposed to some particular vice, doth adde further a habite to his badde inclination, he is worthy of blame, because he hath not resisted euill, but pleasing himselfe therein hath made it greater. As likewise he that hath excellent graces & gifts of nature to do well, & suffreth them to vanish away through his negligence & custome in euill, is much more to be blamed because that voluntarily he suffret himselfe to be overcome of vice.

He speaks of such goodnes & vertues as were so esteemed of by the heathen that knew not their naturall corruption.

But we must consider of these things somewhat higher, & by the selfe same reason iudge of the naturall temperaments, which in the former speech we heard were diuers in euery one. For we ought to acknowledge one God, Prince, & author of nature, who ruleth in all and ouer all. Therefore as he hath appropriated to the soule those instruments, which he hath giuen vnto it in the body, to work in them & by them: so himselfe disposeth & ordreth those instruments, which he wil vse among men, yea euen from their mothers womb, as it is written of the Prophet *Jeremy*, & of the Apostle *S. Paul* whom our Saviour also *a chose an instrument to beare his name before the Gentiles, & Kings, and childeen of Israell*. No doubt, therefore considering the agreement which we haue heard is in the affections of the soule with the temperature of the body, but that the more temperate the complections of euery mans body is, and the neerer it approacheth to the perfectest temperature, the more quiet and moderate, the more gracious and comely will his affections and manners be naturally, yea all his gestures and whole behaviour. True it is, as we haue elsewhere touched, that no body is so framed, or hath such an harmony and equalitie throughout, but there is some disagreement & inequality. But we account those natures to be well tempered, which approach neere to the perfect temperature: and as euery humour ruleth more or lesse in euery one, so he is called either sanguine, or flegmaticke, or cholerike, or melancholike. Againe, as the other humours beare sway next vnto the principall, so is a man saide to be either flegmaticke sanguine, or cholerike sanguine, or melancholike sanguine. The like may be said of the other humours according to their temperature, as also of the affections which haue some agreement with them. Heereof it is, that when there is excessse of the flegmaticke humour in men, their natures are commonly slouthfull, they shunne labour and giue themselves to bodily pleasures, they loue dainties, and delicate meates and drinckes, they are tender and effeminate, and cleane contrarie to stowt and valiant men. And if there be excessse of the cholerike humour, their natures are easily prouoked and stirred vp to wrath: but their anger is as fire of thornes, that beeing soone kindled and making a great noise, is by and by quenched againe. Their gestures also are more quicke and vehement, & their hastinesse is commonly foolish and turbulent: they bable much, and are like to vessels full of holes, vnable to hold in and keepe any secret matter: they are fierce in assailing, but inconstant in sustaining the assault, in some sort resembling the nature of dogges, which bark and bite if they can, and afterward flie away. And if there be excessse of the melancholike humor, the natures of such are sad, still, hard to please, suspicious conceited, obstinate; some more and some lesse. And if the cholerike and melancholike humours be corrupte and mingled together, their natures become monstrous, proud, full of enuy, fraud, subtilities, venomous and poisonfull, hatefull and diabolically.

God ruleth in all, & ouer all.

*Jerem. i.
Galat. i.
Acts 9. 15.*

The nature of flegmaticke persons.

The nature of a cholericke completion.

The nature of the melancholike body.

What natures are most abused by euill spirits.

And when the malignant spirits know mens natures thus disposed, no doubt but they take occasion thereby to intermingle themselves, if God permit them, & purpose to vse them for the punishing of men: I say, they will ioyne themselves vnto them, & make them their instruments, as God on the other side vseth those natures that are most moderate & best tempered, making the instruments of his glory. Now we may call to mind what we learned before

Matth. 17.15
Mar. 9.20.
Luke 9.39.

How vigilant
the Diuells
to hurt vs.

What profit
we reape by
the know-
ledge of our
complexions.

What nature
sures we are
to eschew.

The true
meanes to
cure out vices
Matth 7.11.
Luke 11.13.

almost to the same ende, touching the meanes whereby euill spirits might trouble the imagination, fantasie and mindes of men. We may say as much of the humours of the body, whose motions and nature they know very well. Whereby they can so much the more easily abuse them in their damnable worke and will, as wee may iudge by the example of him that was possessed and lunaticke, of whom the Euangelists make mention, and whom they call by those two names. And by that which they wrote of him, it seemeth that he was subiect to the falling sickenes, that returneth oftentimes according to the course of the moone, which naturally hath great affinitie with the humors, and great power over them. And therefore it is very likely, that the euill spirit which tormented this poore lunatik, watched the occasions of his disease to afflict him the more, & to cause him to fall either in the fire or in the water, as he did indeed, thereby to worke his death if he could. Which example sheweth vnto vs what is the malice of the Deuill, what pleasure he taketh in hurting of men, what meanes and what occasion he seeketh for, and maketh choise of, and what access vnto vs we may offer him through our corrupt nature, through our vices and sinnes, and through our inclinations and manners that are naturally euill and peruerse, if God letteth him loose the bridle by his iust iudgement: seeing he spareth not the little children, as it appeareth in that which is written of him, of whom we spake euen now. For this cause we ought to take good heede, that we giue not our common enemy those occasions that he seeketh to haue from vs, to the ende that he abuse vs not, nor anything that is ours, and which God hath bestowed vpon vs. This is the reason why the consideration of our temperature, complexion, and naturall inclination is very necessarie for vs: because the knowledge hereof affordeth vnto many good instructions that may stand vs in great stead throughout our whole life, as wel for the preseruatiō of the health of our bodies, as for the rule and government of our affections and manners; as also in regard of the familiarity and acquaintance which we haue one from another. For through the contemplation hereof we may know not onely the causes of health and sickenesse, of the life and death of the body but also of that of the soule. For as the good humours corrupt in our bodies, according as wee heard, and breede in them sundry diseases which finally leade them vnto death: euen so by meanes of sinne all those good and naturall affections, which ought to be the seedes of vertues in vs, are corrupted and turne into vices, that are the diseases of the soule, and bring vnto it the second and eternall death: as contrariwise vertues are the health and life thereof.

But as God hath provided corporall medicines for the body, so he hath prepared spirituall Phisicke for the soule against all the diseases thereof. Therefore when we consider with our selues vnto what vices we are inclined by nature, we must labour to correct, and bridle them, and to quench such inclinations, as much as wee can, through sobriety, vigilancy, and continuall practise to the contrary: least wee nourish and encrease them, when as wee ought to diminish and wholly to abolish them. For the common prouerb is not without reason, that Education passeth nature, or that it is another nature. We see by experience what Education and instruction are able to doe both to goodnesse and vice, according as they are either good or euill. For as there is no nature so good, which cannot be corrupted and peruered through euill education and teaching: so there is none so vicious and euill, which cannot, at the least in some measure, (through the helpe and grace of God) bee corrected and amended by good education, instruction, and discipline. And because conuersation and familiarity are of great efficacy in this point, wee are diligently to consider with what persons and natures wee acquaint our selues, and bee carefull to eschew such natures as are vicious, proud, fierce, enniuous, hatefull, malicious, suspicious, disloyall, and traiterous, as well in regard of the corruption of maners wherewith we may be infected by them, as also in respect of other harmes that may befall vs, by reason they are vsociable natures or at the least very difficult to conuerse withall, being indeed such as towards whome no man can beare any true loue or firme friendship. But when wee haue vsed all the diligence wee can possible about these things, the chiefeest point wherein the whole consisteth, is this, that wee haue recourse to Iesus Christ the eternall Sonne of GOD, to the ende that by his holy Spirit, hee would correct, repress, and quench in vs all the vicious affections and disordered motions, that we haue contrary to his holy will: according to that promise which is made vnto vs, wherein it is said, that *If fathers knew how to giue good gifts to their children and such things as are necessarie for them, much more will our heavenly Father giue his holy Spirit to them that aske of him.* And this is the true meanes wee ought to keepe for the correcting of these vices and defects

defectes, that are in our naturall inclinations. Now wee have spoken sufficiently of those things which concerne the naturall powers of the soule, in respect of the nourishment and groweth of the body, & of those instruments which it hath in the same for the performance of her actions. It remaineth now that we consider what effects it hath in generation. First then *ASER*, thou shalt handle the resturatrion and reparation of all natures by that vertue and power of Generation that is in them, and namely, in man: to the end we may after proceede with those other points that concerne this matter.

*Of the restauration and reparation of all natures created by the Generative power
power and vertue that is in them, and namely, in man: what Generation is,
and what the Generative power of the foule is: what the seede is,
and how Generation proceedeth of strength
and of infirmity. Chap. 69.*

A*SER*. When Salomon saith in the Psalme entituled with his name, *Except the Lord build the house, they that build, labour in vaine*, we must not thinke that by the building whereof he speaketh, he vnderstandeth a frame of stone & wood to make a lodging and dwelling place of it, but he respecteth specially that building that consisteth of houses and families, throghe the generation of children, and their good education & instruction: as himself shew explainely when by and by after he saith in the same Psalm, *Behold, children are an inheritance from the Lorde, and the fruite of the wombe are reward*. Whereby wee haue a sure testimonie, as in many other places of the Scripture, that we must acknowledge the Generation of children to come from God, and not from nature, and the fruitfulness and barrenesse both of men and women.

Psal. 127. 1.

Verle 34

By our former speeches wee may learne what was the creation of the first man and first woman, with the lawfull coniunction betwixt them, by meanes whereof God would haue mankind preferred and multiplied by good order, and not by a brutish confusion, such as is amongst the beasts. Now it remaineth, that following the order of our discourses, we speak of generation, whereby wee shall know the vertue that God gaue for that purpose to our first parents, when he said vnto them, *Bring forth fruite and multiply, and fill the earth*. Which hath had such power and vertue, that from thence haue issued all the men, women, and children, that haue bene since the beginning of world, that are now, and that shall bee vnto the end thereof. The like also proceeded from the blessing which God gaue not onely to all other liuing creatures, but also to all herbs and plants. For we haue already heard, how after the liuing body is growne vp to his full vigor and strength, it beginneth then by little and little to faile, and to tend vnto death, whereby in the end it falleth away altogether. For according vnto that comparison and similitude, which hath bene already propounded vnto vs of a lamp, the flame whereof cannot be ioyned still with the weake except there bee some cleauing moisture to knit the parts together: so there is in a liuing body a certaine humidity that holdeth of the nature of the aire, which moisture is very good, & is dispersed throughout the whole body, hauing his propagation of the seede, and ioyning together all the parts of the body. This is commonly called the *Radical humour*, because it is as it were the roote of life, and hath the celestiall and quickening heate brought immediatly and directly vnto it: so that when this moisture is extinguished, the heate also vanissheth, & fadeth away. And looke as the heate drinketh vp and consumeth by little and little this humidity so doth the heate it selfe diminish and languish away, because his food faileth that is in the moisture: euen as the flame, lesseneth and loseth his vigor, as the oyle, or tallow, or wax faileth in a lamp, or in a candle. And although this radical humidity be nourished by the ordinary food which the body dayly receiveth, neuertheles, for asmuch as that nourishment which euery member receiveth, is not so pure nor so fit, nor so natural as the radical humor it selfe neither can wholly restore that which diminisheth and consumeth thereof, it must needs be that life would faile in proceesse of time, by reason that neither the vigor of the hear, nor the purenesse of his nourishment containeth sound and entire. For the same thing agreeth to this radical humor, which we see by experience in wine, which so long as it is pure and in his naturall strength, doeth easily turne a little water into it owne nature, so that it cannot be perceived that there is any water at all in it. But if we continue still powring in of

Gencl. 1. 28.

The vertue of the blessing of God for generation.

Of the Radical humour.

Of the defect of mens life with the causes thereof.

water at all in it. But if ye continue still powring in of water and mingling it therewith, it will weaken by litle and little, and alwaies loose of his pure substance, so that in the end it will be no better then water. And thus the radicall humour and the naturall heate destroy one an other. For the humour that is gotten by sustenance differeth much from Radicall that was consumed by naturall heate. Whereupon it followeth also, that this naturall heate hath not so good & pure nourishment as before, so that it must needs grow weaker & being thus weakened, it hath lesse vertue to concoct wel, and to turne that humour into nourishment wherewith it ought to be mainetained. By this meanes it commeth to passe, that the radicall humiditie and naturall heat faile and perish both together. Whereby we may easily vnderstand why mens bodies abide not alwaies in their strength, but faile & waxe olde, and so death followeth olde age. Wee haue already spoken somewhat before both of the length and shortnesse of mans life, and of naturall and violent death: but wee will speake more fully of them heereafter, God willing.

What is
meant by na-
ture.

Genes. 1.

Now we are to consider, how the providence of God hath provided for this defect of nature through that vertue of Generation, which by his blessing hee hath given vnto it, and whereof I spake euen now, to the ende, that the whole race and seuerall kindes of thinges created should not perish. Whereupon wee may well say, that that nature which hath this vertue, is no other thing then the blessing of God, whereunto all honour is to be given. For as GOD hath created all things by his mightie word, so by the selfe same word hee hath created and placed in the first kindes of the creatures that he hath created, those seedes whereby he would haue euery one preferred both in the whole and in his seuerall kinde. And therefore as in blessing the earth after hee had created it, and commanding it to bring forth herbs, trees, and plants with their fruites according to their kindes, hee did therewithall endue it with vertue to doeso, as it hath alwaies done so hitherto, doeth so daily, and will doe so to the end of the world: euen so it is with that blessing which he hath given to all the plants, and to all liuing creatures, and namely, to man and woman, and with that commandement which he hath given them to growe, to multiply and to fill the earth. Wherefore wee ought without ceasing to consider and to contemplate God the Creatour in the generation of all things, and principally in that of man, as if behold him daily pursuing his worke of creation. For although hee worke now by other meanes then hee did in the first creation of the whole frame, yet hee is no lesse now the Creator of al men and of all other creatures that grow daily in the world by generation, then hee was of the first man and first creatures, which hee created of nothing in the beginning. For hee created vs all in *Adam* and *Eue*, and shut vs vp as it were in a store-house, or in a spring or fountaine, or as in one stocke of mankinde, out of which hee produceth men continually.

Genes. 1.

Genes. 1.

Genes. 1.

What Gene-
ration is.

What the ge-
nerative pow-
er is.

Wherefore we ought diligently to consider of this worke of God, and of this vertue which he hath given to Nature by his word and blessing to ingender like, and to encrease the whole race and kinde thereof. For this cause as it is the office of Nature in the beginning to nourish bodies, and then to cause them to encrease and augment: so in the end it is her duty to preserve the seuerall kindes of things as long as she may, by Generation of the like. Whereby it appeareth, that Generation is a worke of liuing creatures after they are come to their growth and vigour, as wee see the like also in plants themselves. For in the beginning of the Spring all their vertue is in their root, and from thence it commeth after into the boughes and leaues, next into the floure and fruite, and lastly into the seede, which being sown, another plant is brought forth like vnto the first. Wherefore wee may say, that the generative vertue is a power in liuing creatures that engendereth his like, being ordained for the preservation of the same kinde. So that wee must diligently meditate and often set before our eyes this goodly order of nature, according whereunto the nourishing facultie is first given to the soule for the preservation of euery particular: next, the power to cause it to grow and to augment to a iust and sufficient greatnesse: and lastly, the generative vertue whereby the kinde is preserved. For albeit the order that is throughout the whole course of nature be an euident testimony, that neither the world nor any thing therein, standeth vpon chance or fortune, yet among others this is most singular & excellent, in that the same kindes of all things abide continually, & that euery one begetteth and multiplieth his like, without any maner of confusion amongst them: which could not be eschewed, if so be that creatures were bred and borne at aduenture, without the counsell and providence of their Creator, and of him that wrought such a worke.

Now

Now we are to vnderstand, that the seede is a body that hath in it selfe a Vegetatiue soule which body in Generation is turned into another like to that from which it is taken: and because nourishing, growing, and engendering are the effects of foode and sustenance, they are contained vnder the name of a vegetatiue soule, which is a faculty and power, and not onely conuerteth food into the substance of the liuing body, for the good thereof, and by that conuersion augmenteth it, that it may attaine to a conuenient bignesse, but also engendreth an other body of the same forme and kinde. And therefore after that this vegetatiue power hath done that duty which it ought to performe about the growth of the liuing body, then hath it time & means enough to gather together into a smal roome many of those qualities that keep the soule in the administration of the body, out of which it can soone draw and engender a like kinde, so far forth as the qualities of the matter will be able to beare. For when they are repugnant to the qualities meete for that kinde, whatsoeuer commeth thereof degenerateth, as we see it in the earth, when in steade of wheat, whereof it receiueth the seede, it bringeth forth darnell, or some other beards of an other nature, and as we see it also in monsters, that are borne both of women and of other lining creatures. For there are in many countries, (namely, in Sicilia, and in the kingdome of Naples, and in Flaunders, as many Authours worthy of credite haue testified) women in whom haue bin bred oftentimes sundry kinds of beasts in stead of children, & sometimes together with the child either liuing or dead. Which thing commeth to passe in such women as abound with euill humors, that are putrified and corrupted, either by reason of the aire, or of bad meate, or of excesse in eating: as in such bodies wherein wormes, and such other filthinesse breedeth. The Astrologians refer this vnto constellations, as they do al other things. I leaue the secret iudgements & punishments of God, wherby such things may come to passe, neuertheles these things ought to admonish women to pray vnto God, to recommend themselves to him, and to be sober. The moone calues in the wombe, which falleth out often, proceed also of the like causes. In like manner it falleth out oftentimes that the kind degenerateth through corruption of the seede.

What seed is.

What is meant by a Vegetatiue soule.

Of the cause of monsters.

But to go on forward with our matter of the generation of liuing creatures, & namely, man, we must know that forasmuch as the male hath naturally more heat in him then the female, he is also by nature the chiefest in the Generatio. For this cause when the holy Scriptures speake of mankinde, it is ordinarily comprehended vnder the name of man. And when mention is made of his generation, they speake as though all proceeded onely from man: as when Malachie speaking of his creation saith, *Did not he make one? and wherefore one? because he sought a goodly seede.* And Saint Paul, *He hath made (saith he) of one blood, all mankinde.* Neuerthelesse GOD hath put in nature such a temperature betweene the male and female, that if both their natures were altogether alike, there could be no Generation. For it consisteth in force and infirmities. But the wisdom of God hath so well provided as that it knoweth how to draw strength out of weakenes, so that the one can do nothing without the other in generation, because he hath so willed and ordained it.

Malach. 2. 15.

Now I leaue to thee, *AMANA*, to discourse vnto vs more particularly of such things as are most worthy to be noted in this maruailous worke of God, and of the principall cause why he hath giuen to man the Generatiue power.

Of the powers of the Generatiue vertue, and of their offices: of the principall cause why God gaue to man the power of Generation: in what sense the reines are taken for the seate of Generation: how wee ought rightly to consider of the generation of man. Chap. 70.

A*MANA*. As noueltie causeth a man through the error of iudgement, to thinke that rare things are greater & more worthy of admiration: so most men imaginethose matters to be small and not worthy to be wondered at, which fall out dayly before their eyes. But ignorance is the cause of both these effects. For as a man admireth that which he neuer knew could be performed, so he maketh no reckoning of that thing which he vually beholdeth, because he hath alwaies bin ignorant of the secrets of nature, or rather of his Authour and Creatour, who appeareth wonderfull in the least of his workes, even in the very Ant of

Two effects of ignorance.

Pismire.

Pis mire. This selfe same ignorance is the cause that so few contemplate as they ought the forme and fashion of their being, or that giue due glory to him who daily bringeth them in to the world by such wonderfull workmanship. Neither it is possible that men should giue such glory to GOD as they ought, except they esteeme all those workes which he effecteth daily amongst them, to bee so many miracles worthy admiration, which way soeuer they turne their eies. Moreouer let them know, that what measure of knowledge soeuer they are able to get of his workes, yet that which they doe know is very little, yea, almost nothing, in regard of that wherof they are ignorant: euen in that which concerneth their creation and generation.

Of the similitude that is in generation.

From whence the seede commeth.

The feuerall vertues of the generatiue power.

The chiefe cause why the generatiue power was giuen to man.

Now following that which we haue already heard touching this matter, we are to consider a maruailous prouidence of God, in the similitude that is betweene the creature engendering, and that which proceedeth from it. Wherby the way we may obserue this, that there is greater resemblance in the Generation of plants then in that of liuing creatures, & more in that of beastes, then that in of men: forasmuch as plants are voide of imagination, and that imagination which is in beastes is more firme and staied then that which is in men, because our mindes are more floting and vnsable. But it is wonderfull to consider what great similitude there is, insomuch as we comonly see, that the infirmities of some mebers in the parents are founde also in their children: and that oftentimes they expresse their very looks, countenances, and gestures. Which also may serue for a further confirmation of that which we haue already touched, concerning the agreement of euilles with the complexion & temperature of the humours of mens bodies. Againe, it appeareth by the strength or weakenes that is founde to be as wel childre as in their fathers & mothers that the seede of which they are begotten descended not onely from the braine, as some haue thought, but that it is also taken from all the other members, and from all parts of the body. And because it is a profitable superfluitie taken from the nourishment of the blood scattered throughout the whole bodie after the fourth digestion, it hath peculiar vessels in the bodie, some to drawe it, others to perfect and preferue it for generation, and some to expell it out. And as this expulsive vertue is necessarie in Generation on the behalfe of the male, so in regarde of the female it is requisite that there should bee a vertue to containe and preferue, and secondly to chaunge, mingle, and temper it with the womans seede, so far forth as shall be expedient for the temperature of the whole bodie, and of euery member thereof. Besides there must bee an other vertue to fashion into members all this matter mingled and tempered, and to giue vnto them that figure and shape which agreeeth to euery one one of them. Lastly, there is an other vertue equisite, which should drive out the childe after it is fashioned at the time which God hath appointed in nature for that purpose. And these are all the parts with their offices, which are to be found in the Generatiue power of the vegetatiue soule. now because there are so many sorts of them, it is very meete that they should haue sundry places and diuers instruments in the body for the exercise of them. For this cause there are, to serue all these offices, fundry parts and many members, composed with wonderfull Art, and distinguished in most admirable fashion both with figure and qualities.

But our meaning is not to make any long particular narration, both by reaso of the matter which would be very long, as also because sinne hath made the Generation of man so full of shame, that men can hardly speake of it, or of those members that serue thereunto, especially of one part of them, without shame. Neuerthelesse as before we haue considered the counsell and prouidence of God, in that he hath ioyned to man created to immortaliy, that part wherein the light of his diuine wisdom shall shine, the loue of God shall bee seruent, and righteousnesse shall dwell for euermore, with the kitchen of mans body, whose vse shall passe away after this life: so we must consider the cause why he hath ioyned vnto this kitchen the Generatiue power, & wherfore he hath giuen it to man. Let vs know the, that as man was created for an other end then plants & beastes, so God hath giuen to him the power of Generation to an other end then he hath to the, vpon whom it is bestowed only for the preferuatiō of their kinds. For it was especially giuen him, because the Creator of the whole world purposed to collect & gather together a perpetual Church out of mankind, that is, a company of men begotten after this manner, to be dedicated and consecrated vnto him. Therefore we ought diligently to meditate and to thinke often vpon this wonderfull counsaile of GOD, and to yeelde him praise, in that hee hath manifested himselfe vnto vs, and of his weake and corrupt masse of flesh hath assembled and culled out an euerlasting Church

Church: and in that beaydeth, nourisheth & preferueth vs, yea, is carefull ouer vs, and beareth vs, calling vpon him. Neither doth he only preferue the whole course of nature for our sakes, but also giueth himselfe vnto vs: which are such benefites as exceede all the imagination and eloquence of man. Wherefore wee ought so much the rather to awaken our mindes to consider them well, and bee very much displeased with our selues, because wee doe not so well as we ought, behold this presence of OOD in that obscurity and darkenes wherein wee liue; as also, because we are no more stirred vp to loue, serue, and honour him in regarde of that true and great loue wherewith he loueth vs.

But to goe forward with our matter of Generation, we must call to mind what we heard before of the vse of the kindeis for the purging of blood, in respect whereof we call al that part of the body wherein they are seated, by the name of *Reines*. And by reason of the neere-
ness that is betweene them and the seede vessels, seruing for Generation, which are many in number, all that part is taken, chiefly in the holy Scriptures, for the seate & spring thereof, and as it were for the seminary of mankind. Therefore it is written in the *Hebrewes* that *Leuy* was yet in the loines of his father *Abraham*, when *Melchisedec* met him. And *Moses* speaking in the person of the Lorde, of the promise made to *Isaac*, saith, *Kings shall come out of thy loines*. *Dauid* also minding to shew what knowledge God hath of men whom he hath created, saith *Thou hast possessed my reines: thou hast covered me in my mothers wombe*. And *Iob* declaring the selfesame thing more fully, and speaking of the seed whereof he was begotten, after he had said, *Hast thou not poured me out as milke? and turned me to cruddes like cheese?* he addeth presently, *Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and ioyned me together with bones and sinewes*. This is that covering whereof the Psalmist spake, which was giuen him of God in his mothers wombe after her conception.

Of the seate
of Genera-
tion.

Hebr. 7. 10.
Gene. 35. 11.
Psalm. 139. 13.

Iob. 10. 10. & 11.

Wherupon we haue to note, that these holy men speaking in this maner, teach vs sufficiently what is the cheife part of man, which they accompt to bee the true man. For they declare vnto vs evidently that the soule which dwelleth in the body is truely man, and that the body in comparison therof is but his covering, & the lodging wherein he dwelleth. Therefore the heauens themselves compared mans soule to one placed in a garrison, in which he is to abide vntill hee bee called from thence by the Prince and Captaine that placed him therein: meaning thereby to teach vs, that we must abide in this life and discharge our duty therein, so long as it shall please GOD, who hath brought vs into it, to haue vs continuetherein.

What is man
properly.

Truely, if we consider well of those marueilous workes, which GOD effecteth daily in the Generation of men, we may well say, that it is a great miracle of God in Nature, and ought to be diligently considered of, as *Dauid* testifieth that he did so in his owne person. Therefore he saith, *Thou holdest me straight behind and before, and layest thy hand vpon me: shewing throughout the whole Psalm, that there is nothing in man so hidden & covered, which is not discovered before GOD, and which hee knoweth not and searcheth not vnto the bottome, to the end that men deceiue not themselves through their hipocrisie, thinking to hide themselves before him. For this cause he saith in the beginning, that he is so knowne to GOD on all sides, both within and without, that there is not so much as one motion in him, nor one thought or affection, which is not wholly manifested vnto him. And to proue and confirme his saying, he taketh his argument from the creation of man, giuing vs to vnderstand thereby, that forasmuch as GOD is his Creatour and Maker, it can not be but that he should thoroughly know his worke. Whereby we haue a certaine testimony of that which we speake in our former discourse, of the creation of all those men that are daily created by Generation, according to the order of Nature appointed by GOD. For the Prophet doth no lesse acknowledge that GOD hath made him, then *Adam* the first man did. So that looke what the Prophet speaketh of his owne person, it is also to be vnderstood of euery one, both in regard of his creation, as also of that knowledge which GOD hath of all things in man, be they neuer so hid and covered. Afterward he addeth, that this knowledge is too wonderfull for him, and so high that it cannot attaine vnto it. Now we may iudge well, both of the composition of mans body, and also of the nature of the soule, by those discourses of which we haue already made. And if we did consider but of the body by it selfe, yet had we iust cause to say as much as *Dauid* saith here. What then might be spoken if we ioyned the soule with the body, and considered onely of that which might generally bee knowne by such meanes as are already set downe? For by that which we doe know, we shall iudge well enough how far this knowledge exceedeth our capacity, and what remaineth yet behinde,*

Psalm. 139. 9.

verf. 6.

which

which we cannot comprehend.

Forasmuch then as the Prophet wondereth so much at this great and high skill, wherof God giueth vs so excellent testimonie in the creation and generation of men, we ought not to thinke it superfluous and vnprofitable, but well beseeming a Christian man, to enquire after that which God would haue vs know, and which we may know, and to consider well of his workes wherein he manifesteth his prouidence and wisdom, especially in man, who is, as we haue heard, the chiefest of all his workes amongst the visible creatures, and as it were an other world created within this. Now as David from the creation of man, inferreth the knowledge which God hath of him, so *Iob* in the same place that I alleadged euen now, concludeth, that forasmuch as God is the Creator and Artificer that made man, he delighteth not in destroying his work. *Thy hands,* (saith he) *hane made me & fashioned me wholly round about, and wilt thou destroy mee?* Which is as much as if he had said, is it possible that I who am the worke of thy hands, should be brought to nothing by thee? For besides that this were against nature, the Scriptur testifieth vnto vs in many places, that he is not onely a preseruer of that which he hath made, but also that he leaueth not his workes vnperfect: and that he is so farre from defacing them, that contrariwise it is his manner to leade them to perfection. Whereby we ought to learne, that the onely consideration of the worke of our creation ought greatly to solace, comfort, and confirme vs in all afflictions and aduersities, how rigorous soeuer the hand of God should be vpon vs. For first, we ought to be thoroughly resolved of this, that no affliction can come vnto vs, but by his good will and from his hand, whatsoeuer the meanes and instruments are, of which hee maketh his rodde and scourges, and by which he striketh and beateth vs. Now then he seeing the hand that toucheth vs is the same that hath made and fashioned vs, we know wel that he setteth not himselfe against a strange worke vnknown vnto him, but against his owne wherewith he is very well acquainted. Whereupon wee may certainly conclude, that it proceedeth not of crueltie and furie that he striketh vs, nor yet without good cause: as hee that is neither cruell, nor furious, nor void of reason. So that it followeth necessarily, either that wee haue giuen him great occasion, or that it is very requisite for vs. But howsoeuer it bee, hee euer knoweth well how to turne all the afflictions of his children to his glory, and to their great honour and profit, as we haue many notable examples hereof in all the seruants of God, and namely in those two personages *David* and *Iob*, of whome wee haue spoken in in this our discourse.

Iob. 10. 8.

Psal. 136. and 138.

A good lesson to be learned from our creation.

The afflictions of Gods childre turne to their good.

Which we continuing so farreforth as it respecteth the worke of mans generation, are to consider more narrowly of the admirable secrete of nature therein, so much as daily experience and diligent search hath learned men to know. Tell vs then, *ARAM*, of the fashion of a childe in the wombe.

Of the fashion of a childe in the wombe, and how the members are framed one after another in the mothers bellie: of the time and dayes, within which a childe is perfectly fashioned.

ARAM, I cannot marueile enough at the pride and presumption of many, who thinke themselves to be such great Philosophers, and so skilfull in the knowledge of naturall things, that they perswade themselves, that nothing is so secrete in nature which they know not, and whereof they are not able to shew the causes and reason. But experience sheweth vnto vs daily, how farre short they are of that which they thinke, and in what ignorance the best learned are wraped at this day. For how many things are daily manifested vnto them, which the greatest searchers of nature, that euer haue beene, were ignorant of, vnto whome notwithstanding they that now liue are but disciples? And how many things doe continually come to passe, into which the chiefest, sharpest sighted, and most expert haue no sight at all, or very small? And among them that suppose they haue good knowledge, how are they deceiued oftentimes? How many are doubtfull in many things whereof they haue but small coniectures, whereupon they gesse at all aduenture, and as they imagine? VVe may easily iudge hereof by this, that continually one reprehendeth and correcteth another, and that the later writers condemne sundry things in the former. But not to seeke a farre off for examples, we may see them daily in the science of the Anatomie of mens bodies. For there was neuer yet Philicion or Anatomist either olde or newe, that attained to perfect know-
ledge

No mans knowledge perfect.

knowledge, and could render a reason of every thing that is but in one body, notwithstanding that they are continually conversant in that matter. Therefore to leave vnto God that secret which is hidden from our vnderstanding, let vs consider of that which we may know touching the forme of a child in the wombe.

If we looke narrowly into that order that nature followeth in the framing of man, who is the litle world, we shall find it like to that which the Authour of nature obserued in the creation of the world, which *Moses* calleth the generation of the heauens and of the earth. *Gen. 2.4.* For in the beginning the earth was without forme & void, and couered with a great gulph of waters, so that the earth and waters and matter of all the elements, and of all creatures created after ward, were mingled and confounded together in this great heape. Vnto this the Almighty afterwards added a forme, and created so many goodly creatures, and of so diuers natures & kinds as are to be seene in the whole world, which he hath adorned with them, and endued with so great beauty that it hath receiued the name of that, which is as much as Ornament or Order of things well disposed. The creation of the world, and of man compared together.

After the same manner doth nature, or rather God by nature work in the creation and generation of men. For the seed of which they are formed, and which is the matter prepared, disposed and tempered by the same providence of God for the work he hath in hand, receiueth not fashion presently vpon the concepio, but remaineth for a time without any figure or lineaments, or proportion, and shew of a humane body, or of any member therof. The naturall Philosophers & Phisicians, who haue searched most carefully into this work, and haue had greatest experience, they say that there are certaine membranes and skins that are wrappe round about the infant in the wombe, which some commonly call the Matrix others call the Mother: and that within these skins, which are three in number, as some Anatomists say, others but two, as it were within certaine bands, the fruite is preserved vntill the birth. Wherein we are to acknowledge the providence of almighty GOD, who hath so disposed of nature, that even from our mothers wombe, she is in steade of a mother to vs, folding vs vp with bandes before shee that hath conceived vs can performe the same. An argument of the providence of God

But let vs proceede on with our matter, so far soorth as we haue learned of the fashion of the child in the discourse of Philosophers and Phisicians. They say then, that after the wombe hath receiued the seeds ioyned together, of both which the childe is to be framed, it commeth to passe that the heat of the Matrix warmeth all this matter as it were in a litle fornace, and so raiseth a skin ouer it which being as it were rosted by litle and litle, waxeth crusty and hard round about the seed. This causeth the whole matter to resemble an egge, by reason that this skinn compasseth about the seed, which boyleth inwardly through the abundance of naturall spirits that are within it. This is that skinn which is commonly called the *Secundine*, or *After burthen*, being ioyned on euery side to the womb by reason of a great number of Orifices, veines and arteries reaching thereunto, to the end that by them the blood, spirites, and nourishment should be conueyed to the infant. For as the whole wombe embraceth the seed, so likewise it heateth and nourisheth the same. Therefore this skinn that serueth in steade of litle bandes hath two vses: the first is to take fast hold of the womb: the other, to serue for the nourishment of the burthen, and of the childe. For this cause there are two veines and two arteries in it (besides a passage in the middelt) which are as it were the rootes of the burthen, and make the Nauill. Of the forme of an infant.

This worke with other circumstances belonging thereunto, which we omit for breuity sake, is brought to passe the first sixe dayes of the conception. After this skinn, they that make three, speake of a second skinn that is in the middelt, which they saye was created to receiue the vrine of the childe, which in the former monethes is voyded by the Nauill, and in the latter monethes by the ordinary passage. This voyding place is ordayned to this ende, that the vrine might not frette and rent in sunder the tender skin of the infant, who is therefore couered with a third skinn next to the other, and that is very tender. So that the vrine toucheth not the infant, but is voyded by the middle way, as I haue already declared. Thus you see the beginning of the conception, before the burthen be wholly formed like to an infant. Wherunto that saying of the Prophet hath relation, *Thine eies* (sayth hee) *did see mee when I was without forme: for in thy booke was all things written which in continuance were fashioned, when there was none of them before.* Then hee compareth the secreet partes seruing for generation, especially the belly, and womb. The first sixe dayes worke from the conception.

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wombe of the woman, vnto the earth, and to an obscure, secret and hidde place, even to deepe and darke caues in the ground. For as the earth hauing received the seede in which is the vigour, keepeth, cherisheth, and increaseth the same: enen so fareth it with the wombe and with the mother. On the other side, as these parts are lowest in regard of the trunke of the body, and of all the receptacles and vessels thereof, so are they very secret and hidden, and as it were, in the midst & center of the body, if the whole be considered together, namely the trunke with both ends thereof. For this cause the work that is there wrought by God, is so much the more marueilous, because enen in that obscure place, it receiveth the goodliest and most perfect forme that can be imagined. And who will not be abashed to consider, that out of that slymie seed of man there should come bones, sinewes, flesh, skinne, and such like things so diuers one from another? But yet it is a greater marueile to see all this great diuersity of matter, to be framed in so many sundry members, and of so many sundry formes, and that with such excellent beauty, so profitable and so fit for those offices that are assigned vnto them, as we haue learned in our former discourses. Now as God did not create all creatures in one day, although he could well haue done it, if it had so pleased him, so doth he in the generation of men, for albeit that the members are fashioned all at once, so that not one of them is framed before an other, neuerthelesse because there is great variety betwixt them, both in respect of their dignity, and of their strength, nature their mother doth not set them forward all alike. For in displaying her power generally towards all the parts of the body, it commeth to passe that her worke, and the figure given vnto it, appeareth sooner or later in some members more then in others. Hereof it is that the greatest and chiefest members appeare naturally before the rest, albeit they are not the first that are fashioned. So likewise all the members are not beautified and made perfect at the same time, but some after others, according as they haue heat and nourishment. Nature therefore obserueth this order, that the worthiest parts and such as haue in them the beginning of motion, shew themselues first, and then those members that are profitable and seruiceable to the former, and are created for their cause. And according to this order the highest parts are seene sooner then the lowest, & those within before them without, and they that receive their substance from the seed before those that haue it from blood. Those also amongst them that are most excellent are first, notwithstanding many times they haue their accomplishment and perfection after the other, as it appeareth in the Nauil. For although the heart, liuer, and braine, being the chiefest parts of the body, haue their beginning before that, yet is it the first amongst the all that appeareth perfect. Now then after the Nauill with his pipe or passage is formed and fashioned within the first sixe dayes, the blood and spirit are next drawne by those veines and arteries, whereof wee spake euen now to be sent to the seed, & mingled therewith, that the principall members might be figured, as the liuer, the hart, & the braine, which begin first like to litle bladders, and so consequently the rest which are fashioned by litle & litle according as they receive nourishment. For the veines whereby the burthen is nourished, may well bee likened to small rootes, whereby plants are cherished: as also the burthen it selfe may be compared vnto plantes in this point, as wee haue already learned. So that the seed receiuing this forme already spoken of, in the first sixe daies, during which time it is called by no other name then seed, nine dayes after that the blood is drawne thither, of which the liuer and the heart receive their forme: so that after twelue dayes added to the former, a man may discern the lineaments and proportion of these two members, and also of the braine, albeit they are not then altogether fashioned. At this time the burthen is called *Fetus* of the Latines, and *Embryon* of the Greeks, which is as much in our language as *Sprouting* or *Budding*. Next after this, within the space of other eightene dayes, all the other members are fashioned and distinguished. So that about five and forty dayes after the conception, the members receive their perfect fashion: and then doth the burthen begin to live not only as plantes live, but also as other living creatures. For it hath sense & feeling about the sixe & thirtieth day, and from that time forward it is called an infant. But as yet it is void of motion. For by and by after it is formed, it is very tender, vntill that by vertue of the heat it waxeth more dry and firme, which is by reason that the moisture, whereby it is made so soft and tender, consumeth away by litle and litle, so that the nayles begin to take roote at the fingers ends, and the haire in the head. Now after the child is come to the third moneth if it be a male, or to the fourth if it be a female, it beginneth to stirre it selfe according to the testimony of *Hippocrates*, because then his bones are more firme and somewhat harder. But this is not alwaies alike

All the members receive their forme together.

The nauill first made perfect.

When the seed is called Embryon.

When the burthen is called a child or infant.

When the childe first moueth.

alike in al women with child. For there are some that alwaies feele it stirre about the two & fortieth day, others neuer feele the same vntill the middest of the time from the conception to the birth. Yea in the same woman the same time and order is not alwaies obserued. For according to the strength and good complection of the child, and the nature and disposition of the mother, these things change, and not onely because of the sexe. Neuerthelesse it is most ordinary and viall for male children to moue within three moneths or thereabouts, as likewise to be borne at the ninth moneth: whereas females are commonly somewhat slower both in stirring and also at their birth, the reason wherof is this, because male childre are naturally a great deale more hote then females. *Galen* attributeth the cause of the generation of sons to the strength and heat of the seed and saith that they are caried on the right side of the wombe, as the daughters on the left, which is the colder side, as being farthest removed from the liuer. He yeeldeth also this reason why some children are more like the father and some the mother, because of the greater strength of feede which they haue either from the one, or from the other. And when it commeth to passe, that the wombe receiue seed at two sundry passages which it hath, then are twins engendred either at one conception or at twaine, so that the later bee not long after the former; according to the opinions of the Philosophers, & namely of *Aristotle*, who rehearseth many examples therof in his seuenth booke of the history of liuing creatures, saying that a whore was deliuered of two children, wherof the one was like the father, and the other like the adulterer. But now we are to consider of the child birth, which is as wonderfull a worke of God in nature as any other. It belongeth then to thee *ACHITO B*, to end this dayes worke by a discourse tending to this purpose.

Galen's opinion of the birth of sons.

Of childe birth, and the naturall causes therof: of the great providence of God appearing therein: of the image of our eternall natiuity represented vnto vs in our mortall birth. Chap. 72.

ACHITO B. Men are of that nature, that they cannot acknowledge what they are themselves, or what they haue receined of God, except they be brought backe to the first dust and earth, out of which they are taken, euen to their first creation & generation. Therefore the holy spirit doth esteeme it a thing not vnwoorthy his diuine maiesty often to instruct and to admonish vs by his word, and that so plainly and familiarly, as no man, be he neuer so skilfull or so ignorant, but he may greatly profit in this school, at leastwise be made altogether inexcusable, if he learne not that which the spirit doth there teach him. For concerning them that are most ignorant, he speaketh very plainly to be vnderstood of them; propounding that vnto them wherof they cannot be ignorant, although they would, at leastwise which they cannot easily know. And as for the skilfuller sort, who by their knowledge are able to vnderstand more then others, they are so much the more guilty, if they will not giue credite to the works of God, as they are propounded vnto vs in the holy scriptures. For what idle of nature soeuer they frame to themselves, yet must they alwaies come to this first beginning of man, which is cleane contrary to the reason of humane sense and vnderstanding, and so giue glory vnto God: otherwise the fruit of all their study will be nothing els but confusion and ignorance. Now the more we consider of the daily generation of men, the more like we shall find it in all admiration to their first originall and creation. For who could euer, I say, not beleue, but only thinke or imagine, that out of pressed milk and curds, as it were, such as the beginning of man seemeth to be, there could proceede any liuing creature at all, especially such an image of God as man is? And yet we see this dayly come to passe. Now from whence commeth this milke? Wee cannot for shame speake it without blushing. So that if the worke and providence of God be wonderfull in the conception and fashioning of man, and in the life and preservation he affordeth him in his Mothers belly, as we haue shewed heretofore, sure it is no lesse admirable in his natiuity & birth as we may now vnderstand.

The word profitable for all.

Mans birth a wonderfull work of God.

We haue already heard, how by the faculties and powers of the soule, and generative vertue thereof, the seede is retained and preserved, and how the child is formed thereof in the wombe. Now all this while it is nourished by blood, which is drawn vnto it by the veins of the nauill ordained to that end: & therefore also the issue of this blood commonly ceaseth in women with child, as that which is then divided into three parts. For the child draweth the

How the child is nourished in the wombe.

purest thereof to it selfe, and is therewithall nourished. Secondly the womb by veines leading directly to the breasts, sendeth that part which is lesse pure, wherof the milk is prepared that feedeth the child after it is born. The third part which is the worst, staideth still in the womb, & so soon as the child is born, it issueth forth also. This food which the child receiveth thus in the womb, caused *Galen* to alledge an ancient sentence out of *Athenaus*, saying, *That the child receiveth more from the mother then from the father, even as the plants draw more from the earth then they doe from the husbandman.* For this menstruall blood first encreaseth the seede, and after serveth towards the growth of the members by ministring food vnto them. And for this cause this Author teacheth that naturally the loue of the childre is very great towards their Mothers, and so of the Mothers towards their children, as also in respect of the exceeding great mixture of their substance. But when the childe is now encreased and growne so great and strong, that he is well able to moue himselfe, and to receiue his foode at the mouth, as he is waxen greater, so he must haue more store of nourishment then, then he is able to draw in at the nauill. Likewise forasmuch as naturall heate is more augmented he had neede of the more aire, and to receiue it in by respiration and breathing, so far forth as is necessary for his refreshing. Whereupon the childe stirreth and mooueth with greater strength and violence, so that it breaketh the skins and bands wherein it was wrapped, and some veines also, and so maketh an issue and way for it selfe, as that which cannot any longer be kept in the womb. Now when the child feeleth that aire entring in which it desireth & seeketh, for the reason before alledged, it moueth it self towards the mouth of the womb, which is the most naturall and easie way of birth, by reason that it is borne with the head forward. Now so soone as it is come into the light it crieth, as if it did prognosticate & foretell of the miseries of that life into which it is entred. The Philosophers & Phisitions refer the cause of this weeping to that motiō which driueth it to the birth, as also to those handlings & touchings wherwith it is receiued, which cannot be without some sence of grieve conceiued by this litle tender body. Which body so long as it is in the womb, is bowd round as it were in a lump, so that the heels of it ioyned to the buttocks, and the hands lay fast hold of the knees, towards which it doth bow downe the head so low, that the eies are ioyned to the thumbs as if they were fastened to them, and the nose is thrust down betweene the knees. Now when it hath attained to the 9. moneth, so that it may no longer tary there, for the reasons before mentioned, it turneth it selfe in the womb, first with the head downward, & stretching out the legs, & other members vpward. Then when the houre of child-birth approacheth, the babe by kicking & turning it selfe more violently, maketh many ruptures by litle & litle, so that the skins wherin both the Vrine & the sweat are contained burst asunder, whole streams gush out, which shew that the birth is hard at hand. For presētly vpon the renting & breach of the After burthen through the violence of the child, because there is nothing els that holdeth it vp, the babe falleth down, euē as an apple or peare falleth frō the tree when it is ripe. And as the child doth his best to come forth at that time which God hath prescribed vnto it, so the womb & the mother of the child doe their parts as much as lyeth in them to performe by the prouidence of God, who hath prouided accordingly. For during the space of those 9. moneths wherin the child is contained in the womb, it is shut vp, and embraceth the burthen as close as it may. And when the time of birth cometh, the womb doth not only open it selfe by litle & litle, but all the top of it doth gather it selfe as close together as it can, and so thrust the babe towards the mouth of it, whereunto also the neighbour parts lend their helping hand. The woman likewise laboreth, & helpeth as much as she is able, and the child falling downward with his head turned towards the mouth of the womb, maketh way for all the rest of his body, and so casteth it selfe forth, at whose issuing out, the humor wherewithall it was before abundantly moistened helpeth very much, by reason that both the childs body, and the way also is thereby made more gliding and slippery. Wherein we haue a great argument of Gods prouidence to be obserued. For the childs head being of a round fashio, his coming forth cannot be so hindred, as we see it is when the child offereth it selfe crosse wise, or when the arms or legs come forward. Besides, all the rest of the members are greatly benefited hereby, both because the way is already made before thē, as also because themselues are thereby the better placed to prevent al impediments with which otherwise they might encounter. For we see by experience what inconueniences fall out in childbirths, in what dangers the mothers & children are, & how oftē the death of the one or the other, or of both ensueth, whē the child cometh otherwise then

The cause of
child birth.

Which is the
easiest kind of
child birth.
VVhy chil-
dren cry whē
they are born

A testimony
of Gods pro-
vidence in the
wombe.

then by this order, which is most naturall and most ordinary. Wherefore women with childe haue great occasion offered to recommend themselves vnto God especially at that time. For howsoeuer the child commeth, we must then acknowledge the almighty hand of God, & his helpe & assistance both towards the mothers and their children. For let there be neuer so good concord & agreemēt in the ioynt labor of the child, of the mother, & of the wombe yet the work being so difficult, who wil not wonder that euer it could be borne? who would euer beleue that a child should come forth, or that it could be drawn out of the mothers belly, without cleaving the same asunder in the midst; or without the death of the one of them if not of both, but that we see the experience therof daily before our eyes? *Galen*, who made such an idol of nature, confesseth that he knoweth not how the child can find any issue & passage out, & therefore wondreth at it very much. *Auicenna* thinketh that there is an opening of some bones, but he is deceiued, for it cannot be so, neither hath experience euer shewed the same. Wherefore both Philosophers and Phisitions, but especially Epicures and Atheists, must needs be driven into an astonishment at this, & haue their mouths stopped and closed vp, except they will open them to giue glory to God, and to acknowledge and magnifie his great providence and goodnes towards men, singing with *Dauid*, *O God how precious are thy thoughts vnto me; how great is the summe of them: If I should count them they are more then the sand. It was thou that diddest drawe mee out of the wombe: thou gauest mee hope euen at my mothers breasts.* But we haue here to note, that there are many causes which hasten forward the childbirth, but we speak here of them that are most common and ordinary. Children that are borne at the sixt moneth or sooner, liue not, as not hauing their whole perfectiō. They that are borne in the seuenth moneth may liue, for then is the fruit perfect. And yet they that are borne in the eight moneth, commonly dy: and the reason is, because the child stirreth very much in the seuenth moneth, preparing it selfe for the birth. So that if the child be of a strong nature it commeth then into the light: but if it be yet weak, it cannot come forth, but tarieth 2. moneths longer in the wombe to gather new strength. For it remoueth from the one side of the wombe to the other. Therefore when the child after the 7. moneth is presently borne in the eight, it cannot liue. For nature was weak in the first indeauor, neither could it be to purpose, before the matter receiueh motiō after the critical time; with which name the Philosophers call the seuenth moneth. Moreover, double motion weakeneth the strength of the childe. For it had remoued vnto the other side of the wombe as is said, & presently after it came into the light; but the nature of the child cannot sustaine two brunts one in the neck of another, so that death followeth therupon. The Astrologiās likewise alledge these reasons why the seuenth moneth is criticall, namely either because the sunne is carried into a signe that is opposit to the signe of conception: or els because every planet answering his seuerall moneth, the eight moneth is giue to *Saturne*, who is an enemy to them that are borne. Now for the end of this matter, we will consider two things in our generation and birth, which offer vnto vs great cause both of humility and of spiritual ioy. First the, we see how God would haue vs humbled in our generatiō, by creating vs of a matter that is but slime & dung, wherunto notwithstanding, he hath given such an excellent & goodly forme, to the end that his powerfull vertue, wisdom, iustice, and kindnesse, should be so much the better manifested vnto vs, and that in our selues, so that we shall not neede to seeke for testimonies thereof elsewhere. So that as our beginning ought to take out of our heart all swelling and pride, euen so the forme and beauty wherewithall God hath honoured this mire of which he hath made men, and the great graces which he hath communicated with them, especially in regard of the soule which hee hath ioyned to the body, ought to teach vs to acknowledge and to celebrate incessantly his providence and great goodnesse towards vs. To conclude, we ought to consider the image and similitude wee haue of our eternall natiuity in this our mortall birth, and that birth whereby wee are borne vnto an immortall life, as here on earth we are borne to enioy a life that is subiect to mortallitie. For first, as man is formed and fashioned in darke places in the belly of his mother, that afterward he might come forth and enioy the light of the world: so likewise being come hither, he is after a maner so vpon the earth, as if he were to be borne againe. For this world is vnto him as his mothers wombe, wherein the light is to him as darkenes & as a very obscure night, in comparison of that other diuine & eternall light, in which he is to enioy a happy & an immortall life. And therefore as the child is prepared in the darkenes of his mothers belly, that after he may come forth into the light of the world, so are we prepared in this dimme light, that wee may attaine to that other diuine light, which is farre greater and more ex-

Gal. de vfu partium. l. 1. 5.

An argument against Atheists.

Psal. 139 17. 18. & 22. 9.

Two things be considered of in our birth

What similitude there is betweene our spirituall and our naturall birth.

cellent without comparifon. Againe, when the time of birth approacheth, the life and vigor of the wombe, which is as it were the childs mother, whithereth and decaiech, & the child likewise as if he were dead, in regard of that kind of life which he enioyeth in his mothers belly. For as he liueth no more after that fafhion, fo he is in an eftate that differeth much from the former. So fareth it with man when he is to depart out of the life of this world, as if he were to be deliuered of it in childſ birth for another life. For he dieth in regard of this life, to the eud he may liue another life, which as far excelleth this, as this is better then the other, which he enioyed before in his mothers belly, yea it is fo much the better & of higher price, in that the length of time of this fecond & bleſſed life ſhal be eternall and endleſſe. Moreouer, as a child commeth out when he is borne, fo doth a man when he dieth. And in comming forth both of them enter into a new and vnacquainted light, and into a place where they finde all things much altered and far differing from thoſe which they vſed to haue in their other kind of liuing. For which cauſe both the one and the other being troubled and ſcared with this nouelty, are vnwilling to come forth of their clapper & to forſake their cloſet, were it not that they are vrged and conſtrained thereunto by the art, lawes and rights of nature, whereby God hath better provided for our affaires then wee our ſelues could conceiue or comprehend, both in our nativity and life, and alſo in our death. The ignorance whereof cauſeth our ſpirit to abhor the departure out of this life, in regarde of this great change that is therein, becauſe it knoweth not what good is brought to it thereby, no more then the little child knoweth wherefore he is borne into the world, or what he ſhal finde there. And therefore albeit nature preſſeth to come forth, neuertheleſſe according to that ſenſe which it can haue, it weepeth by and by after it is borne, as it were fallen into ſome great inconuenience, and that ſome great euil were ſalne vnto it, as we do alſo at our death, for the cauſe before alleadged, nor conſidering that it is our ſecond & better birth. Thus you ſee what I haue thought requiſite to be noted in the diſcourſe of our generation: and to morrow, God willing, we muſt looke into the life and death of mans body. But it ſhall not be without profit, if firſt we ſpeake ſomewhat of the cauſes why God created man naked, and with leſſe defence for himſelfe then he did other liuing creatures. It belongeth then to thee *AS ER* to ſpeake of this matter.

Why we ab-
hor naturall
death.

The ende of the ninth daies Worke.

The tenth daies worke.

Why God created man naked, and with leſſe naturall defence then he did all other liuing creatures: how many wayes he recompenceth this nakednes: of the generall beauty of the whole body of man, ioyned with profit and commodity. Chap. 73.



AS ER. As often as men ſhal conſider in ſuch fort as becommeth them that they are borne men, and not brute beaſts, they will be ſufficiently admoniſhed of the ciuill and ſociable nature in which God hath created them, and of that humanity for which he hath endued them with ſuch a nature, ſo that they will keep themſelves from being transformed into ſauage and cruell beaſts to hurt one another, as commonly they do. Truly, it is not without ſome great and notable cauſe, that among all liuing creatures there is not one to be found that hath a more delicate & tender ſkin, & leſſe furniſhed with couerings for the defence therof the man hath: conſidering that God himſelfe created him as his principal work amongſt al viſible creatures, & made him as it were, Lord of the whole world. And yet he is of that nature, that the ſkin wherwith he is clothed is not ſo ſufficient a garmēt for him as is neceſſary to keep him frō heat & cold, & from other inconueniences that might happen vnto him, except he be clad with ſome other couering then that which he bringeth from his mothers belly. For he neither hath feathers as birds haue, nor wool as ſheep haue, nor briſtles as ſwine haue, neither yet any ſkin or hide ſo hard, nor ſo well covered and furniſhed with haire, as foxes, wolues beares, buls and other fourefooted beaſts haue. Neither
hath

hath he any scales as fishes haue nor any shels as cockles, sea-creuilles, tortoises, and such other creatures haue.

But we haue foure things to consider of touching this point. The first is, that if man had not sinned after that God by creation had in great larges made him partaker of his heavenly gifts and graces, he should not haue beene subiect to the want either of garments, or of any such like thing whereupon he is now after a sort brought in subiection, at leastwise hee should haue had all these things without paine and grieve. For this cause it is saide in *Genesis*, that after our first parents had transgressed the ordinance of God, by eating of the forbidden fruite, they knew that they were naked and covered themselves with leaues. And for a punishment of their offence it was said vnto them, that they should eat their bread in the sweate of their face: vnder which word of bread was comprehended all things whereof they stood in need for the maintenance and preservation of their life: as we vnderstand it in that prayer which we daily make to God, when we demand of him our daily bread. The second point which we ought to note in this matter touching the nakednesse of man, is this, that God would admonish him, not only by the whole frame and composition of his body and of all his members, but also by his very skinne, that he created him to liue in company and fellowship, and in peace with those of his owne kind, to help all and to hurt none. Therefore he did not create him with naturall weapons, as he did other liuing creatures, vnto whom he gaue al things necessary for their defence & preservation. For some of the haue strength & weapons by nature to resist their enemies: others wanting this haue swiftnes to conuey themselves out of all dangers: and some wanting both these, haue yet subtiltie & places of refuge to defend themselves withall. As for man, God hath placed him in this world vnarmed and naked, so that if men be disposed to hurt and to war one vpon another, they must deform themselves, and borrow weapons from others, wherby they transformethemselues, and become monstrous, as though they were transfigured into sauage beasts & into monsters. For they haue not (as hath bin said) hard & strong hides as some bruit beasts haue, neither prickles & darts in them as Hedgehogs and Porcupines haue. Neither are their feet, hands, and nayles like to the hoofes of Horses, Asses, and Mules, or to the talents of birds that liue by pray, or to the pawes of wild beasts, neither yet are their teeth like to theirs. God hath not giuen them sharpe bills like to birds, neither hath he armed them with stings or with venom, as he hath done venomous beasts. True it is, that man hath an aduantage aboue other liuing creatures, namely, his hands: giuen him of God for the doing of any work that he wil, as we haue already declared. Wherefore if he be to fight against beasts, his hand will furnish him with moe weapons, then all theirs are, which they haue by nature, although they be put all together. For he cannot only make weapons of all sorts, but handle them also, and manage them as pleaseth him in his own defence, both against beasts, as likewise against those of his own kind. And I would to God he vsed them but in his owne defence, and did not abuse the as he doth to his own hurt very vnnaturally. But let vs proceed forward & come to the third cause, why God hath thus created man al naked: which is, that he wold admonish him thereby of his naturall infirmity, in regard of those wants and necessities that hemme him in on euery side, vnto which he is more subiect then any other creature. Which instruction ought to worke two things especially in him: first it ought to induce & mooue him to that peaceable and sociable life with his kinde, for the which God created him. Secondly, by this meanes he is the more bound to acknowledge the providence, bounty, & liberality of God towards him, whereby he bringeth to passe, that the necessitie and want, which seemeth to be greater in man then in any other liuing creature, declareth him to be the richest, & best provided for, yea, to bee Lord of all. For all the garments of beasts of what qualitie soeuer they be, and whatsoeuer else they possesse, belong to him. Whereas if men were not subiect to such necessities as are incident vnto them, what vse should they haue of so many creatures as God hath created for them? or what seruice should they haue of their hands. For here againe we see how that by them he provideth for their garments, by setting on worke the skins, wooles, and haire of all other liuing creatures, besides the silks of wormes, and other matter which the fruits of the earth affoord vnto them, as flaxe, hempe, and such like. And if necessitie did not teach them the vse of all these things, how would they consider the power, wisdom, goodnesse and providence of God in his works, & in his creatures, to praise him and to giue him thanks? For although they haue necessitie and want for their schoole-mistris, to the end they might learne this science in their schoole, yet do they profit verie little thereby, but rather become most ingrattfull towards God their Creator who is so bountifull

The first point to be considered touching mans nakednesse.

Gen. 3. 19.

The second point.

Man by nature hath least defence for himselfe.

A commendation of the hand of man.

The third point.

A double vse to be made of our wants.

full & liberall a father towards the. Whereupon we haue further to note, that God hath not given to men many things belonging particularly to beasts, because he hath enriched the with so many other things, of which all other creatures are altogether destitute. For besides the help he hath of the composition and placing of those members, which he hath given to their bodies, being so conuenient to performe that which beasts cannot doe with theirs, he hath endued them with speech and reason, whereby, not onely all that is in other creatures which is not in them, is more then recompenced, but they haue more in them, then all other living creatures haue being put together. For albeit they haue no fethers and wings to flye and mount aloft by as birds haue, yet how many meanes haue they to ascend & to descend to goe and to come whether they wil? And as for swiftnes and nimblenesse, how many beasts are there with whose swiftnesse they may helpe themselves? And although they haue not finnes wherby to swim in the sea, and in waters like fishes, yet they haue skil and hands whereby they can make and guide ships, and so conuey themselves whither they will. Now as for strength which they want to carrie heauie burdens a far off, how many waies is it recompenced both by land and by water, and that by meanes as well of beasts whose seruice they vse, as of artes and sciences wherein they are skilfull? Whereby wee see that God hath put more within a man, namely in the sense and vnderstanding, wherewith he hath indued him, then he hath put without in all beasts. Concerning the fourth point of which I haue to speake touching this matter, it is this, that as it pleased God to giue vnto man a far more excellent body for beautie then he did to any other living creature, so he would haue this beautie also to appeare in all the parts thereof. For, first this body was not fashioned, either to fly in the aire as birds do, or to glide vpon the earth, and to draw it selfe vpon the belly as creeping things do, nor to march vpon all foure as foure footed beasts do, nor with the head bending downward as theirs is, but to stand and go vpright with the head lifted vwards towards heauen, to the end he might be admonished, that his true beginning and birth came higher then from the earth, and from other corruptible elements, namely from heauen. Hee is also admonished hereby, that he is not borne to serue his belly as brute beasts doe, and to follow after gluttony, drunkennesse, whoredome, and such other carnall and more then brutish pleasures, wherein licentious men commonly obserue lesse moderation, then beasts that are altogether without reason and vnderstanding. For although the matter whereof a mans body is compounded, differeth nothing from that whereof the bodies of brute beasts are made, neuertheless seeing it pleased God to lodge within it a soule of a diuine & celestiall nature, that is far more excellent then all natures and creatures with bodies, hee would it should haue a lodging agreeable to the nature of it, whereby also man might be admonished of his excellencie, and that he was created, not onely to looke downe vpon the earth as beasts doe, but to lift vp his eyes vnto heauen, and to behold therein the high workes of God his Creator, and to doe the like in the residue of the whole world. For as we haue heard, man is not properly this body which wee see, but chiefly the soule & spirit which wee see not, and which hath the bodie for his lodging. So that if we consider both the house and the inhabitant, we shall see that the thinges giuen of God to beasts and denied, to men, doe bring great beauty both to beasts because they haue them, and to men because they haue them not. For if the beasts were deprived of their armour and naturall ornaments, they should lose all their beautie and profit that redoundeth vnto them: as likewise man should be deformed and vgly, if in any sort he were made partaker of that which is proper and agreeable to other creatures. But because GOD hath created man so that hee might be eternall and immortall, he hath armed him inwardly, even in that part that shall be the meanes vnto him of eternall life. Neither would hee cloathe him with naturall garments, nor arme him with corpall weapons, both because, that had bin superfluous hauing giuen vnto him that which is farre better, as also because his beauty had bin thereby much diminished, and his spirit should not haue bene so well knowne as now it is, by meanes of that skill and of those artes of which God hath made it capable. For what could he inuent and doe, and wherein should he shew that naturall light and dexteritie that is in him, if nature had furnished him with all those things, wherewith his reason giuen vnto him, is able to enrich him? But to conclude our speech, hauing spoken sufficiently of the creation, generation, & birth of man, let vs looke into this beauty that is in the forme & figure of mans body by calling to remembrance our former discourses. And let vs know, that both for the matter, and also for the forme composition thereof, there is not the like worke in all the world & none so goodly, so proper, nor so well vnited and knit together: none so well proportioned

Wherein men
excel all other
living crea-
tures.

The fourth
point.

What we
ought to
learne by the
proportion of
our bodies.

What man is

The excel-
lent frame of
mans body.

ned and polished in euery respect, and in euery part thereof. So that when we consider thereof from one end of it vnto the other, wee shall finde that the workemaster that made this body, hath throughout the whole worke ioyned beauty & profit together. But there is yet another excellencie worthy of great admiration, in that he hath not onely beautified this body with so goodly a shape as we see it hath, but hath also endued it with vertue and abilitie to make other bodies altogether like it selfe, as we heard yester day. Wherefore men shew indeede, that they know nothing of the excellencie of their nature, and that they haue altogether forgotten, or at leastwise very ill considered of that instruction, which God hath giuen them by the composition of their bodies, but principally by the soule that is lodged therein, if despising celestiall and eternall things for which they are created, they affect and seeke after earthly and transitorie things, preferring the earth before heaven, as commonly they doe. Which is all one as if they declared openly, that they are displeased that G O D hath made them men, and not beastes ramping on the earth, or marching vpon all foure, and turning their snoute alwaies downeward, because they haue nothing in them that fauoureth of a diuine and celestiall nature as man hath: and so they deale no otherwise then as if they would reproch God for that honour, which hee hath bestowed vpon them, by creating them differing from brute beastes, vnto whome notwithstanding they had rather be like. But enough is spoken of this matter. And seeing we may be sufficiently instructed by all our former discourses, what are those principall partes, powers and offices of the soule. I meane the animall vitall and naturall vertues, as also what instruments they haue in mans bodie, let vs now looke into the life and death thereof, and consider more narrowly then hitherto we haue done, what are the causes both of the one and the other.

Who they be that know not themselves.

*Whether the life of the body can proceede either of the matter, or of the composition forme, and figure, or of the qualities thereof, or else of the harmony, coniunction and agreement of all these: whether any of these or all of them together can be the soule: of the length and shortnesse, of the diuers degrees and ages, and of the end of mans life: of death and of the cause: both of life and death: of the difference that is betweene natural and supernat-
ral Philosophy in the consideration of
things. Chap. 74.*

AMANA. Iesus Christ purposing to teach vs, that we cannot haue life but in him, and by him, who is the life, & who hath the words of eternall life, compareth himselfe to a Vine, and his disciples vnto Branches. For the branch hath life and vigour, and beareth fruit, so long as it remaineth in the vine, and receiueith nourishment from thence, so if it receiueith no sap from thence, or if it be cut off, it withereth and dieth. We may say the same of the members of the body, if the soule be not in euery one of them, & if it giue not life, vertue, & vigour to them all for the performance of their offices. For if it fall out so, that it withdraweth it selfe altogether from any one part of the body, that part is without life: as we see by experience in a member dried vp, or putrified, or cut off from the body. And so is it with the whole body, when the soule is separated from it. But we are to handle this matter more at large. By our former discourses we may learne the nature both of the soule & of the body what is that vnion & coniunction which they haue together, albeit their natures, substances, and essences are diuers and very different: also we haue learned that the one of them, namely the spiritual essence, is a great deale more excellent then the other, which is corporal. Wherefore wee may well conclude, that the life in the body proceedeth not of the matter wherof it is made, nor of the qualities ioyned vnto it, nor yet of the composition, forme and figure thereof. For if the life and soule were in the matter of the body, the larger and greater mens bodies were, and the more matter they had in them, the more life and soule, the more wit, spirit and vnderstanding should be in them. But wee see by experience that it is farre otherwise, and that there is no more life and soule in a great body then in a little. And if it were so that the life proceeded from the matter, a dead body should be as well a man, as a liuing body. VVe may say the same both of the qualities ioyned to the matter according to the nature of the elements, as also of that confirmation and agreement that is betweene all the members both within and without. And as for the harmony, coniunction & concord that floweth from the diuersitie of these qualities, and from their temperatue, it may bee

The soule proceedeth not of the matter.

Not of the qualities.

Not of the harmony.

increased

552 From whence commeth the life of the bodie.

Nor of the
composition
of the body.

The nature
of a Hog.
And of an
Elephant.

The soule of
a beast diffi-
culty from the
substance and
nature of his
body.

The faculty
of sense com-
meth not
from the bo-
dy.

The cause of
the life of the
body.

The degrees
of mans age.

Iob. 14 5.

increased and diminished, Wherefore that cannot but be the effect of nature, which causeth a thing to be that which it is, and giueth vnto the same thing his forme & kind, that continueth alwaies in his estate & natural dispositiō. For if it were otherwise, the nature of kinds might be changed, which neuer any of the Philosophers did so much as imagine, or thinke to affirme. And as for the composition & figure of the body, there is yet lesse reason to say it commeth from thence, forasmuch as that continueth the same in a dead body which it was in a liuing. Againe, those liuing creatures, that resemble most the nature & forme of the members of mans body, & the matter thereof, are often times farther off from the nature of humane sense & vnderstanding, then they that do lesse resemble the. Which we may easily know by considering the nature of a Hog & of an Elephant. For they that through want & famine haue bin cōtrained to eate mans flesh, haue testified that no flesh or meate whatsoever approacheth neerer in tast, or is more like it then the flesh of a Hog. And if we consider the inward members and parts, there is no beast, if we wil giue credit to them that haue had the experience thereof, that hath them liker to those in man, then the Hog hath, both for substance, disposition, forme and figure. Contrariwise, wherein doth the Elephant resemble man either for forme or composition of body, or of the members both internall and externall, in comparison of a Hog? And yet there is no beast more teachable then the Elephant. or approacheth neerer to the sense & vnderstanding of man: as on the other side there is no beast further off in this respect, nor more hard to be taught, & more brutish, then is the Hog, And if any man thinke that the industry & docilitie of an Elephant proceedeth, either from the greatnesse of the matter whereof it is made, or from the abundance of the qualities ioyned vnto the matter, or from the harmony, coniunction & concord that is betweene them, or lastly, from the composition, forme and figure of his body & of the members thereof, we will oppose vnto him the Ant, which is one of the least among the creatures of the earth, as the Elephant is the greatest of all, as farre as we know. The like may be said of the Bee. For, are there many creatures although greater in substance, that yet haue such industrious and iagenious natures, as these little beasts haue, that are to be reckoned among the smallest of them? And by this it appeareth plainly, that the soule of beasts is of some other substance and nature then their bodies, notwithstanding there is great difference betwixt the soule of beasts and the soule of men. But we haue further to note touching the soule of man, that the spirit doth not onely not follow the nature of the body, but which is more, governeth, carrieth and recarrieth it whether it pleaseth: yea, it withstandeth the affections, which approach neere to the corporall and terrestriall nature. And as for the faculty of sense and of the senses, it is a vertue that surpasseth all bodily power and vertue, & all things depending of the body, so that there is no facultie of the body that is able to expresse the actions thereof. VVhat shall we say then of the vertue of vnderstanding, which is the highest and most soveraigne facultie that is in man? Which we cannot say is a body compounded of matter and forme. For that thing is the fountaine and originall of life, which first mooueth a liuing creature to the workes belonging vnto life. So that when we enquire what this fountaine & spring is, then doe we seeke to know what the soule is. Now wee may soone know by that which hath beene spoken, what the soule is not: but as yet we cannot perceiue what the proper substance and nature thereof is. And indeede it is not that which wee haue to speake of at this time, hereafter wee may say somewhat of that matter. Let it suffice for this present, that we know that the true cause of the life of the body, in regard of second causes, is in the soule next vnto God, who is the first and principal cause of all things. Therefore it is he that hath ordained & limited to every liuing creature his appointed time wherein to liue and to grow, and next to decrease and to die: and as it pleaseth him either to prolong or to abridge their life, so doth he dispose of the second causes and meanes wherby he wil haue it brought to passe. VVherfore although every one hath his certaine bounds and terme of life set him, yet none but God onely can attaine to the knowledge thereof. For all come not to the last age, which he hath appointed to be the ordinary end of every ones life, following those degrees into which it is diuided, according to that diuision which wee make of daies and yeares. For the infancie of man may bee resembled to the mourning and to the spring time of the yeare: mans age to midday and to the sommer: olde age to the Euening and to Autumne: & death to night and to winter. Therefore Iob saith very well speaking of man, the number of his moneths are with thee: thou hast appointed his bounds, which he cannot passe. Now if it be demaunded what is the ordinarie terme of life appointed by God we are to know, that nature by the ordinance of God appropriateth the matter beeing in the

And the length and shortnesse thereof. 553

the forme of members, vnto the soule, that is to giue life vnto the whole body. Now when the soule is entred into it and hath taken possession thereof, by little and little it prepareth and maketh fit the internall instruments, vntill at length it hath brought them to that perfection, which the qualitie, constitution and composition of the matter is able to receive & to beare. And after these instruments are come to their greatest perfection by vse they waste & consume away, returning by little and little vnto their first nature, & so in the end wholly corrupt and die. Thus you see how the members are appropriated in the body of the mother, how the spirits and humours are fitted in the time of infancy: after which the flower of age in youth is, as it were, the vigour and vse of the perfection of the instruments, and olde-age is the decreasing age, wherein they decay continually and become worse and worse, even vntill they come to their corruption, which is death. And this death we call naturall, when following this course it attaineth without violence to these bounds. Now although this be no long course, yet there are but very few that holde out to the vttermost end thereof, in regard of them that stay by the way: of whom some are cut off, even before they have begunne their course, others presently after they have begun it, and some in the mid-way: & that through so many sorts of sickenneses with other inconueniences and accidents that a man cannot possibly comprehend or conceiue them all. Therefore *Dauid* said long since, *that the time of our life is three score yeeres & ten, and if they be of strength, foure score yeeres: yet their strength is but labor & sorrow: for it is cut off quickly, and we flee away.* And after he hath compared man to a streame of water carried violently away, to a Morning dreame, to the grasse that flourisheth and groweth in the Morning, and in the Euening is cut down & withereth, he giueth the reason of all this, saying, *for we are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled. Thou hast set our iniquities before thee, and our secret sins in the light of thy countenance: for all our dayes are past in thine anger: we haue spent our yeeres as a thought.* *Iob* also agreeth well, *Tob 14.1.3.* with *Moses* in this point when he saith, *Man that is borne of a woman is of short continuance, and full of trouble. He shooteth forth as a flower, & is cut down, he vanisheth also as a shadow, and continueth not.* Now it is certain, that if we looke to the causes of the life & death of men laid down by vs, we shall thinke that all this is done naturall, and that there is a certaine order of nature, vnto which we must all be subiect, & a naturall necessitie which none can eschew. But we see that *Moses* mounteth a loft, and searcheth higher for the cause: for hee seeketh it in God and in his determination, yea in his wrath conceived against our sinnes. Therefore the children and seruants of God, that haue bene instructed in his word, doe not only consider of that in death, which prophane men holde there: but they mount vpon to this highest cause, and behold therethe wrath of God against sin, and against all mankind for the same. So that we may know by that way which hath bin said, what difference there is betweene humane and naturall Philosophie, and that which is diuine and supernaturall: and wherein they deceiue themselves, that stay altogether in naturall Philosophie. And hereby also wee may learne the cause why so many become Atheists and Epicures thereby, whereas it should serue them in place of steps and degrees to cause them to ascend vp to that Philosophie that is supernaturall and heauenly. For their noses are altogether poring in this base kitchen, of which we haue intreated in our former discourses: as though God had not created men for another life and end, then he hath done beasts. Whereupon we may imagine, what true ioy and consolation they can haue, I say, not only in death, but also throughout their whole life, seeing their life, will they, nill they, must passe through so many dangers and miseries. For whether they will or no, they must bee subiect to this sentence passed from God against all mankind, in the person of our first parents, when he said to *Adam*, *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all the daies of thy life. Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eate the herbe of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eate bread, till thou returne to the earth, for out of it wast thou taken, because thou art dust and to dust shalt thou returne.* Therefore *Eliphaz* saith in the booke of *Iob*, *that miserie proceedeth not out of the dust, and that affliction buildeth not out of the earth.* Which is as much to say, as that the cause of barrennes of ground proceedeth not from the earth, but from the sinne of man. Wherefore men cannot lay the blame vpon any other beside themselves, as beeing the cause of all the evils which they suffer, because they beare the matter of them in themselves. Now if any think, that this sentence pronounced by God against all mankind is not so much executed vpon the wicked that are without God, as vpon others, because we see comonly that they are richest, and liue in greatest ease, in pleasures and in delights, wee must know that they are not therefore exempted from those miseries, whereunto the life of man is subiect, & which are all comprehended

The cause of the length & shortnes of life.

What naturall death is.

Psal. 90. 10.

Psal. 7. 8.

Tob 14. 1. 3.

Of the true difference betweene naturall and diuine Philosophie. The cause of so many Atheists.

Gen. 3. 17. 18.

Iob. 4. 6.

The cause of barrennes.

prehended vnder this sweate of the face mentioned in the holy Scriptures. For there is no one of them to be found, that can so saue himselfe, but that he hath alwaies his part & portion in these things. And if we could consider well the whole course of their life, who seeme to be the happiest amongst them, and had the patience to waite vntill the end of their race, should find by experience the truth of that we speake of. But let vs goe on with our speeces, touching the causes of the length and shortnes of this bodily life, and of naturall death, as also of that which is violent, whereof wee haue not yet spoken. Also let vs consider of the things that are chiefly required for the vpholding of this bodily life, and without which it could not consist. This then shall be the matter subiect, of which thou. *ARAM*, shalt take vpon thee to discourse.

Of the causes generally of the length and shortnes of bodily life: of naturall and of violent death: in what manner the life of man consisteth in his breath: of the principall things required to life, and without which it cannot be: of the difference betwixt the life of man, and the life of beasts: of the image of the spiritual death in the corporal of the true comfort which we ought to haue therein. Chap. 75.

Nothing abideth still in the same state.

A*RAM*. This law was laide vpon nature by God the Creatour thereof that the things which it should bring forth in this inferiour world, should haue small beginnings at the first, and after grow by little and little, and when they were come to their full greatnesse should stand a while at a stay, and then fall by little and little, and returne to their originall and first beginning: as we see a patterne hereof and an example twise a day in the Ocean sea. For after it is mounted vp to the highest, and hath spred it selfe in length & breadth as much as it may, it returneth againe vnto the fountaine and wombe from whence it came, and there closeth vp it selfe. For God hath compassed it with certaine bounds beyond which it cannot passe. So likewise euery thing hath his course & set time of continuance: neither doe we see any thing vnder the Moone, either of the works of God, or of the inventions of men, which keepeth not his course. And so is it with the body, which being created by little and little, decayeth after the same manner, as it were by the same degrees by which it mounted vpward. And that which we see in euery particular body, the same we perceiue to be in the whole frame and course of the world, & in al the estates thereof. For the world hath had his infancie, next his youth, then his mans estate, & now he is in his old-age. For we see how all things decline daily, and continually waxe worse, as it were approaching to their end. In like maner if we would consider the course of al Common wealths, Principalities, Kingdomes, and Empires, & of all the great and chiefest Monarchies, that euer were from the creation of the world, we should find that al of them were very smal & weak in their beginnings, and that afterwards they increased and mounted vp vntill they came to their highest degrees: and after they had attained thither, they descended and fell by little and little continually, vntill in the end they were wholly ruinated. Now the first causes of all these things proceeding from God and from his eternall counsell, we know that the second causes are in the nature of euery thing that hath beginning and must end, & chiefly in the nature of mens bodies.

By our former speech wee haue learned already how this corporall life consisteth in the preservation of those instruments which the soule vseth in the body: and that the chiefest of them is heat, the second moysture agreeable to the heate, which must needs haue some thing to feede it and keepe it in a moderate stay. Lastly wee learned, that the nourishing and cherishing of the heate is the preservation of the moysture: and therefore those liuing creatures that are best able to maintaine and keepe these two qualities within themselves, are of longest continuance in life. So that the chiefe naturall cause of the long continuance of life, consisteth in euery mans composition, namely if it bee hot and moist by due proportion, both in the sinewes and in the marrow, in the liquors and humors, and in the spirits. The second cause consisteth in the long continuance of this temperature, which beeing interrupted and marred by diseases, the instruments of life are thereby also spoiled, & so they failing, life it selfe must needs cease. Whereupon death ensueth: euen as when the instruments and tooles of some handicraftes man are worne and faile him, it cannot be but that his arte and occupation should also bee at an ende. So that death is a defect of those instruments of the soule, whereby life is prolonged. For the soule leaueth the bodie by reason of the defect of instruments, and not for any

The cause of the length of life.

What death is

any disagreement that is betweene the body and it, as may appeare by this, that it was not any proportion or agreement that ioyned the soule and the body together. For albeit a worke man vseth his instruments, yet there is no proportion and agreement betweene him and them, in regard of the matter and forme of him and of his tooles: vnlesse peradventure this proportion may be imagined to be betweene the arte of the Workeman, as hee is a Workeman, and the theaptnesse of the tooles hee vseth, whereby it is made fit for the doing of that which the Workeman hath in hand. Seeing then all life consisteth both in heate, as we haue already said, and also in moisture requisite for the heate, wee call that naturall death, when heat faileth, by reason that the moisture is dried vp, through the heat that drinketh it vp, which heate also in the ende vanisheth away, euen as a lampe doth when the oyle of it is consumed. But that is called a violent death, when through some accident, either the moisture is drawne out of the body, or the heat is put out and extinguished either by some inward, or els some outward oppression and violence. Internal violence is either by poison, or by gluttony and drunkenness, or by such excesse: as when a lampe goeth out because there is too much oyle powred into it. And if this oppression be done outwardly, it is called externall, as when the aire and breath that refresheth the heart, is shut vp and retained, either in the sharpe artery, or in the mouth. For it is as if a fire were suddenly couered and choked by some great heape of stones, or of earth, or of ashes laid vpon it. We heard before, that if the lungs had no respiration by the mouth and nostrils, no man could breath, but he should be choked by and by: as we see it by experience in them that are strangled. The reason hereof is, because the pipe that reacheth from the Lungs to the throat, is so closed vp, that it is altogether stopt, or at least, so narrow and strait, that there is not space enough for the aire and breath to passe in and out by. We see also daily how this windepipe is troubled, if whiles we eat or drinke, there fall into it a litle crumb of bread, or meat, or else a drop of water, or of wine, or of any other drinke, yea, although it were but a litle drope of our owne spittle. For the breath that ascendeth vp from the lungs by this pipe, will not suffer any other thing to enter in thereat, except it be as subtil and thinne as the aire is, but it driueth it vpward, insomuch as when this happeneth to any man, hee is in great paine and as it were stifled for the time. We see the like also in the cough. For, from whence proceedeth it but onely of those distillations that descend from the braine vnto the lungs by this pipe? And truly the consideration of all this, ought to be vnto vs in place of another speciall testimonie of the infirmitie of our nature, that wee may alwaies learne the better by this to humble our selues. For what an excellent gift is this life, which God hath giuen to man? and yet a matter of nothing will depriue him of it. For let his breath onely bee taken away, which is but a litle winde, and behold he is stifled and dead by and by. And for the taking away of his breath, and so of his life withall, there needeth nothing else but the stopping of his mouth and nostrilles, or of his windepipe onely, which is soone done, and hee is dispatched presently without all helpe and remedy by man. Therefore *Esay* hath a good speech: *Depart (saith hee) from the man whose breath is in his nostrilles: for wherein is hee to be esteemed?* In a word, his meaning is, that man is but as it were a litle winde and blast, as if hee had his life in his nostrilles, and as if it were as easie a matter to take away his life as his breath. Moreover, the mixture and temperature of all the elementarie qualities, and of all the humours is so necessary for life, as we haue already heard, that if any one be wanting, our life cannot continue. But the chiefest & most necessary of all, are heat & moisture placed in the the blood, which is so necessary for the maintenance of life, that after it is out of the body, death followeth presently.

Concerning the members of the body, it hath bene told vs already, that there are some of them without which the body cannot keepe life, nor be kept therein amongst which the heart is the chiefest of all, for the reasons which wee haue already heard. Now these things standing thus, we must consider what difference there is betweene the death of bruite beasts, and that of man: namely this, that the soule of beastes perisheth vtterly in their death, as doth the vigour of mens senses in the death of man. But the soule of man surviveth after the death of his body, and continueth alwaies in being and in life. For, considering that beastes doe in this life all that can bee done by them according to those gifts, which they haue receiued of nature, therefore they lue and die here altogether, having nothing bestowed vpon them for another better life. But forasmuch as G O D hath giuen vnto man a diuine and immortall spirit, which hath here great impediments and cannot well exercise all his offices, it is requisite that it should haue an other life

Naturall
death
Violent death

Of the wind-
pipe.

From whence
the cough
commeth.

Esay. 2. 22.

The blood
necessary
for life.

The difference
betweene the
death of
beasts and of
man.

An image of
our spirituall
death in the
bodily

Only sin hur-
teth the soule

What it is to
be well.

A comfort a-
gainst death.

Rom. 8, 22

Natural Phi-
losophy affor-
deth no sound
comfort against
afflictions, or
death,

wherein it may display all the vertues it hath, and enioy whatsoever GOD hath prepared for it, euen that which is most agreeable and proper to the nature thereof. Wherefore we may say, that the death of man is a separation, or a departure of the soule from the body wherein GOD propoundeth vnto vs a perfect image of our separation and departure from him, which commeth by the meanes of sinne. For we see what becommeth of the body when the soule is gone from it, and what it is during the time that it is ioyned therewith. The difference is very great. Let vs then propound our soule, as if it were in the place of the body, and imagine that God were in steade of the soule in it, as we see the soule is in the body. Then let vs consider what might bee the estate of the soule both when it is ioyned with God, and when it is separated from him. For there is greater difference betwene the soule separated from God, then betwene a body separated from his soule. Forasmuch as there is no body so stinking nor so infected, when it is separated from the soule, as the soule is when it is separated from God, if wee will compare spirituall things with corporall things. And contrariwise we may iudge of the estate thereof when it is ioyned with God, by the estate of a body ioyned with his soule, and by that difference which is betwene a dead body and a quicke.

Now if wee would well consider these things, and compare the corporall death of the body with the spirituall death of the soule, we would abhorre sinne in greater measure then we doe, and bee more affraide of it then of any thing that may come vnto vs. For there is nothing either in heaven or earth, that can hurt vs but sinne: as in deede nothing can bring dammage to vs, but that which can hurt the soule. But it is sinne onely that is able to hurt the soule, because by it those meanes are taken away from the soule, wherby God befloweth spirituall life vpon it. Therefore we ought not to thinke that bodily death can any way hurt the soule, vnlesse it be in regarde of the euill life past. It is true, that seeing GOD, hath created man to be of such a nature, as to be compounded of a body and of a soule, and that his true and perfect estate consisteth herein that they should liue vnitied and ioyned together, it is very like that there is some euill in the seuering of them asunder, especially if any of them corrupt and perish, and the euill may seeme to be doubled, if both of them should corrupt and perish, as many Epicures and Atheists would haue it. For if it be euill to haue but halfe a being, the euill and imperfection is much more, not to be at all, seeing there is nothing more goodly or more excellent then to haue a being. And if it be an excellent thing to bee, then to be well, is a farre more goodly and excellent thing. For therein consisteth the perfection and absolute felicitie of man. Now there is no sound or perfect estate of any man, but only that in which, and for which God created him. And although man be fallen from that estate, yet hath pleased GOD not onely to restore him againe therunto by his Sonne Iesus Christ, but also to make it vnto him more entire & more perfect, yea much more sure & stedfast then it was in the beginning. For this cause, if besides the benefit of creation we consider also that of regeneration, and of the restauration & repairing of man, we shall find therein ample matter of true and sound consolation against death. For we knowe that this tabernacle of our body, which is infirme, faulty, corruptible, fraile and tending to putrefaction, shall be destroyed & as it were pulled downe, to the end, that afterwards it may be restored vnto a perfect, firme, incorruptible and celestiall glorie. We see that by death we are called backe againe fro a miserable exile, to the end that we may dwel in our countrey, euen in our heauenly countrey. In a worde, we are assured by death to enioy such a blessed and permanent estate, as the like whereof appeareth no where vpon the earth. And if the brute beastes, euen the insensible creatures as Saint Paul teacheth vs, as wood & stone, hauing some sence of their vanity & corruption, doe waite for the day of iudgement that they may be deliuered from the same: shall not we be very miserable, hauing both some light of nature, and also boasting that we are inspired with the spirit of GOD, if wee doe not lift vp our eyes about this earthly corruption, when the question is concerning our beeing? Shall we not contemne and disdain the vanitie of the world, to aspire after the good being of the immortalitie to come? Let vs know then that we cannot finde any true and sound consolation without this consideration and hope which is most assured to them that beleue in Christ Iesus. Therefore they that went not beyond the boundes of naturall Philosophy, could neuer enioy any true consolation, either against the miseries of mans life, or against corporall death. And though they beleued, that altogether with the body whatsoever is in man, was extinguished, or otherwise that after the death of the body, the soule remaineth

maineth immortall, yet notwithstanding, some haue done nothing else but mourne and complaine in this life, insomuch as they haue laid violent hands, as it were, vpon Nature, reuiling her and caling her the stepmother, rather then the mother of mankind: and others haue doubted of their future estate and condition, not being able to learne and know whether their soules should liue either in ioy and rest, or els in paine and torment, but onely by opinion. Of which if we would discourse at large, and consider particularly of their reasons. we should be confirmed more and more in that true consolation, that ought to be in the heart of euery Christian against the horror of death. Therefore I greatly desire *ACHITO B*, to heare thee discoursing vpon this matter.

Of the chiefe consolations, which the wisest amongst the Pagans and Infidels could drawe from their humane reason and naturall Philosophy against death: of the blasphemies vsed by Atheists and Epicures against God and Nature: what Nature is, and who they be that attribute vnto it that which they ought to attribute vnto God. Chap. 76.

ACHITO B. Trees haue their seasons, in which they beginne to bud, and afterwards doe blossome: which blossome in convenient time taketh the forme and fashion of the fruit, and after that it continueth growing, vntill it becommeth ripe: and being come to the greatest maturitie and ripenes that it can haue, it falleth down of it selfe, and still consumeth more and more. The same may be said of leaues. But this happeneth not to all, nor yet altogether after the selfe same maner to all those to whom it doth happen. For some fruits perish euen in the very bud, or else in the flowre: & some after they are come to the fashion of fruit. And of these latter sort, some fade away sooner, some latter, according to their sundry accidents. For some are eaten by wormes, other by noisome flies, and some through diuers kinds of creeping things, which bred in the fruit it selfe. Againe, some are shaken downe violently, either through great and mightie showres, huge stormes, blustering windes or els by haile and tempest, being plucked forcibly from the trees before they can come to any ripenes. By all which things God propoundeth vnto vs, a goodly picture and representation of the whole course of mans life, yea, of all estates & conditions of men in the world, both generally and particularly. For although in our former speech we heard what order nature vsually followeth in naturall things, and namely, in that which respecteth the estate of Empires and Monarchies, yet if we looke well into it, we shall there find also this very difference, which we haue obserued to be betwixt naturall death, & that which wee call violent death. For as amongst men all come not to the vitermost of olde age, but many are slaid by the way, so is it with estates. We see some men ascende vp through all degrees, euen vntill they attaine to the highest: and then by the same degrees descend againe, vntill they come to the end and period of all. But wee see others that are stayed in ascending, or if they come to the highest degree are suddenly throwne downe. Moreover, among those fruits which attaine to maturity and ripenesse, all haue not one and the selfe same time of ripenesse, but every one hath his proper season: and those that are most forward and soonest ripe, are of shortest continuance, and quickly gone. This selfe same thing also we see to be obserued in the life of men, and in the course of this World. Wherefore if wee had no hope of another life besides this, our estate would be more miserable, not onely then the estate of beastes, but also then that of trees. For as trees decay yearely in regard of their flowers, fruits and leaues, so they are yearely renewed, whereas many men perish after that maner, that being once dead they shall neuer be raised and renewed againe to glory. For although they haue some opiniõ of an other life, yet by the certaintie of faith they do not apprehend the fruition of eternal happines, which is prepared for the blessed through the grace of Christ Iesus, they can neither liue nor die without some doubt of that which they desire most to be perswaded of.

A profitable
contemplation
in nature.

The miserable
estate of
Atheists that
haue no hope
of another
life.

When the greatest and most skilful Philosophers, the wisest & most vertuous personages that haue bin amongst the Heathen, went about to comfort either the selues, or their friends in their great afflictions, and chiefly in death, this was thought to be one of their strongest reasons, that the lawes of nature are unavoidable, and that it must bee so. For they had no

Philosophical
reasons a-
gainst the
feare of
death.

Sin the cause
of death.

Atheists
more mis-
erable then
beastes.

The commo
sayings of
Atheists.

hope of the resurrection of their bodies: as indeede it is a doctrine that humane Philosophy doth not vnderstand. And as for the immortalitie of the soule, albeit the best Philosophers & most learned men amongst them were of that opinion, which also was for the most part generally receiued of the people, yet they were neuer so assured thereof, but that still there remained some doubt in them, because they had no certaine knowledge of it, but onely so much as they could get by their naturall light & humane Philosophy. Therefore when such as excelled others amongst them laboured to comfort & strengthen men against the feare of death, and would perswade them that there was no euill in it, they vsed for their principall reason this disunctiue speech, saying: *Either man is wholly extinguished by death, or else some part of him remaineth afterwards. If he perish altogether, so that nothing of him continueth still, then he feeleth no ill: and so death hurteth him not, but deliuereth him from all those euils whereunto he is necessarily subiect in this life. But if some part of him abideth stil, so that he die not altogether, then is death no death vnto him, or at leastwise, it is not euil vnto him, seeing his principal part, which is his soule, and in regard of which he is man, liueth and abideth whole and sound.* Now these are very leane and slender consolations. For seeing God hath created man of that nature that he is compounded of body and soule, no doubt but his true & perfect estate consisteth therein, that these two natures bee vnited and linked together: as in deede they should haue done, had it not beene for the sinne of our first parents, who thereby brought vpon man both bodily and spirituall death. And it is against reason to thinke that a separation of these two natures so well knit together could be made, and that one of them should corrupt and perish, and all this without griefe. Now if they perish both together, the euill that followeth thereupon is the greater. For nothing can bee imagined to be more goodly and excellent then to haue a being. Now can any body call that thing excellent which ceaseth to bee, or which hauing a being, fadeth incontinently? But what an horreur is it to a man onely to thinke of death? And how much more will his horreur be increased, when hee shall thinke that hee must so vanish away by death, that no part of him afterward shall haue any more being, then if hee had neuer beene at all? And what profit ariseth to him that was neuer borne, more then to the brut beast? But yet the estate of this man is more miserable. For to what end should the reasonable soule serue, which God hath given him, as also the vnderstanding, reason, and all the other vertues wherewith God hath endued it aboue the soule of beastes, but to make him more miserable and wretched then if he had been created a beast? For seeing beastes haue no minde, vnderstanding, or reason, to conceiue and knowe what a benefit and gift of God it is to haue a being and to liue, they haue no such vehement apprehension, either of death as men haue, or of the losse of any good thing, which they are in danger to loose. And by this reason it followeth, that the more blockish and brutish men are, the lesse miserable they should bee: as contrariwise, the greater spirits they haue, and the more they acknowledge the excellency of mans nature, and those giftes wherewith God hath endued it, so much the more miserable and wretched should they bee, in steade of receiuing greater ioy and consolation. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that they are more ready to despise and blaspheme God, then to praise and glorifie him for those graces and benefits wherewith hee hath adorned mankind. We see how Epicures and Atheists, and all they that consider in man this present life onely, and go no further, draw neere to this point of which we speake. Therefore some of them say, that it were best for a man not to bee borne at all, or, els to die so soone as hee is borne. Others set themselues against nature and speake euill of her, saying, that she is, rather a badde step-mother then a good mother to mankind. And because they know not what GOD is, they set vpon Nature, through whose sides they wound him, speaking euill of him, and blaspheming him vnder this name of Nature. Thus you see what comfort and consolation they finde, who looke for no other life after this. And as for those other that haue but some bare motion and slender opinion of the immortality of soules, what greater ioy or contentation can they haue? Nay there are three things that doe greatly diminish their comfort. The first is, their doubting wherewith they are continually possessed, which hindereth them from hauing any assurance of the same. The second is the separation of the soule from the body, whereby they conceine and imagine, that the body doth so turne into corruption, as that it wholly perisheth without any hope of the resurrection thereof, or of conioyning it againe with the soule from which it was disioyned. The third is the ignorance of the estate of soules after this life. For albeit they were very certainly perswaded that our soules are immortall, yet they haue no assurance of their estate, neither know they whether

whether they live in ioy and rest, or in paine and torment, but onely by opinion, as they esteeme by every ones merites, which they measure according to that knowledge they have and that iudgement which they are able to affoord of their vertues and vices. Therefore, whatsoeuer they thinke or hope, seeing they are not very sure and certaine, neither indeede can bee, if they haue no better assurance then by their naturall light and reason, they must needes be subiect continually to sorrow & grieve; which way soeuer they turne themselves. For if they are of opinion, that there are punishments for such as haue led an euill life in this world, who can assure them that they shall be exempted and freed thereof? For howsoeuer they labour to enforce (as it were) their conscience, and stricke neuer so much to rocke it on sleepe, and flatter themselves in their sins, yet it cannot afford them any such peace and quietnesse, as will altogether satisfie and content them.

And as for perswading themselves that there is no punishment for the wicked, they are neuer able to doe it. For the same naturall light and reason whereby they iudge soules to be immortall, doth likewise constraîne them to acknowledge, that there is a God a iust Iudge, who suffereth not euill unpunished, as also he will not passe by that which is good without accepting of it as it is. So that seeing they cannot assuredly know, that God will approue and receiue their works as good, or refuse them as euill, they must of necessitie be alwaies in feare, whatsoeuer they beleue. Therefore as the one sort endeavour with all their power to be perswaded of this that mens soules are mortall as well as their bodies, and that after death there remaineth no more of the one then of the other, thereby to deliuer themselves of this feare and of the torment that accompanieth feare: so the other sort that haue a better opinion of the immortality of soules, labour to perswade themselves that there is no hell nor punishment for soules after this life, but that they are onely Poeticall fictions and fables. But although Poets vsed fictions in that which they wrote of Hell, and of those infernall furies and torments, yet they deriued the ground and foundation of them from that testimony which God hath planted in the nature of vs all. So that none ought to flatter and seduce themselves by meanes of such opinions as ouerturne all nature: for that were to take away all difference betweene good and euill, vertue and vice, things honest and dishonest. For if there be no reward either for the one or for the other, or if all be one, it followeth either that there is no difference betwixt all these thing, or that there is no iustice in God. But both these are impossible, whereupon it must needes be concluded, that not only there is another life after this, but also that in the second life there is ioy, rest, & felicitie for the one, and grieve, paine and dolour for the other. Wherefore we must not thinke, that because the Kitchen and Nurserie of this mortall body is by the appointment and providence of God, ioined with the soule that is immortall and diuine, therefore there is no other life for man besides this bodily life, or that the soule which giueth life and mainteineth it in the body, is no more immortall then the body that receiue the same from it, and that the body in like maner ought not to expect another life after this. But I hope that these things shall hereafter be better declared vnto vs in those discourses, which we are especially to make touching the immortality of the soule. Now to ende this speech, forasmuch as in this and in our former discourses, we haue oftentimes made mention of *Nature*, which for the most part men ioine as companion with God, when they speake of the counsels of his providence over all things created, according to that common prouerbe, *That God and nature haue made nothing in vaine*, I say in this respect it shall be good for vs to know, what *Nature* is, to speake properly, & into what detestable error they fall, who attribute that to it, which appertaineth to God alone. And first they that vse this prouerbe might speake more directly & Christianly, if they attributed the whol to God only, not ioining vnto him nature for a cōpanion, as though he had need of her helpe, & could not well finish all his works alone, and as though he had not bin able to haue done all that he hath done without her. It may be, they will say, that they doe giue this honour vnto God, and that they speake not of Nature, as *Galen*, and many other Heathen Philistions and Philosophers, or rather Epicures and Atheists, do, who place Nature in God his stead: but that they speake of her as of a means created of God, by which he performeth all these things. But there is no such necessity to ioine Nature with God as his fellow worker. For when he created the first man, what Nature had he with him that did help him to make this worke? Besides, the very name of nature doth it not declare, that it is a thing borne and created, and so consequently hath her creation and birth from God as all other creatures haue? For if we take Nature for that diuine vertue and power which appeareth in the works of the creation, & in their preservation & order, we must of necessity

Naturall reason not sufficient to stay the conscience.

Two sorts of Atheists.

Why there must needes be a second life.

What nature is.

Nature is a creature.

560 That there is but one soule in euery body,

The error of
Galen, and
such like A-
theists now
adaies.

take it, not for a thing that is borne and bred of others, but that giueth birth and being vnto others. And if we take it so, then God and nature shall be taken to be all one. Wherefore in this respect it were better to let the name of Nature alone: and to speake of God onely, to whome Nature is but a seruant, and seeing that by him it was created, and that all things were made before Nature had her being. Otherwise wee are like to fall into that error of Galen and others his like in these daies, who albeit they bee conuicted and rauished with admiration, through the contemplation of those wonderfull workes, which they beholde in all the parts and powers of mans bodie, are notwithstanding so vngratefull, that in steade of yeelding vnto God that honour that belongeth vnto him, it seemeth they would despite him to his face, and seeke all possible meanes to put out their owne eyes, and wholly to blinde their vnderstandings, to the end they might not bee constrained to acknowledge that there is a God, the Creator and maker of this so excellent a piece of worke, and so, to glorifie him as becommeth them. Now rather then they would giue him his honour, they would make an idole of Nature, thereby to cast a vile before mens eyes, that they should not see and acknowledge God in his workes. They will rather put their owne eyes then follow this nature, which they forge vnto themselues as a soueraigne Mistresse, whereas she is but the meanes to leade them to God her and their Creatour, of whome she is but a seruant, and a very small image.

What we are
to iudge of
Nature.

Thus much I thought meete to bee knowne, concerning Nature, that we might learne to speake better and more reuerently both of God and of his workes, and that we might know that Nature is nothing else but the order and continuance of the workes of God. Now that we are instructed in the causes of life and death, and what true comfort and consolation we may haue against the horror thereof; and so haue finished our discourses concerning the frame of the body, and of the powers and faculties of the soule therein, wee must enter into a particular contemplation of the nature of the soule, and learne what is the creation and immortality thereof so farre forth as the minde of man is able to comprehend, and as the word of truth shall affoord vs sure and certaine doctrine thereof. First, then it is necessary and very profitable for vs to consider, that there is but one soule in one body, which hath all those powers and vertues of which the effects are daily seene: also what place the soule hath in the body, and what vnion there is betweene them. Now *A S E R*, this shall be that matter subiect which thou shalt haue to continue our speech withall.

That there is but one soule in euery seuerall body: that one and the same soule hath in it all those vertues and powers, whose effects are daily seene: of the seat of the Soule in the body, and of the principall instrument thereof: of the vnion of the body and Soule: of the diuers degrees of nature, and of the excellencie that is in it: of the fountaines and bounds of all the powers and vertues of the soule. Chap. 77.

A S E R Saint Paul maketh a prayer in the end of his first Epistle to the Thessalonians, which agreeth very well both to that matter whereof we haue already intreated, touching the nature as well of the soule as of the body, and to that also which wee haue yet to handle concerning the nature, creation, and immortality of the soule. Now the very God of peace (saith he) sanctifie you throughout: and I pray God that your whole spirit, and soule, and body, may be kept blamelesse vnto the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ. Where first he sheweth vs, that none but God, who onely is holy, sanctifieth vs through Iesus Christ his sonne the most Holy, and that by the vertue of his holy spirit. Moreover he teacheth vs, that as we are to acknowledge all sanctification alreadie begun in vs to proceede from God alone, so wee must expect from him the accomplishment of that worke, which he hath begun in vs. For as he is the beginning, so from him must proceede the perfection, which comprehendeth all the partes of man. Therefore the Apostle heere maketh a diuision of three members placing the spirit first, in the second place the soule, and in the third the body. Then he teacheth vs, that the entire and absolute sanctification of all these parts of man shall be in the comming of Iesus Christ, in which it shall obtaine the last perfection. Now we vnderstand

1. Thes. 5. 23.

Dan. 9. 24.

stand already sufficiently by our former discourses, that man is compounded of two diuers natures, namely, of a body and of a soule: and yet heere wee see that Saint *Paul* setteth downe three parts, and ioyneth the spirit vnto the soule, as if they were two diuers and different things, aswell as the soule and the body are. Therefore we must search out of the cause of this diuision of man after this manner. But before wee enter into this matter, it shall be very profitable for vs to refresh our memory with those things we haue already intreated of, so farre forth as they may serue for the vnderstanding of this, and that according to the matter subiect propounded to discourse vpon.

Wee heard before how the body is the lodging and instrument of the soule, and how the soule serueth it selfe with all the members thereof, and setteth them on worke. And as for the Soule, albeit there be but one in each seuerall body, neuerthelesse that one soule hath diuers faculties, powers and vertues, which wee also call partes and offices thereof. Wherefore as wee say not, that there are so many bodies in one body of a man, as there is diuersitie of partes, members and offices therein, but account them all ioyntly together, as one and the same body: euen so wee meane not that there are so many soules, as there are powers and offices in the Soule, or according to that varietie of effects that appeareth in every part and member thereof, albeit wee know very well, that they are distinguished one from another both in time and place. For we perceiue by the effects thereof, that the sight is in the eyes, hearing in the eares, vnderstanding and cogitation in the braine, and the like is to be said of all the other partes and members of the body, according to the nature and office of euery one, and according to the offices of the Soule in them: as wee haue already shewed when we handled all the powers thereof particularly. Moreouer wee see how the child, so long as it is in the Mothers wombe, differeth almost nothing at all from plants: and after it is borne, how it differeth but a little from brute beastes, as else where it hath bene already declared vnto vs. Neuerthelesse, as in every body there is but one and the same kind, fashion and essentiall forme of nature, whereby it commeth to be that which it is: so there is but one onely Soule in every liuing creatures body, by which it doth liue, but yet this soule is distinguished according to the vertues and offices thereof. Wherein it falleth out with the soule as it doth with a man that hath many charges and offices, or that exerciseth many Artes and occupations, which he practiseth in seuerall places, at sundry times, and by diuers instruments and seruants. Yea, the very variety of those instruments which the soule vseth, and the repugnance that is betweene the actions thereof, doe shew manifestly that there is but one workemaster from whom the whole proceedeth, and which gouerneth and moderateth all, as a liuing creature ought to doe. For there could not be so great agreement in such diuersitie, if there were diuers workmen, and so many soules as there are effects and actions in all the parts of man. Besides, if there were such diuersitie of kinds of all things, as there is diuersitie of effects, the number of them would be infinite: whereupon there would great confusion follow in the searching out of nature, and of naturall things. Therefore seeing there is but one soule in every body, we must learne whether it hath any certaine place and seate in the body, or whether the whole body be the lodging for it. Now as every forme of each body is in the whole body, so the soule is wholly in the whole body, in which the true forme and principall essence of man consisteth. For if there were any part thereof that had no soule within it, that part should haue no life: as we see it by experience in a member that is dry, or putrified, or cut off from the body. So that as an Husbandman hath his sundry instruments for the trimming of the ground, and by them effecteth diuers works, according to the vse of each seuerall instrument: so fareth it with the soule in the body. For the Husbandman worketh another worke with his Plough, then he doeth with his Harrowes, and otherwise with his Spades and Shouels then with the other aboue named instruments: so that according to the diuersitie of his tooles he worketh diuers workes. And yet all this while there are not so many Husbandmen as there are sundry instruments, but one alone vseth all these to serue his turne. And he that should demaund in which of all his instruments an Husbandman were, should he not (thinke you) moue an impartinent question? For hee may bee both with his instruments, and also without them: and when he vseth them, he applieth them to himselfe, and himselfe vnto them. And to aske which of his instruments is the chiefest, were not to speake very much to purpose. For every one of them is principall in his vse, and for that worke whereunto it is applied: and so it is with the Soule, and with the instruments thereof. For it can be both with them, and without them, in that maner that hath bene already declared. And as the

Man diuided into three parts.

One soule in one body.

The soule like to a man that hath many offices.

Of the seate of the soule in the bodie.

The soule compared to an Husbandman.

The chiefest instruments of the soule.

Plough

562 That there is but one soule in euery body,

Plough is the chiefe instrument which the Husbandman hath to cut and deuide the ground into furrowes, and the Pickaxe to digge in hard places, so the eye is the chiefe instrument the soule hath for seeing, the eare for hearing, the brayne with the thin, cleare, and bright spirits therein, for all kinde of vnderstanding and knowledge, and the heart for the fountaine of life. Now because the soule hath so many sundry powers, offices and actions, it is also taken in diuers senses and significations, but especially in the holy scriptures, as (God willing) we shall learne hereafter. In the meane time that vnion which it hath with the body, is marueilous, and ought to be diligently considered of vs. Wee are to know then, that all things whatsoeuer are ioyned together in nature, are alwaies so knit and vnited by some meanes: which meane consisteth either in this, that the essence of two extreames doe participate one of another, and ioyned together, or else in the agreement of action & of work. Now as the bond of the first meane is between the elements themselves, and also betweene them and that matter wherof bodies are compounded, because there is betweene them an agreement and participation of nature, euery one in his degree, according as they are neerer or further removed off one from an other: so we haue the bond of the second meane, betweene the body & the soule, namely, the agreement of action and worke. Let vs then consider of the coniunction and agreement that is betweene a workeman and his worke, together with those instruments whereby he effecteth his worke. For there is an agreement and coniunction betweene the painter and his picture, by reason of the pen-fill wherewith he worketh. And the like may bee said of all other workemen. Euen so the forme and kinde of all things is as it were the Workemaster in regard of the matter, and the qualities and fashioning of the matter, are the instruments whereby the *Species* or kinde of any thing is vnited and knit vnto the matter. Now the soule is ioyned to the body as light is vnto the aire. For by reason of the coniunction of the aire and light together, the aire is made cleare and lightsome: and yet the aire and light remaine whole and perfect without any mixture or confusion of the one with the other. For they are not mingled together as the elements are in naturall mixtures, or as hearbes that are beaten together into powder, or drugges of the Apothecary in a medicine, that lye mingled and confused one within an other. But the vnion and bond of two substances ioined together is a great deale more neere in other kindes and creatures then in the soule, wherein it is removed farther off, by reason that the nature of corporall things admitteth of a neerer coniunction and agreement among themselves, then there can be naturally betweene corporall and spirituall things. So that the greater agreement of natures there is, the straiter is the bond and vnion betweene them. Now we may know of what nature euery kinde of thing is by the offices and actions thereof. As if the question were touching to nature of that soule, which heretofore wee called the *Nourishing* and *Vegetative Soule*, it appeareth by the office and actions thereof that it is hote, and that it taketh part (as also all the actions thereof) of the nature of fire, which is the highest and purest element, and that which approacheth neere to the celestiall natures. But that kinde of soule, which we called *Sensitive* and *Cogitative*, such as it is in brute beastes, ascendeth yet higher and by agreement is linked neerer to the heauens, and to the nature of heauenly bodies. And therefore beafts haue not onely sense, but some kinde of knowledge also, whereby they doe in some sort marke and perceiue the course of the heauens, and heauenly bodies, and doe seeme after a sort to vnderstand them. For they haue knowledge both of the day and of the night, of Winter and of Summer, yea, they haue some sense and perseuerance of the alterations of seasons, according as they fall out by the course of the Spheres: but yet not by any such knowledge and vnderstanding as is in man. Now sense and knowledge cannot proceede of the power of the elements, but is deriued from some higher thing. For it is by meanes of a more excellent power that beafts are distinguished from plants, holding more of the excellencie of their Creator, declaring it a great deale more. But man he hemounteth vp much higher. For he ascendeth vp aboue all the heauens, euen vnto God and to those spirituall natures, by meanes of reason and vnderstanding, which make his soule capable of heauenly light and wisedome, and of diuine inspirations.

Whereupon it followeth that the originall birth of the Soule is celestiall. And therefore in this diuersitie of the faculties and powers of the soule and life of man, wee must note this, that the lower kindes of the soule and life are not the well-springs and fountaines of the highest, as if those powers and faculties did first set these latter aworking; or as if the highest, did spring of the basest, and receiued their vertues from them: but they are onely certaine

Two kinds of
vniting things
together.

The chiefe
instruments
of the soule.

Of the vnion
betweene the
soule and the
body.

How the
soule is ioyn-
ed to the
bodie.

Diuers de-
grees of na-
ture in the
soule.

Beafts haue
some kind of
knowledge.

The originall
of the powers
of the soule.

certaine aydes and degrees of helpe, whereby the highest & chiefeft descend and ascend. So that the Vegetatiue and nourishing life and vertue, is not the originall of the senses, and sensitiue vertue, but onely a degree by which the facultie of sense is derined to the body, and by little and little ascendeth vp to her powers and offices. The like may bee said of the vnderstanding and of reason in regard of the sensitiue facultie. For every sort and kinde of life, and every power of the soule hath beginning of it selfe, and certaine bounds within which it is contained. Wherein we haue to consider a marvellous worke and providence of God in that he hath ioyned & linked together in man things that are so diuers. For we take this as granted, that the soule of man is a spirituall nature and not corporall, that it is immortall, and created for the contemplation of celestiaall and eternall things. On the other side wee see, how this so excellent and diuine a nature is ioyned to that part and power that is called *Vegetatiue* and *Nourishing*, which seemeth rather to bee corporall then spirituall, to be more terrestriall then celestiaall, and to bee as it were the Kitching of the bodies of liuing creatures, and the Store-house & Originall of their generation. So that there is no man of any sound minde, who knowing this marvellous coniunction of nature in things so diuers, and considering that it cannot come to passe by hap hazard and at aduenture, but he must needs be rauished with great admiration, and acknowledge an admirable providence of God the Creator and Lord of nature.

An admirable worke of God.

But they that are instructed in the holy word, and in the doctrine of the Church, haue yet a further consideration of these things. For they know well, that albeit the Kitchin of mans body shall haue no necessarie vse in the life to come, neuerthelesse God hath establi shed this order, and would haue it thus ioyned to the soule and spirit, to the end that those beginnings of eternall life, and of that true and perpetuall wisdom, which he hath put into vs should be kindled and inflamed in this mortall life. For they shall not shine forth in any there, who haue not here had some beginnings, but haue suffered those to bee cleane extinguished which they receiued of God. For this cause doth the voice of God and of his heavenly doctrine sound in mens eares, and to these endes hath bee ordeined that government, which ought to be amongst them, and hath bound and fortified it with many bonds and rampiers. Wherefore we stand in neede of doctrine of instruction and discipline, vnto which things the consideration of mans nature may greatly helpe vs. For there is no science or humane wisdom, how great soeuer it be, that is able to rehearse and comprehend the great profit, which this consideration can afford to men, euen so farre forth as they may very well learne and know. And of this we may the better be resolved, if we consider well of that which hath already bene handled: yea, wee may the better iudge hereof, if we perfectly vnderstand that diuision of man made by Saint *Paul*, and mentioned by vs in this discourse. Therefore *AMANA*, proceed you in the residue of this matter, giuing vs first to vnderstand, what is the nature and offices of those pure, animal, cleare and bright spirits, which we said were seruiceable to the soule for all kinde of vnderstanding and knowledge. Afterwards you may more easily instruct vs at large and teach vs, what difference there is not onely betweene the soule and the instruments thereof, whereby it worketh, but also betweene the instruments themselves, and their nature and offices, and which of them are neereft, or remoued farthest from the soule.

Why God hath ioyned the body to the soule.

The naturall knowledge of mans body very profitable.

Of the nature and varietie of the animall Spirits, and how they are onely instruments of the soule, and not the soule it selfe: of the nature of those bodies wherein the soule may dwell and worke: of the difference that is not onely betweene the soule and the instruments by which it worketh, but also betweene the instruments themselves, and their natures and offices, & which of them are neereft or farthest off: of the degrees that are in the vnion and coniunction of the soule with the body. Chap. 78.

A*MANA.* It is requisite that workemen should haue instruments answerable to those works which they are to make: and if they haue taken in hand but one single and simple worke, they neede but one tooke fit for that purpose: as to sawe timber, there needeth

bee

Why the soule
worketh with
undrie in-
struments.

but a saw. But they that are to make many works, or one worke that is full of variety, stand in need of many instruments: as painters, ioyners, carpenters, masons, & such like. The same may be said of the soule: and therefore it hath many members in the body, that are giuen vnto it as instruments to serue for those works, which it hath outwardly to perform. Moreover, the soule hath humours to preserve and uphold the members, and to keepe them alwayes ready for their worke, by those meanes which we haue heard already: besides, it hath vital spirits of which the animall spirits are bred, which serue in steade of a light to gard and conduct it in the actions both of the externall and the internall senses. And as there is great force in a toole or instrument to cause a good or euill worke, so is there in the humours, spirits, and members of the body, whereby we are made fit to exercise and to execute all actions whether they concerne life and sense, knowledge and vnderstanding, or will and affections. For it fareth in this matter as it doth in the disposition of the aire, which the thicker and more obscure it is, the lesse cleere will the light appeare vnto vs: and contrariwise the more pure and thin it is, the brighter and more shining it will shew it selfe vnto vs.

Of the vitall
and animal
spirits and of
their opera-
tions

Now for this matter, wee must call to minde what wee heard concerning the generation of spirits both Vitall and Animall, in those discourses of the nature and office of the heart. And as they are thinne vapours, engendred of blood, concocted, and set on fire through the vertue of the heart, that they might bee as it were little flames, hauing diuers actions in diuers members: so according to the purity and impurity of the blood in the composition of the body, wee are to iudge of the spirites that proceede from them. And albeit they haue all one and the same fountaine, namely, the heart in which they are bredde, neuerthelesse they change according to those places and members wherein they worke, and beeing so changed, they haue diuers and seuerall actions. We vnderstand then by the Vitall spirit, a little flame bredde & borne in the hart of the purest blood, whose office is to carry naturall heate to the other members, and to giue them vertue & strength to put in practise those actions and offices, which exercise by the same heate. It hath beene tolde vs before, that the arteries serue to carrie this vital spirit to all the members. But wee are further to learne, that when the vitall spirits bredde in the heart, are in part transported to the braine, others are engendred of them, which are called Animall spirites, in that sence in which we called those Animall faculties and powers, from whence the Soule deriueth her vessels and instruments in the braine. For after the spirites sent by the heart, are come thither, they are made more cleane and bright through the vertue of the brayne, and agreeable to the temperament thereof: and then beeing infused into the brayne by meanes of the sinewes, they are in steade of a light whereby the actions of the senses are incited and stirred vp, as also those motions which are from place to place. And as we haue heard, that a good temperature of the bloode and of other humours doth much helpe forward and profite the manners and conditions of men, the same may bee said of the heart and of the spirites proceeding from the same. For when the heart is in good temper, so that it is not troubled either with anger, or sadnesse, or any other euill affection, it is manifest that the spirites are a great deale the better in the braine.

The effects
of the vitall
and animal
spirits in man.

Now let vs consider the wonderfull worke of God wrought in man by meanes of the vitall and animal spirits. For what are the chiefe actions effected in him? Are they not the preservation of life, nourishment, and generation: and then sense and motion, with cogitation and the affections of the heart? And what were all these things without spirits? Hence it commeth that in the holy Scriptures, the heart is taken for the fountaine, not onely of life, but also of all the actions of men, as it hath beene already declared vnto vs. And for this cause also some haue said, that these spirits, and litle Vitall and Animal flames were the soule it selfe, or the immediate instrument thereof, that is to say, the very next whereby it worketh immediatly, so that there is none betwixt them twaine. But the latter is more certaine and more agreeable to truth then the former. For if the soule were nothing else but the Vitall and Animall spirits, it should faile and perish with them, as the bodily life doth: and so it should not be immortall. But seeing they are but the instruments thereof, as the humors of the body are, and namely, the blood from which they proceede, the soule can well be without them: albeit they cannot be without it, and although it cannot without them performe the workes it doth with and by them. And forasmuch as God hath giuen them to be as it were a light, it is certaine that the light of these surmounteth the light of the Sunne, Moone, or Starres; and that all these lights haue great agreement one with another.

The vitall &
animal spirits
are not the
soule.

But

But it is yet a farre more wonderfull worke of God when not onely the soule vseth these instruments for the life of man, but also when the celestially spirit ioyneth it selfe vnto them, vsing them in the elect, and making them more cleare by his heavenly light, that the knowledge of God might be more euident, that their assurance and trust in him might bee more firme, and that all the motions of his children might be kindled the more towards him. So likewise the euill spirit knoweth well how to take occasion by the bad tempera- ture of the humours to abuse men as we haue already declared, thereby to set forward their ruine, when he possesseth the heart, troubleth and poisoneth the spirits in that and in the braine. Whereupon he attempteth to hinder reason and iudgement, to bring men to fury and madnesse, and to thrust forward their heart and their other members to commit foule and execrable facts. Whereof wee haue examples in the furie of *Saul* and in his death: in the death of *Achisophel*, of *Indas*, and of many others whom hee hath brought to slay themselves: as likewise in many other horrible facts daily committed by men. Therefore it is very requisite, that we should diligently consider our nature, and be carefull to gouerne and guide it well. We are to know that our spirits are the habitations of the holy spirit, and therefore we are to pray to God through his Sonne Iesus Christ, to repell and keepe backe euill spirits farre from vs, and to inspire his diuine and celestially spirit into our spirits, hearts and mindes, that it may guide and gouerne them. And this agreeth very fitly with that prayer, which we heard already vttered by Saint *Paul*, touching the entire sanctification of the whole man, whom he diuided into spirit, soule and body. So that, if we haue through- ly tasted of the former discourses, as wel concerning the nature of the body as of the soule, we may perceiue wherefore the Apostle hath thus diuided the whole man. For first, wee cannot doubt but that the soule being the principall Worker, is such a substance and nature as dwelleth in a body apt and meete to receiue life in. I speake this purposely, because all sorts of bodies are not capable of soule and life: and they that are capable, are not yet cape- able of euery kinde of soule and life, but onely of such as are agreeable to their nature ha- uing those instruments in themselves which may bee vsed by them according to their na- ture. Wherefore the soule of man must of necessitie haue another body, with other instru- ments and of another nature, then the soule of beasts may haue: and the soule of beastes another then the soule of plants, according as euery one of them differereth from other both in nature and offices. But of what nature soeuer either the soule or the body is, the soule hath this property like a busie workeman to be in the body, hauing all her instruments ther- in. Now when a workeman worketh with his tooles, he must haue within himselfe the ver- tue and skill to doe that which he doeth, because it is not in the instruments whereby hee worketh. For albeit they bee appropriated and fitted to the work that is wrought, yet of themselves they can doe nothing at all, except they be set on worke by the workeman, be- cause they haue not in them any vertue to worke. But this power and facultie is only in the workeman, to whom it belongeth to perfect his worke. So if the vertue of working were not in the soule, it could worke no more with instruments then without. Therefore albeit it see- meth that the naturall heat, the humours and the spirits worke in the body, and effect some- thing therein, yet we must know, that they doe nothing there of themselves, but that they receiue of the soule whatsoeuer they haue. As when a Painter draweth a picture, his pen- sill and colours haue it not of themselves to doe that which is done by them, but of the Painter. The soule then is the Workeman that worketh, receiuing her vertue and facultie of working not from without, but even in the selfe same body in which it is. Therefore to speake properly, we may say that she dwelleth in the body, because shee abideth therein, as in her house with all her implements and household instruments so that shee must needs haue the body appropriated and made fit vnto her nature. For euery soule cannot bee indiffe- rently ioined to euery forme and figure of a body, to exercise and execute therein the works of life: but it must worke by that order of nature, and according to those lawes which the Creator of all things hath ordeined from the beginning of the world. Whereupon we may note, that if we had no other reason but the consideration hereof, against the Pithagorical transmigration of soules from one body to another, it were sufficient to make knowne the greatnesse of this fopperie, and what error there is in that opinion. For if it were so, there would be no difference betwixt the soules of men, of beasts & of plants, neither should there be any propriety and aptnesse of body, and instruments more to one soule then to another. Whereupon all nature touching this point and order appointed by God herein, should bee confounded and ouerthrowne.

A wonderfull
work of God.

1. Sam. 18. 10
& 31. 4.
2. Sam. 17. 23
Matth. 27. 5.

1. Thess. 5. 23

A compari-
son of the
soule and a
workeman.

A similitude.

Against the
transmigrati-
on of soules.

The aptest
instrument
for the soule.

The necessi-
ty of the
humours.

The humours
are in conti-
nuall motion.

What parts of
the body
come neereſt
to the soule.

But to returne to our matter, forasmuch as the temperature of liquors, humours and qualities, (vnder which I also comprehend the spirits) is most inward and profound, as well in the body as in the workmanship of nature, it is vndoubtedly the fittest instrument the soule hath, & such a one as is neereſt linked by agreement and coniunction, with the workman that vseth the same. Inſomuch that if the soule want this instrument, it departeth away: and if the soule be gone and so be wanting to it, then must it also necessarily faile presently, although the members abide yet after the departure of the soule. For the confirmation and strengthening of the members both internall and externall, is separated farther from the Soule: but the mixture of the humours and spirit that is in the members, is more neere and more inward. True it is, that the humours and qualities are instruments of the soule, as well as the members: but the humours are ſuch instruments as ſet the reſt on working. I meane the members, yea, by meanes of them the soule vseth the members. Wherefore if the humours faile, the members are very vnprofitable, as it appeareth in them that are dry or puffed vp, or taken with the palsie, or oppreſſed with any other malady. For the members are fitte instruments for outward vses and exerciſe, but the temperature and mixture of the humours and ſpirits, is ordayned to preſerue ſuch instruments, to the end they might alwaies be apt and ready to doe their duties. Therefore the humours and qualities are in perpetuall motion, but the members are not. For the humours muſt alwaies keepe the members in a readineſſe to worke, if neede require. Now in the conſideration of all theſe things, we ſee wonderfull degrees in the vnion and coniunction that is between the body and the ſoule, and the instruments which it vseth in the body. For as all the elements haue their combinations, and are linked together, according to that agreement of nature which they haue one with another, every one in his degree from heauen downe to the earth, and ſo likewiſe all the humours and qualities of all things: euen ſo is it with the ſoule and body, and with thoſe instruments and meanes whereby they are ioyned and knit together, every one in his degree, according as their natures are more or leſſe corporall or ſpirituall, terreſtriall or celeſtiall. For as the vitall and animall ſpirits approach neereſt to the nature of the ſoule, ſecondly, the humours come neereſt to the nature of the ſpirits, thirdly, the members next to the humours: ſo all of them keepe their ranke and order in their degrees, and in that coniunction which the body and ſoule haue together, as alſo the instruments whereby the ſoule worketh in the bodie: whether we conſider them either in aſcending vpward from the loweſt to the higheſt, or elſe in deſcending from the higheſt to the loweſt, as wee conſider the vnion and coniunction that is betwixt all the elements from the earth to the heauens, and from the heauens to the earth. Whereby we daily ſee more and more the great marueiles of God, and by what meanes and arte he ioyneth the heauens with the earth, and bodily natures with ſpirituall.

This being thus, we are to learne, that all the instruments of the ſoule are prepared for it in the body, as it were for a Workeman that is to doe ſome worke, and that there is none but the ſoule that doeth uſe them. So that it is very euident, that the ſoule is the perfection of this aptneſſe of the bodie, and that there is great agreement betweene the ſoule and the body, and betweene all the partes and faculties of both. Forasmuch then as there is ſuch a coniunction, and that GOD hath created them both to be glorified in them, Saint Paul hath good cauſe to pray for ſanctification in them both, to the ende that God might be ſerued and honoured, and that both of them might be glorified in the day of the Lord. But that our ſpeech may yet be better vnderſtoode, we muſt conſider in what ſignification the names of ſoule, ſpirit and heart are commonly taken, namely in the holy ſcriptures, and how we may and ought to uſe them. This will helpe vs greatly to attaine to the knowledge of the nature and immortality of the ſoule, wherein we are to be inſtructed before we diſſolue our preſent aſſembly.

Teach vs therefore, *AR AM*, what diuiſions the Scripture maketh of the whole man, as well in regard of the ſoule as of the body, and in what ſignifications the names of ſoule ſpirit and heart are taken; with the cauſes wherefore.

Of the diuisions of man made in the holy Scriptures, as well in respect of the soule as of the body: in what significations the names of soule, spirit, and heart, are used therein, and the causes why: of the entire sanctification of man: how the soule is taken for the life, and for the members and instruments of nourishment, and for nourishment it selfe. Chap. 79.

ARAM. Forasmuch as God so honoureth our bodies, as to call them Temples of his holy spirit. I thinke they cannot be such indeede, except they be wholly dedicated and consecrated vnto him, so that wee separate them from all filthinesse and pollution, by giuing our selues to all kinde of sanctimonie and honesty of life. For then is the body wholly sanctified, when all the senses and members apply themselves onely to good and holy workes commanded by God, and when they abstaine from the contrary. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that the eyes turne aside from beholding all vaine things, and take pleasure onely in seeing that, which may rauish a man with admiration at the excellencie of the workes of God, and induce him to well doing. Thelike may be saide of soundes, of voyces, of words in regard of the eares. And as for the tongue, it is not polluted with vile speeches, with lying, flandering and blasphemie: but praiseth God, and rehearseth his works and wonders, speaking alwaies with a grace to the edifying of all. In like maner, the mouth serueth man for the selfe same vse, as the stomacke also and the belly, with all the rest of the members that serue for the nourishing of the body, are not defiled through gluttonie and drunkennes. So that the body liueth not to eat, but eateth to liue, & to make supply to those necessities vnto which GOD hath made it subiect. Therefore it obserueth sobriety, and is contented to minister to the naturall affections, that God may be serued in this life. Neither doth it abuse the members of generation to whoredome and villanie, but containeth them within their office and lawfull vse. And as for the feete and hands, with all the rest of the externall members, it keepeth them also within the compasse of their duty. But seeing the whole body and all the members therof, take from the soule all their actions and vses, they cannot be sanctified for the seruice of God and of holy things, vnlesse the soule be first sanctified, which giueth vnto them life, motion, and sense.

Of the entire sanctification of mans body.

The body liueth not to eat, but eateth to liue.

For this cause Saint Paul speaking of the sanctification which he wisheth to the Thessalonians, before he maketh any mention of that of the body, he beginneth with the Spirit and Soule, as wee haue already heard. Now because the soule hath diuers powers, he vseth two words the better to note them out, especially the chiefest of them. For as it hath bene already declared vnto vs, albeit the soule hath many powers and offices in the body of man, yet there are not so many soules in the body, as there are faculties and effectes thereof, but one onely soule which doth all that. For this cause the name of soule is diuersly taken in the holy Scriptures. Sometime it is taken for that spirituall substance that is ioyned with the body to giue life vnto it, and for all the powers therof: and sometime againe for one part of those faculties and powers. The like may be sayd of the name of Spirit, and of heart, and that for the same reason. Thus doeth the Scripture sometimes diuide the whole man into two parts onely, namely, into body and soule: as when Iesus Christ sayeth: *Feare ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soule: but rather feare him, which is able to destroy both soule and body in Hell.* And often also the same holy word taketh the one of these two parts for the whole, euen in that signification wherein wee take the name Person in our tongue. For this cause wee reade so often in the word, *All flesh and every soule*, for every person. Also, *Giue mee the Soules*, for giue mee the persons: And *all the Soules of the house*, for all the persons thereof. Now because the vnderstanding and the will are the principall faculties and powers of the soule, when the Scripture meaneth to set them downe distinctly, and to expresse them together with the nature & vertue of the soule, it taketh the spirit for the one, and the soule for the other: namely the spirit for the reason and vnderstanding and the soule for the will and affections. For otherwise how should euery man be entire and sound, vnlesse

1. Thes. 5. 23.

The name of Soule taken diuersly.

Math. 10. 28.

Gen. 6. 17.

Esay. 40. 6.

Luc. 3. 6.

Leuit. 4. 2.

Ezech. 18. 4.

Rom. 13. 1.

Gen. 14. 21.

and 46. 2. 7.

When a man
is perfectly
sanctified.

Esay. 26.8.9.

Luk. 1.46.47.

The soule de-
uide d into
three parts.
Ephe. 4.17.18

Iohn 1.9. and
8.12. and 9.5
and 12.49.

Why the na-
turall powers
are not men-
tioned in these
diuisions.

his thoughts were pure and holy, all his affections rightlie ruled, and finally his whole body made obedient, and seruiceable to euery good worke? For we haue heard already what Lordship is attributed to the reason and to the vnderstanding: then how the will and affections are in the middest to command, and lastly, the body to serue and obey. So that a man is then altogether pure and sound, when he thinketh nothing in his minde, desireth nothing in his heart, neither executeth any thing with his mēbers, but that which pleaseth God. We haue a place in *Esay* which teacheth vs very clearly, that the spirite and soule are so taken and distinguished as we say: *The desire of our soule (saith hee) is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee. With my soule haue I desired thee in the night, and with my spirit within mee will I seeke thee in the morning.* We see how first he attributeth desire to the soule, thereby to declare the affection of the people towards the Lord. Then he maketh mention of the remembrance and memory that he hath of God, which is in the minde. So that it seemeth he comprehendeth the vnderstanding, and will in the first verse vnder the name of Soule. Afterward in the verse following hee distinguisheth them more specially, attributing desire to the soule, then watchfulnesse and diligent inquisition to the spirit, which is not without thinking and discoursing that appertayne to the minde. Wherefore the Prophet minding to signifie how hee was wholly addicted to the Lord with all his senses and vnderstanding, and with all his heart and will, and that all his affection was towards him hee vseth this distinction betweene the soule and the spirite. Likewise wee finde these two names, Soule and Spirite, ioyned together in this signification in the *Psalmes*: and I am perswaded, that for the same reason the blessed Virgin ioyned them together in her song, when she sayd, *My soule magnifieth the Lord, and my spirit reioyceth in God my Saviour.* Now as the Scripture vseth this distinction the better to expresse the faculties and powers of the soule, so Saint *Paul* sometimes distinguisheth them into three, that they may the better bee known: as when hee writeth to the *Ephesians* in these wordes, *This I say therefore and testifie in the Lord that yee henceforth walke not as other Gentiles walke, in vanitie of their minde, hauing their cogitations darkened, and beeing strangers from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardnesse of their heart.* We see here that in the first place hee putteth the minde, by which hee meaneth vnderstanding and reason, which is the principall faculty and power of the soule, and that which is so much magnified by the Philosophers that it is called of them the Queene, Dame and Mistresse. Neuerthelesse Saint *Paul* testifieth cleerely, that all of it is vanity without Christ: so that a man may well iudge, what we are to esteeme of the rest that is in man,

Therefore also we see, how from the mind he commeth to the thought, wherby he comprehendeth both imagination and memory, and all the faculties and powers of the internal senses, which he testifieth to be shadowed with darknesse, so that there is no heavenly light at all therein without Iesus Christ, who is the light of the world. For which cause also he affirmeth that they are estranged from the life of God: that is to say, from that life by which he liueth in his, and which he commandeth and approoueth. Afterward hee referreth the cause therof to their ignorance, which he ioined with darknesse & with the thought obscured thereby. Finally, he commeth to the will & affections, which he comprehendeth vnder the name of heart, to whose hardnes hee referreth their ignorance as to the fountaine thereof. For by reason that through their malice and contumacy they reiect the light of God that is offered to their hearts and minds, they blind themselves by the iust iudgment of God, by which also they are made blinde, as they iustly deserue, seeing they loue darkenes more then light, and lying more then the truth.

Now when all these faculties of the soule are reformed with the body, according as wee haue already declared, then is man come to that entire sanctification of which Saint *Paul* speaketh in the place before alleaged, which is requisite for the true children & seruants of God. But it seemeth that in all these diuisions and distinctions of the faculties and powers of the soule rehearsed out of the Scriptures, there is not one of them wherein any mention is made of the naturall powers, by which the soule giueth life and nourishment to the body, notwithstanding that this office also is assigned vnto it as well as the rest. Hereof three reasons may be rendered. The first is, that the word of GOD maketh expresse mention of the chiefe faculties and powers, which most properly belong to the nature of the soule, and are giuen vnto it more specially to knowe and honour God by, and which appertaine not onely to this life, but also to the other. The second is, because these naturall powers may bee comprehended vnder the vitall, and vnder the seate of the affections,

by

by reason of that communion which they haue both with the spirites and with the humours vsed by the soule in the body, not onely to nourish it and preserue life in it, but also to serue for all other things spoken of before. The third reason is, that forasmuch as these naturall powers are more terrestriall then celestiall, and more corporall then spirituall, and the vse and profite of them endeth with this humane life, wee may comprehend them vnder the name of body, as things more neerely ioyned to it for the vse of this life, and of which it shall haue no need after this life, when it shall bee made incorruptible and immortal. And because this power of the soule appeareth more in this life, then any of the rest, therefore it is better knowne. For this cause the name of soule is oftentimes taken not onely for this naturall power which we call *Vegetative & Nutritive*, but also for the life it selfe, and for all the commodities and desires thereof, yea, for the whole estate of life.

Wee may call to minde what we heard before of the soule which is in the blood. And when *Ruben* sayde to his bretheren that would haue slaine *Ioseph*, *Let vs not strike his soule*, it is as much as if hee had sayde, *Let vs not kill the soule*. Now it is certaine, that the soule can neither be slaine nor striken: therefore by the soule hee meaneth the life. And so his speech was all one as if hee had sayde, *Let vs not take his life from him*, as himselfe declareth it by and by after in the verse following where he sayth, *Shedde not blood*. Also when *Moses* speaketh of the Law that requireth punishment like to the euill committed, as hee sayeth, *Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, and foote for foote*, so hee sayeth, *Soule for soules*, that is, life for life. And to seeke the soule of one, in many places of Scripture signifieth to lye in wayte for the life, and to pursue it vnto death: as it is written of the enemies of *Jeremy*, and of *Herod* against *Christ Iesus*. There are infinit such like places, both in the olde and newe Testament, in which the soule is taken for this corporall and naturall life. Now because the soule giueth life by meanes of the stomach, belly, and other members and instruments of nourishment, of which wee haue spoken before, therefore it is often taken for them also, as when *Esay*, sayeth, *Therefore Hell*, (that is to say the graue) *hath enlarged his soule*, and *hath opened his mouth without measure: and their glory, and their multitude, and their pompe, and hee that reioyceth among them, shall descend into it*. The Prophet propoundeth heere the graue as a great and horrible monster, that hath a throte, with a stomach and belly, as it were a deepe gulfe and bottomlesse pitte to swallowe vp and to consume all. And therefore as hee sayeth, that he hath opened his throte or mouth, so hee sayeth, that he hath enlarged his soule, that is to say, his stomach and belly, that it may bee more capable to receiue greater store of meate. The same Prophet in another place, meaning to set downe the vaine hope, that shall deceiue them that band themselues, and enterprise any thing against the people of GOD, and that looke for aide and deliuerance from any other besides him, sayth that *They are like to an hungry man, who dreameth that hee eateth, but when he awaketh, his soule is empty: or to a thirsty man, who dreameth that he is drinking, but when he awaketh, behold he is faint, and his soule longeth*. Which is as much as if hee had sayde, that such a one supposing hee hath well eaten and well drunke, findeth this stomacke and his belly empty, and is still as hungry and thirsty as he was before. Also when *Jeremy* sayeth, *I haue satiate the weary soule, and haue respited euery languishing soule*, it is certaine that by the soule he meaneth the members & instruments of nourishment, with the body that receiue it & the life that is preserued: for the soule neyther eateth nor drinketh. But *Ezechiel* sheweth vs this yet more cleerely saying, *They shall not satisfie their soules, nor fill their bowelles*. For himselfe expoundeth that by the word *Bowelles*, which before hee called *soules*.

Moreouer, wee haue further to note, that forasmuch as the soule can no more giue life to the body without foode, then without these members and instruments by which it distributeth and deliuereth the same, it is likewise taken not only for the food of the body, but also for those instruments and meanes whereby men get and obtaine foode. Therefore it is written in the Law of the hired seruant that is poore and needy, *Thou shalt giue him his hire for his day* (that is, the same day he laboureth) *neither shall the Sun go down upon it: for he is poore, and therewith sustayneth his soule*: as if hee should say, it is his life and foode wherby hee must bee sustained. So that hee which beguileth him of his hire, taketh away his soule and life from him as much as in him lyeth. It is written also, *That no man shall take the neather nor the upper millstone to pledge: for this gage is his soule*. By which phrase of two millstones, that serue to grinde the corne, the Lord comprehendeth all those instruments wherwith men get their liuing by their labour, of what occupation and trade soeuer they be.

For as a man can not grinde without a millstone or without corne, to haue meale for bread to maintaine life withall: so poore Artificers and Handicraftsmen cannot grinde, nor consequently liue, if those tooles & instruments be taken from them, wherby they must get both their owne liuing, and the liuing of their wiues and children. Therefore God sayth that such a gage is the soule, by which he vnderstandeth the life, and by life the food and nourishment that preserueth it, and consequently the instruments by which poore men and Artificers get their liuing. To conclude, it seemeth that this kinde of phrase vsed by the Hebrewes agreeth well enough with our common speech, in which we often take the life for foode and charges to maintaine life. As when we say, that a man getteth and purchaseth his life or liuing with the sweate of his face. We say likewise, that we giue life to those whom we feede, and take life from them whom we deprive of foode and nourishment, and of the meanes to get it. But we must learne some other significations of this word *Soule*, taught vs in the holy Scriptures. And first, what is meant by a liuing soule, and what by a naturall, or sensuall body, and what is a spirituall body: and how the name of soule is taken for the desires of the flesh, and for all things belonging to this life. Therefore it belongeth to thee *ACHITO B.* to discourse vpon this matter.

What is meant by a liuing soule, what by a sensuall and naturall body, and what by a spirituall body: how the name of soule is taken for all the desires of the flesh, and for all things belonging to this life: and not onely for the whole person aline, but also for the person being dead, and for a dead corps: and lastly, for the spirit separate from the body. Chap. 80.

ACHITO B. Men may well study in the schooles of the most skilfull and excellent Law makers, Philosophers, Oratours, and Doctors that are in the world, yet they shall reape small profit thereby except they come to that schoole where the spirit of God is our master and teacher. For this cause Iesus Christ, after he heard the confession that Peter made of him, said thus vnto him, *Blessed art thou Simon, the sonne of Ionas: for flesh and blood hath not reueiled it vnto thee, but my Father which is in heauen.* Now in that he opposeth flesh and blood to the Father in heauen, he declareth sufficiently, that according to the manner of the Hebrew speech, he vnderstandeth by these two words, whatsoeuer is in man, that is of man. As when Saint Iohn saith, that as many as receiued Christ, to them hee gaue power to bee the sonnes of God, euen to them that beleue in his name, which are borne not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. And to confirme this, it is saide else where, *What man knoweth the things of a man, saue the spirit of man which is in him: euen so the things of God knoweth no man, but the spirit of God.* Now wee haue receiued, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God, that wee might know the things that are giuen to vs of God. To this purpose when Saint Paul opposeth a spirituall man, to him whom he called before a naturall man, and altogether vncapable of the Spirit of God, hee saith that the spirituall man discerneth all things, and is iudged of no man. For being such a one, he hath certaine knowledge of heavenly things, to be able to discern light from darknes, & truth from lies, that he be not deceiued by a false shew of truth. Neither is he iudged of any body, because the truth of God is not subiect to the iudgement of men, how skilfull and conceited soeuer they be, without the spirit of regeneration.

Now then as wee haue heard, that the soule is taken in sundry significations declared by vs, wee may now knowe, that it is taken oftentimes in the holy Scriptures for all the vertues, for all natural gifts and graces, for all affections and desires, for all pleasures and commodities, and for other thing sappertaining to this life. For this cause *liuing soule* signifieth in the Scriptures as much as *creature*, hauing soule and naturall life, and it is so taken for all liuing creatures of what nature and kinde soeuer they be, and Saint Paul in the place alleadged and in the fifteenth of the same epistle, calleth a naturall man & a naturall body, that man and that body, which liueth with such a soule and such a life. vnto whom he opposeth diuersely, a spirituall man & a spirituall body. For by a natural man hee vnderstandeth a man not regenerated by the Spirit of God, & by a spirituall, a man regenerated: and by a naturall body, he meaneth a body that liueth by this corporall life, such as it is in this world before the death and resurrection thereof. By a spirituall body, he vnderstandeth not one,

What is meant
by a liuing
soule.
Genes. 1.
1 Cor. 15. 44.
VVhat is
ment by a na
tural and by a
spirituall man.

ly such a body as men haue that are already regenerated in this life, but also such a one as it shall bee after the resurrection, when it shall be fully regenerated and made immortall, and like to the glorious body of Iesus Christ. For besides the humane soule wherewith it liueth here, and in regard of which Saint Paul calleth it naturall, it shall also haue a diuine vertue, that shall wholly change in it all corruptible and mortall qualities, and all humane infirmities, vnto which it is subiect in this life, into incorruptible and immortall qualities. And so doth the Apostle expound it saying in the same place, *The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption: it is sown in dishonour, it riseth in glorie, it is sown in weaknesse, and is raysed in power. It is sown a naturall body, and is raysed a spirituall body: there is a naturall body, and there is a spirituall body.* As it is also written, *The first man Adam was made a liuing soule: and the last Adam was made a quickening spirite.* Whereupon wee haue to note, that Saint Paul speaketh still of the selfesame body, which remaineth alwayes one in substance. But forasmuch as it altereth in qualities and kinde of life, therefore as he calleth it spirituall, in regarde of the Spirit of Christ, and of his spirituall and heavenly vertues, by which he changeth the first qualities of it, as the Apostle teacheth vs by such as are opposed against them: so it is also called an animall or naturall body, of the soule, which giueth vnto it onely that naturall life that it hath in this world, and not that spirituall and immortall life, which it shall haue after this. For the soule which now can giue none but this mortall life by reason of sinne, shall then haue another vertue, when sinne shall bee wholly abolished, to giue vnto the body an immortall and blessed life, by means of that spirituall and diuine vertue of Iesus Christ, whereby it shall bee quickened, that it may quicken the body with the same life. But because this word *Animal* deriued from *Ani-ma*, that signifieth the soule, is not very common in our English tongue, wee finde in the vsuall translation of these places of Saint Paul alleadged by vs, these words *naturall* and *sensuall* in steade of *Animal*, which the Greeke word properly signifieth. Therefore in expounding the sence of these kindes of speech vsed by the Apostle wee must vnderstand, that hee doeth not call *animall*, or *sensuall* and *naturall*, the body of man onely, or man by reason of his body onely, but the whole man compounded of body and soule. For he is altogether animall, that is, naturall and sensuall both in body and soule without Christ Iesus: but being in him, so long as hee liueth in this world, hee is both animall, that is to say, naturall and sensuall, and also spirituall. First hee is animall, both because hee is not yet perfectly regenerated, as also because hee is not yet immortall and glorified, as hee shall bee after his resurrection. On the other side hee beginneth euen now to bee spirituall, because he hath a beginning of regeneration wrought in him, which beeing once made perfect, hee shall be regenerated much more absolutely, and made wholly conformable to Iesus Christ both for immortalitie and eternall happinesse. For then hee shall be no more animall, naturall, sensuall, and spirituall altogether, but onely spirituall, according as I haue already declared. Wherefore let vs knowe, that every one shall retaine still the selfe same body and soule, which he hath in this life, but by reason of that change of euill qualities, which being in both, shall be made in the other life, Saint Paul calleth it spirituall, and not for any conuersion that shall be of the body into the spirit. For as a man is called animal, in regard of the soule that is giuen him, because the soule is the chiefest thing in him: so hee is called spirituall in respect of the other life, and of the excellency that shall bee added to the soule, and by the soule to the body, through the heavenly and spirituall vertue and power of Iesus Christ.

What is meant by an animal or naturall man.

Now then seeing the soule is taken in the holy Scriptures for the natural life, which is not without affections, we may see it sometimes also put for them. Therefore when the word of G O D would expresse a great affection of loue, it saith of the sonne of *Sichem*, that his soule claued vnto *Dinah*: and after it is added, that hee loved her and spake to the heart of the maide, that is to say, kindly, and as her heart could wish. In like manner it is written of *Iacob*, that his soule was bound to the soule of *Beniamin* his sonne: to signifie, that hee loved him tenderly, as his owne soule and life. And of *Jonathan* it is said, that his soule was knit with the soule of *David*: which phrase is afterward expounded by the scripture, where it is said, that *Jonathan* loved *David* as his owne soule. Wee are also commanded to loue G O D with all our soule, as also with all our heart and minde. Therefore Iesus Christ saith that whosoever seeketh and saueth his soule, shall lose it, but hee that hateth and looseth it for his sake, shall finde it and saue it vnto eternall life. In which wordes, the soule is not onely taken for the life, but also for all the commodities thereof,

The soule put for the affections.

Gen. 34. 3.

Gen. 44. 30.

1 Sam. 18. 2.

Deut. 6. 5.

Math. 10. 39.

Mar. 5. 35.

Luke 9. 24.

Iohn 12. 25.

and for the desires of the flesh, such as are glory, honors, riches, pleasures, delights, ease, and all kinde of prosperity: for the obtaining of which things, many turne aside from the way of saluation, and take the way that leadeth to destruction. Also we reade many places in the Scriptures, in which the soule is taken not only for the whole person liuing, but also for the person dead, yea for the dead body, and sometimes for the spirit separated from the body.

How we are
to vnderstand
that the soule
dieth.
Nnm. 23. 10.

Gen. 22. 16.
Jerem. 5. 1. 14.
Amos. 6. 8.
Leuit. 21. 1.
The name of
soule put for
the dead body
Iob. 33. 18. 22

Psal. 30. 3.
Psal. 56. 13.
and 22. 20.

What is ment
by Spirit in
the Scriptures

Psal. 31. 5.
Luk. 23. 46.
Acts 7. 59.
Eccles. 12. 7.

Iob. 27. 3. 4.

Tim. 8. 16.

1. Cor. 2. 11.

But we must well consider in what sence there is mention made of the death of the soule. *Balaam* wished that his soule might die the death of the iust: but he speaketh after the maner of the Hebrewes, who vsed many times to say *My soule* and *thy soule*, for my selfe and thy selfe, or for my person and thy person: according to that before mentioned, that the name of soule and of flesh, are often taken for the whole man, and for that which we call Person. For this cause whereas *Moses* sayd, that GOD sware by himselfe, *Jeremy* and *Amos* say, that hee sware by his soule, in the same sence and signification. Likewise, the name of Soule is not onely taken for a liuing person, but also for him that is dead: as when it is written in the Law, *Let none of you be defiled by the dead among his people, it is in the Hebrew, ouer the soule of his people*, that is ouer the dead body of any of the people, by touching it after it is dead. And when *Iob* sayeth, that *the soule of a man draweth to the graue, and his life to the buryers, and that God deliuereth his soule from going into the pitte*, he taketh not the name of soule for that spirituall essence that giueth life vnto man, but for the life it selfe, or for the man and body it selfe, which is laide in the graue after death. So that his meaning is no other then to say, that God deliuereth man from death, wherby otherwise he should be brought into the pit. And when *Dauid* saith, *Lord, thou hast brought vp my soule out of the graue*, he sheweth after very euidently what he vnderstandeth by his soule when he saith. *Thou hast reniued mee from them that goe downe into the pit*. He taketh this word Soule in the same sence when hee sayth, that *God deliuered his soule from death and from the midst of Lions*: and when he prayeth him to *deliuer his soule from the sword, his desolate soule from the power of the dogge*. For it is easie to iudge by these words, that hee taketh not the soule in these places for the essence of the soule and proper substance thereof: because the soule cannot be smitten with the sword, nor deuoured of Lions, nor carried away by dogges. Therefore seeing the soule is so often put in the Scripture for corporall life which endeth with the body, and which the soule giueth vnto it by meanes of those instruments, which it hath in the body, the name of Spirit is many times vsed therein, to signifie more specially this essence and spirituall substance, which we call the soule, and which may bee separated both from the body and blood, as that which liueth after the death of the body. Therefore *Dauid* did so vse the word Spirit, when he recommended his soule to God by the same words, which *Iesus Christ* vsed vpon the croise. Afterward *S. Steuen* took it in the same sence when he said, *Lord Iesus receiue my spirit*. For this is that spirit of which *Salomon* saith, that it *returneth to God* that *gane it*, after that the body is returned to the earth and to dust of which it consisteth. And yet this difference is not alwaies obserued in the Scriptures. For as wee haue already heard, both the heart, and soule, and spirit are oftentimes generally and indifferently put for all the patts and powers of the soule, and not onely for those of men, but also of beastes: as when the Wise man attributeth spirit vnto them, hauing regard to this corporall life. For when *Salomon* speaketh so, it is in consideration of this life that consisteth in breath, which is also called Spirit in the holy Scriptures, which vse one and the same word to signifie both winde and breathing, and whatsoever we call spirit, taking it both for the soule of man, for the Angelicall natures, and for the diuine nature. Therefore *Iob* speaking of this present life saith, *So long as my breath is in me, and the spirit of God in my nostrils, my lips surely shall speake no wickednesse, and my tongue shall viter no deceit*. But when Saint Paul saith, *The same spirit beareth witnesse with our spirit, that wee are the children of God*, he taketh the word Spirit in an other sence then *Iob* did in the place now alleadged. For in the first place hee taketh the name of Spirit for the Spirit of God, and in the second place for the spirit of man, which signifieth the humane soule. It is true that in this place he taketh it for the soule and for the spirit, such as it is in regenerate men: but when he saith elsewhere, that the spirit of man knoweth the things of man, he taketh the spirit simply for a humane spirit, and for the vnderstanding part thereof.

Likewise the name of soule is put, not onely for his naturall life and for the will and affections, but also for the selfe same thing that is comprehended by this word Spirit, when one would signifie thereby the greatest excellencie of the soule. As when *Dauid* saith, *Our soule*

soule waiteth for the Lord, for hee is our helpe and our shield. Surely our heart shall reioyce in him, because we trusted in his holy name. And againe, My soule reioyceth in the Lord, and is glad in his saluation. And when Saint Peter saith, Abstaine from fleshy lustes, which fight against the soule, and haue your conuersation honest among the Gentiles, hee taketh the name of soule for the spirituall man, who hath his minde and all his affections well ruled according to the will of God. As then we haue heard in what sort the soule may die; in regard of this corporall life according to the phrase of the Scriptures and of the Hebrewes, so by this which Saint Peter saith, that fleshy lustes fight against the soule, wee may learne after what manner the soule, may be said to die and to be slaine. For nothing can bring death vnto it but sin. Wherefore it is not said without good reason in the Booke of Wisdome, that the mouth that telleth lies slayeth the soule. Albeit then the soule is immortall, in that it can neuer be without life, no more then the Angels, who are spirits like to it: neuertheless it is after a sort mortall so farre forth as being farre off separated from God through sinne, it liueth no more that blessed life, wherewith it should liue if it were vnited and ioyned vnto him by true faith and sincere obedience. For it should enioy the selfe same life, which the heauenly Angels, with the soules and spirits of the blessed, doe enioy. As contrariwise the soules of wicked liue with the same life that the Diuels doe, which is called dead, because it is a more accursed life then death it selfe, and therefore called the second and eternall death.

Now we may thinke our selues sufficiently taught touching the diuerse significations in which the name of soule is taken. It seemeth to me, that we haue spoken enough of the Anatomy of the body and soule, of which the most of our discourses hitherto were made: which may suffice for the contentation of euery one, that will keepe himselfe within the bounds and limits set down vnto vs by the wisdome of GOD in his word. But to finish this whole matter concerning the soule, which we haue chiefly considered in her parts, powers, and effects, we are further yet to be instructed in the creation, generation, nature, and immortality thereof. And because they are marueilous difficult matters, and such as are not without great contrarieties of opinions euen amongst the learned, I am of opinion that these things are to be discoursed of, according to that manner of teaching of the ancient Academicks, which we followed in our first meeting: namely, vpon the theame propounded vnto vs, to ballance the arguments on the one part, with the reasons of the other side, that so wee may diligently search out the truth. Notwithstanding it shalbe lawfull for vs to deliuer our opinion, so long as we ground it vpon the infallible testimony of the word of God, leauing to euery one his libertie to iudge which is best, and to embrace and follow the same. For our entrance therefore into so goodly a matter, thou shalt begin, *ASER*, to morrow to declare vnto vs what thou shalt thinke good concerning this proposition, namely, whether the soule is begotten with the body, and of the seede thereof: or whether it be created a part and of another substance, and what is requisit for vs to know therein.

Wisd. 1.

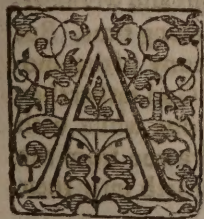
How the soule is after a sort mortall.

The ancient Academick kinde of teaching.

The ende of the tenth daies Worke.

The eleuenth daies worke.

Whether the soule of man is ingendred with the body, and of the same substance that the body is of: or whether it be created by it selfe and of another substance: whether it be needefull for vs to know what the soule is, and what is the essence thereof, or onely to know of what quality it is, with the workes and effects thereof. Chap. 81.



ASER. I am of opinion, that in discoursing Philosophically concerning the knowledge of the soule, we ought to practise that which *Socrates* said, being tired with the consideration of the nature of things, namely, to be very carefull least it happen to vs as it doth to them that are busie beholders of the Sunne eclipsed, whose sight is dazeled thereby, except they beholde the image thereof in water, or in some such like thing. For euen the Spirit that is wholly given to the vnderstanding of it self, is often as it were amazed and carried far out of the way of true contemplation, vnlesse it know

Plat in Phaed.

The word of
God the true
glasse for the
minde.

how to consider it selfe in the glasse of all brightnesse, layd open in the sacred word of God and not stay altogether in the discourses of natural Philosophie and humane reason, which many times blinde euen the sharpest wittes of men. True it is, that we have many things in Nature that affoorde vs euident testimonies of the creation, nature, and immortalitie of the soule, which haue greatly moued, not onely those Philosophers that haue borne greatest reuerence to GOD, and acknowledged him to bee the Creatour of all things, but euen those also that were most prophane, and made the greatest Idole of Nature.

Who knowe
the soule best

Neuerthelesse the knowledge of so high and difficult a matter, could neuer be perfectly comprehended, but of them onely that haue heard the doctrine of the Spirit of God, and haue receiued the testimonies of his word, as certaine demonstrations of those thinges, which the sense of man is not able to conceiue. For indeed we can not pronounce any thing certaine of so high a nature as is that of the soule, except it be by his testimony who hath created it, and who onely knoweth it, as the workeman knoweth his worke. Yet wee ought not to contemne naturall reasons found out by the learned sort, which are as it were, beames of that true light: but rather diligently consider of them, as helps that may greatly further vs in the vnderstanding of that we seeke, and to serue for the confounding of so many Atheists as impudently dare deny the immortalitie of the soule, and that iudgement of God, which shall be to the euerlasting happinesse and ioy of the good, and to the perpetuall griefe and torment of the wicked.

Now albeit the soule of man hath no parts nor members into which it may bee diuided as the body may, neuerthelesse in the sequele of our discourses concerning the Anatomy of the body, we haue also made as it were an Anatomy of the soule, in regarde of her faculties, powers, and offices, whereby we may attaine to some good measure of knowledge touching the nature thereof, and of the difference that is betweene it and the soules of all other creatures that haue soule and life. But there remaine yet very great difficulties concerning the creation and substance thereof, vpon which points it shall be very profitable for vs to be well resolved.

The soule is
not bred of
corporal seed.

We know wel enough by that which wee haue heard before, that the soule of man cannot be of any corporal nature, or compounded of any corruptible nature, as the body is. For if it were so, then must it necessarily be mortall as the body is, and be farre from doing that which it doeth. Besides, it would follow therupon that the soule of man differed in nothing from the soule of beasts. But we know by the effects of it that there is great difference betweene them, yea greater then betweene heauen and earth: which beeing so, it followeth well, that it is not engendered with the body of the same substance with it, and that, the substance of the soule is not deriued from the same seede. Again, if the soule be created of some other substance, and not begotten with the body of any humane seede, a man may aske from whence then cometh that pollution that is in it through sinne, whereby the whole race of mankinde is corrupted, and what power Originall sinne ought to haue ouer it. For if GOD daily createth soules for those humane bodies that come into the worlde continually, as wee doe beleeue, and that to place and lodge them in those bodies euen from the wombe, surely he createth them no otherwise then he did al other creatures, which he created good. Whereupon it followeth, that he created not soules corrupted and infected with sinne, but pure and sound, as those were of our first Parents before sinne entred into the worlde. Neuerthelesse we see that the chiefe corruption and infection in man through sin, is in the soule. For if the soule were not infected, the body should not be stained therewith, as that which is but the lodging and instrument of the soule, and as it were, the seruant thereof. Wherefore when the soule is cleane and pure, the whole man, both body and soule is altogether pure: but when that is defiled, all is defiled. From whence then, will some men say, doth the soule receive this infection of sinne, wherewith she is polluted after her creation? Hath she it of her selfe, or of the body after she is lodged therein, and of the corruption of that seede, of which the body is begotten? These are very profound questions and woonderfull difficult, about which many great Diuines haue troubled themselues along time. But the wiser sort enquire soberly into them, so as they give euident testimony of that modesty, wherewith they seeke after the vnderstanding of the great secrets of God, rather then make profession that they haue found them out. Others there are who one while with coniectures according to their fancie, an other while with reasons drawne from the nature of thinges, set downe for a certaine truth whatsoever cometh into their minde.

Modesty re-
quisite in sear-
ching the
truth.

Now

Now then being to heare what reasons can be alleadged, we will omit and passe over, as well them that walke wholly in the darkenesse of ignorance, as those that will not goe faire and softly, and as it were feeling with the hand, but runne on swiftly whither they please, without feare of downefalles. We will take a middle course, neither too high nor too lowe, keeping our selues within the limites of the word of truth, which teacheth vs that wee incurre original sinne, because we are all the children of *Adam*, to whom, and to whose posteritie God gaue originall iustice, which made man obedient to God, and the body subiect to reason. But it was given him with this condition, that if he kept not the commandement of God, both he and his posterity should bee deprived of that gift and priuiledge: euen as if some noble man hauing committed treason should be disgraced from the title of Nobilitie both he & his children. This deprivation of gifts bestowed vpon man by God, of which we should haue beene the inheritours, but for the sinne of our first Parents, is called by the Diuines, *Originall sinne*. To proceede then with our former matter, first I say, that in my minde, it is not so necessarily required of vs to know what the soule is, or what ist he essence and substance thereof as to know of what qualitie it is, and what are the action and works of it. And that this is so, wee may iudge by that bountifullnesse, which GOD the Lord of nature vsfeth towards vs, and which he manifesteth vnto vs oneuery side by manyfolde signes and testimonies. For whatsoeuer is expedient for vs, the same hee propoundeth vnto vs both very abundantly, and with such facilitie, that we may easily finde it out and bring it into vse. Wherefore we can haue no more euident token, that a thing is not profitable or not very necessary for vs, then this, that it is rare, far off, and hid from vs, yea, very hard to finde out and to attaine to the vse of it. So that when we are admonished to know our selues, we must not referre this to the knowledge of the essence of the soule, which we are not able to know or comprehend, but to the knowledge of the effects and workes of it, thereby to know how to frame our manners and our whole life, to the end that chasing vice away, we might follow after vertue. And this by the grace of Christ Iesus, will leade vs to that life in which we shall be perfectly wise and good, and liue immortall and blessed with GOD for euermore.

Then, as we shall see the Creatour of all things face to face, who otherwise is incomprehensible vnto vs, so we shal know our selues perfectly in him. True it is if wee vnderstand well the principall cause that is taught vs in his word, why hee created man after his image and likenesse, and gaue him an immortal soule partaker of vnderstanding & reason, we shal be wel instructed in that point we desire to know touching the nature of the soule. So that although we cannot thoroughly know or define what is the essence or substance thereof, neuerthelesse seeing it was created of God, that being ioyned vnto him it might haue eternall happinesse, we must needes say, that it is a substance in some sort capable of the diuine nature & that may be ioyned therewith. For being indued with the knowledge of the Diuinitie, the loue of the same is bred within it, by which loue the soule is so ioyned vnto God, that it is indued with perpetuall happinesse.

And thus we may say, that the soule of man is a spirit that giueth life to the body whereunto it is ioyned, and which is capable of the knowledge of GOD to loue him, as beeing meete to be vnited vnto him through loue, to eternal felicitie. But let vs consider the diuersitie of opinions of the best learned, as well vpon this matter, as vpon the doubts mentioned by vs in our speech. For the first, there are many who thinke, that we take our generation and birth of our fathers and mothers, not onely, in regard of our bodies, but also for our soules: and that soules are produced of soules, as bodies are begotten of bodies, being led by the reason before spoken of. For they cannot conceiue how original sinne, which is the pollution of our nature that before was good and pure, by reason of the hereditarie corruption of the first father of men, can be deriued from *Adam* to all his successours, and from father to sonne, if the soules of children take not their originall from the soules of their parents, as the bodies do of their bodies: considering that the soule is the chiefe subiect of original sin, and of all the rest that proceede from it, as rivers issue from their fountaine. Wherefore, as we set *Adam* before our eyes for the first stocke or roote of all mankinde, in regard of mens bodies that haue all their beginning from him: so these men doe the like with his soule, and the soules of all other men, as if soules were deriued from soules, and bodies from bodies. And indeede at the first blush a man might thinke, that Christ Iesus was of this mind when he saide, *That which is borne of flesh, is flesh, and that which is borne of the spirit, is spirit*: if it bee so that the name of *flesh* in that place ought to be taken for the whole man, comprehending

How we become guiltie of originall sinne

What originall sinne is.

How we must learn to know the soule.

When wee shall know our selues perfectly.

What the soule is.

Variety of opinions touching the essence of the soule.

John 3.6.

vader

why one
soule is called
vegetatiue, a-
nother sensi-
tiue, the third
reasonable.

vnder it the body, soule, and spirit, and whatsoeuer excellent thing is in man, being considered in his corrupt nature, as the word *flesh* is commonly taken in the holy Scriptures, when it is opposed to the spirit, or to God. And for this cause many do not take this word *flesh* so largely, neither in this place, nor in any other like to this, as if the spirit of man & the chiefe power of his soule were comprehended therein: but they reſtaine it to that part which they call ſenſuall, vnder which they vnderſtand not only the body of man, but alſo thoſe powers of the ſoule, which they haue common with beaſts. Therefore they doubt not to ſay, that the ſoule, which is called *vegetatiue* and *ſenſitiue*, like to that of plants and beaſts, is produced of the ſame ſeede that the body is: and that it is aſwell contained in the ſeede, as the matter and nature of which the body is compounded. Whereupon it would follow, that in this reſpect there is no difference betwixt the ſoule of man & the ſoule of beaſts and plants. They ſay well, that euery living creature hath but one onely ſoule, albeit there bee diuers powers thereof in certaine creatures, in ſome more, in ſome leſſe. Hereof it is that they call that of plants by a more ſpeciall name *Vegetatiue*, becauſe it hath but this vertue and office onely, of which it taketh the name. And albeit the ſoule of beaſt hath the ſame vertue alſo, yet they call it not by the ſame name, but onely *ſenſitiue*, vnder which they place the vegetatiue ſoule that is in plants, as a power and propertie thereof. So likewiſe, although the ſoule of man, hath both theſe together, yet they call it not either *vegetatiue* or *ſenſitiue* but onely *reasonable* vnder which they place the *vegetatiue* and *ſenſitiue* ſoule that is in beaſts for powers and properties thereof, as before I ſaid, they placed the *vegetatiue* vnder the *ſenſitiue*. But I would very gladly *AMANA*, be inſtructed in that which thou canſt deliuer very well to this purpoſe, following this excellent matter, which will ſerue greatly to cauſe vs more ſpecially to vnderſtand the nature and immortalitie of the ſoule, the chiefe object whereat wee aime.

Whether there be any thing mortall in the ſoule of man: of the diſtinction betweene the ſoule and the powers of it: of the opinion of Philoſophers, and what agreeement is betweene them touching the ſoule of brute beaſts, and the nature and ſubſtance of it: of their opinion that deriue the ſoule of man and the ſoule of beaſts from one fountaine: of them that aſcend higher, and of their reaſons. Chap. 82.

Iohn 3.12,

Of the diſtinction of the ſoule from the powers thereof.

A*MANA*. That which we read of Ieſus Chriſt his ſaying to *Nicodemus* in theſe wordes, *If when I tell you earthly things, yee beleene not, how ſhould yee beleene, if I ſhall tell you of heavenly things?* may giue vs occaſion to ſay in like manner, that if we cannot knowe the earth, neither the body and ſoule of man, nor the nature and vertue thereof, how ſhould we attaine to the knowledge of Heauen and of thoſe ſpirituall natures, of God and of his workes? And if we cannot comprehend in our ſelues the workes of our ſoule how ſhal we vnderſtand the workes of GOD in the whole world? And if we be not able to conceiue them, doeth it follow therefore that he doeth them not? and yet there are many that conclude after that manner. For they beleene no more then they are able to know and comprehend by their naturall reaſon, according as they deale alſo with their ſoule. For becauſe they vnderſtand not what is the proper eſſence of it, neither can ſee it after it is entred into the body and ioyned therewith, nor yet when it departeth away, therefore they conclude, that it is no other thing but as it were a fire that laſteth ſo long as there is matter agreeable to the nature of it, and is quenched when that faileth.

But for that which you deliuered to vs, *ASER*, of the ſayings of certaine touching the diuers kindes of ſoules, and the powers of euery one of them, it ſeemeth to mee that (vnderſtanding them as you ſay theſe men doe) one of theſe three things will follow of their opinion. For they muſt of neceſſity yeeld to this, either that the ſoule of man is partly immortal & partly mortal: or that a man hath three ſoules, one immortal & two mortal: or laſtly, that the powers of the reaſonable ſoule, which we call *ſenſitiue* & *vegetatiue*, are not of the proper eſſence and ſubſtance thereof, but only of the body, & that they are inſtruments of the reaſonable ſoule, as members thereof. For I doubt not but they will readily confeſſe this, that the ſoule is immortal: and if that part of the ſoule which they call *vegetatiue* and *ſenſitiue* be of the ſelfe ſame eſſence and ſubſtance, in that reſpect it ſhall bee mortall. Nowe if wee ſo diſtinguiſh

distinguish all these three sorts of soules in man, that we make three kinds of them; the first and principall shall be immortall, and the other two mortall. And if they will say, that they take not the *vegetative* and *sensitive* soule in man, for two diuerse kindes of soules, but only for two sundry powers of the reasonable soule, I demaund of them whether these two powers are so toynd vnto it, that it may bee a soule as it is, both without them and with them; even as before wee saide that it might bee with the body and without the body. I doubt not but every one will answer me to this question, according to that opinion he hath conceiued of the nature of mans soule. If the question be made touching the soule of beasts, the Philosophers agree wel amongst themselves herein, that it is of the same matter of which their bodies are compounded; whether it be deriued and taken from the same, or whether it be the propertie of the matter. Therefore they meane, that it is the Vitall spirit only therein that giueth life vnto them, which is of a corporall matter and substance; or else that it is the temperature or temperament of the whole body generally, which is the propertie of that matter. And so the soule in beasts shall be the life it selfe, of which the Vitall spirit or the temperament are the instruments. Which seemeth to agree wel with that which *Moses* saith, *That the soule of the flesh is in the blood thereof*, that is to say, the life, according as we shewed when we speake of the nature of blood, and of those meanes by which it giueth life to the creatures. For when *Moses* speaketh so, a man might say that it is as much in effect as if he saide, that the blood is as it were the pipe and instrument that conueyeth life to the body, and that the Vital spirits are the thing that giueth motion and sense to the body, which is the same that we call Soule: neither is there any inconuenience to yeeld to this in regard of the soule of beasts. And albeit we see not with the eye how these Vital spirits, or the temperament of all the partes of the body, doe giue vnto it that life which it hath, yet a man may iudge and haue some knowledge hereof by the thinges wee see in nature, which haue some agreement and resemblance with this. For wee conceiue well, howe the flame is nourished by the oyle and match that is in a lampe, or by the waxe and weeke that is in a candle. In which we see two sorts of matter differing one from another, toyning both together. Besides, we see how that by meanes of this coniunction, and of the temperature and agreement that these two matters haue each with other, the flame beeing kindled in them, is nourished and preserued. So likewise we propound the Vitall spirit in the bodies of liuing creatures, as a thinne flame engendered of the blood, by vertue of the heart: and this flyeth as it were throughout all the parts of the body, distributing vnto it Vitall heate, which quickeneth it, and endueth it with that vertue by which it hath motion and sense, and exerciseth all her actions, so that every member doth his office. Now wee see well in this comparison the matter that is in the lampe or in the candle, and the temperature and agreement that is betwene the parts of it, and how the flame is fedde and maintained after it is lighted. We may see also from whence this flame is brought to the lampe, and how this matter is lighted, and that neither the matter, nor the agreement and temperature thereof bredde this flame of themselves, but that it is brought from elsewhere.

In like manner, we may easily conceiue that which hath bin tolde vs of the vitall spirit, & of the blood whereof it is bredde, and of the vertue & power of the heart in the generation of it. But one may say vnto mee, that there is great difference betwene the comparison we made of a lampe or candle, and of his flame, & betwene that which we haue spoken of the generation of the vitall spirit, because this flame, which we call the vitall spirit, springeth of the selfe same matter by which it is nourished and preserued, and is kindled there. And therefore it were requisite that we should further know what is the cause of this, as also why the life and motion that are therein, are inflamed by this vitall spirit, and not by any other meanes whatsoever, whether it be the blood or the flesh. And yet this spirit is as well of a corporall and bodily matter, as all therest, of which the body is compounded: so that it hath his originall of the selfe same elements from whence that matter is deriued, out of which it springeth. But of such inquisitors I would likewise demaund, from whence the heauens, the Sun and Moone, with the other planetes and starres haue their motion, their light and properties. It is very certaine they can yeeld me no other true cause, but that God hath created them of that nature, that he hath so framed them, and that hee alwaies preserueth them such, by the diuine vertue and power of his prouidence. So I say to them, that we ought not to search for any other cause or reason of that we mentioned before, or goe any further, or mount higher in the inquisition thereof. But forasmuch as that which wee haue now deliue-

The soule of the beast is of a corporall substance. Gen. 9. 4. Leuit. 17. 14.

The Vitall spirit compared to the flame of a lampe.

It is engendered of the blood in the heart.

God the author of nature.

Sundry opinions of the reasonable soule.

The soule proceedeth not from the elements.

red of the nature and matter of the Soule, is proper to that Sensitive & Sensuall soule which we attribute to beasts, we must come more particularly to that that is proper to men, which we call the *reasonable soule*. This is that matter and point, about which the greatest and most ingenious wittes haue most laboured and disputed from time to time. For they that affirmed the soule of man to be no other thing then the Vitall and Animal spirits by meanes of which the body receiueth life, or the temperature and temperament of the humours, and matter of which the body is copounded, these men put no difference between the soule of beasts & the soule of men. And as for thē that take it to be the breath, or a fire of which the natural heat proceedeth, they iumpe in opiniō with the former, who place it in the Vitall spirits. And they that say it is in the harmony of the whole body, are of the same mind with thē that place it in the temperament. So that according to the opinion of all these, the soule of man is nothing else but naturall heats, or else the Vitall spirit that is in the blood: as the Physitions commonly take it, whose consideration reacheth not farther then that they can comprehend by their naturall reason, following therein *Hippocrates*, who agreeable to this opinion saith that the soule is daily ingendered, after that manner, which wee haue already declared. But they that more diligently looke into the properties and excellent gifts, wherewith the reasonable soule is endued, know assuredly by their naturall reason, that these opinions are verie vnworthie the noble excellencie thereof, and that they are of no force in regard thereof. For they iudge very well, that the vnderstanding and reason with the discourses thereof, that the iudgement and such memorie as it hath that the discerning of good and euill, of thinges honest and dishonest, of vertues and vices, with the knowledge of humane and diuine thinges, whereof it is pertaker, are works and actions which cannot proceede frō such matter as the elements are, as we haue touched elsewhere. Whereupon it followeth, that it is some other thing then the Vitall spirit, or the temperament of the body: and that it is of a farre differing nature from that of beasts, which consisteth in these things. And by the same reason also they conclude, that if the soule of man were of any such matter as to be the Vitall spirit, or the temperament of the bodie, it would follow that it were mortall like to the body, and that nothing should remaine of it after the death thereof. Which thing they finde to be too much contrary vnto that, which a man may iudge of the nature and substance of the soule by those effects of it, that were euen now mentioned: which effectes are such as cannot agree to a corruptible and mortall nature, nor to any other then to a celestiall and immortal nature, like to that of the Angels and blessed spirits, which are endued with such vertues. But I desire to heare the *ARAM*, vpon the thinges now spoken of, that thou maiest goe on with the matter of our discourses.

Of the opinion of Galen, of Plato, and of Aristotle, touching the substance and nature of mans soule: of the opinion of Occam touching the Vegetatiue and Sensitive power thereof, and of the distinction of soules he maketh in man: of the sentence of the Platonists, and of Origen touching the creation, birth and nature of the soule: of the coniunction of the Soule with the body, and the estate thereof in the same. Chap. 83.

Rom. 11. 33.

Galen's opinion of the soule.

Gal. de plac. Hip.

ARAM. The Ancient speaking of man, often call him a great miracle: and indeede the more we bend our mindes to consider of it, the more marueilous we shal finde it to be. Inasmuch as in the particular contemplation of the soule, which is truely man, I would gladly aske whether it were better, either to discourse Philosophically of this matter hauing store of argument, or by way of admiration to crie out with Saint Paul, *O the deepenes of the riches, both of the wisdom, and knowledge of God!* Neuertheles being drawen on with the same desire that hath hither to pricked vs forward, to search out and to be instructed in the truth according to my knowledge I will go forward *ARAM*, with thy speech.

For the causes then alleadged by thee, out of them that consider more diligently the properties and excellent gifts of the soule, although *Galen*, who otherwise was a prophane man in respect of the knowledge of God, and an idolatrous worshipper of nature, durst not boldly determine what the reasonable soule was, yet as for that which is commonly called the *vegetatiue* or *nourishing*, and the *sensitive* or *sensuall* soule, he feareth not boldly to affirme, that it

it is no other thing then either the naturall & vital spirits, or the temperament. But as for the reasonable soule, he leaueth it in doubt whether it be of a bodily nature or of some other that is not corporall, and which subsisteth by it selfe being seperated from the body. Neither doth he conclude any other thing, but that it is either a shining substance, and an ethereall body, that is to say, of a more pure and celestially nature then any of the elements: or else, that it is of a nature that is not corporall, but yet hath this body, by which he meaneth the *animal spirit*, to be as a chariot to carrie it. *Plato* before him said, that soules were little portions taken from the substance of the celestially fires: and he maketh three parts of a mans soule, diuiding them according to the principall parts of the body, and those instruments which they haue in the same. Which diuision is vnderstood of some, as if he made so many sorts of soules, as we haue shewed that there are principal powers and offices, which haue their seuerall seats and places assigned vnto them in the body. Therefore *Galen* maintaineth, that the *vegetative* and *sensitive* soule is no other thing then the temperament of the liuer and of the heart, which are assigned to bee the seats and chiefe instruments of the nourishing and vitall power and vertue. And as for the *animal* or *reasonable* power, whose seate is commonly placed in the braine, wee haue already shewed his opinion. Now of this part, there are many, euen of them who greatly magnifie it, that are not yet well resolved whether they ought to take it for the *animal spirit*, or for the temperament, or for an incorporall nature that commeth else where then from the body. *Aristotle* he calleth the soule by a new Greek name, that signifieth as much as a *perpetuall motion*, and saith that it proceedeth from a first nature and beginning, which he calleth *Heauen*. But hee speaketh not so plainly, that a man may iudge by his words, what he thinketh of the reasonable soule in man, whether it bee mortall or immortall. Neuerthelesse he confesseth, that there is great difference betweene the power of the soule, which we call more specially by the name of spirit, and betweene the other twain, which he calleth the *Nutritive* and *Sensitive* powers. For he useth this word Powers, and affirmeth, that these two first proceede only from the body, and are bredde there, and that the *Vegetative* soule and power is more in the seede and burthen, then the *Sensitive*. But as for the third, he saith plainly, that it onely commeth from without else where, and that this onely is diuine, not communicating her action with any corporall action.

Platoes opinion touching the soule.

Aristotles opinion of the soule.

Occams opinion of the soule.

Of the creation of soules according to the Platonists.

Thus we see sufficient agreement between the Philosophers and the Physicians concerning the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive* soule or power: but there is not so good accord about the reasonable soule and power. Yea many great Diuines and Doctors agree with them in the two first points. For this cause *Occam* saith plainly, that there are two distinct soules in man, the one reasonable the other sensuall: the reason is, because it is manifest, that the sensitive soule hath no actions, but instrumentall, that is to say, by means of those instruments where by she exerciseth her actions, & from which she hath them. Whereupon he concludeth, that this sensuall soule seemeth to haue her originall and generation from the seede, and that it is either the temperament, or some faculty and power in the body. He confirmeth this opinion by another argument taken from the contrary appetites and desires of the reasonable & sensuall soule: out of which he draweth this conclusion, *That it is very likely that these are two distinct substances, because it seemeth inconuenient, in one & the same nature not diuided or distinguished to place appetites so wholly contrary each to other.* He addeth further, that it is a thing very agreeable to nature, that every liuing creature should beget his like: therefore man begetteth man like himselfe, at leastwise in respect of the Sensitive soule, if not of the reasonable soule. Whereupon it followeth, that the *Vegetative* and *Sensitive* soule proceed from the nature of the seede. The Platonicall Philosophers were of opinion, that soules were bredde in heauen, and were taken out of the diuine nature as a portion thereof, & that there they were instructed and adorned with sundry sciences, with knowledge and vertue: and that afterward being given of God, they descended from thence into the bodies of men, as into stinking, filthy, and contagious prisons. Wherof it followed, that through the infection of these prisons they were corrupted by euill affections, as it were with the filthines of them. So that they forgot all those gifts and celestially vertues wherewith they had bin endued and adorned in their first birth, and which they had brought with them. And being thus detained as prisoners in this darke & filthy prison, they could no more vse all those goodly gifts, but onely so far forth as they were taught and instructed againe by doctrine, which in respect of them may be compared to a light brought to prisoners kept in a darke dungeon, to light and refresh them. For this cause those that were of this opinion affirmed, that the knowledge of men is but a remembrance and calling againe to minde of that which their soules had

Lib. 11, chap.
23. of the ci-
ty of God.

Origens opi-
nion of soules

learned and did know in heauen at their first birth, before they entred into their bodies, according as we heard euen now. For being descended into this base and obscure prison, and hauing forgotten that which they knew, their memories are rubbed vp by doctrine and instruction bestowed vpon the, which kindleth again these celestiall sparkles of their mind, and portions of diuine fire, by inflaming them and causing them to burne that were almost vtterly quenched. Whereupon like Philosophers they conclude, that soules so infected by descending and entring into their bodies, cannot returne again nor bee received into heauen, & into the place assigned for the blessed spirits, vnlesse they returne pure & cleane, and decked with the selfe same ornaments wherewith they were adorned at their first birth. And this (they say) may be wrought by good instruction, by vertue & by good workes: or otherwise they say they haue sundry purgings being separated from their bodies. Some diuines among the Grecians haue followed, at leastwise in some part, the opinio of these Philosophers, & by name *Origen*, of whom *S. Augustin* thus writeth: *But we may marueile much more, that some beleeuing with vs, that there is but one only beginning of al things, & that no nature which is not God, can haue any being but from the Creatour, neuertheless would not beleene rightly and simply this point of the creation of the world that is so good & simple, namely, that God creating all those good things that were after him, although they were not the same that God is, notwithstanding they were all good. But they say, that the soules not being parts of God, but made of God, sinned in departing from the Lord, and so by sundry degrees according to the diuersity of sins, from the heaueus vnto the earth, haue merited sundry sorts of bodies to be as it were their chaines and setters. This say they, it is the world, and this was the cause of making the world, not to the end that the good things might bee created, but that euil things might be staied & expressed. Of this opinio is *Origen*, who is worthily to be blamed. These are the very words of this great Doctor of the Church. And by that which followeth in the same place, he plainly confuteth *Origens* error, who in his first booke of *Beginnings* writeth, that things without bodies were first made of God: and that amongst spirituall things, our spirits or minds were also created, which declining from their estate and dignity were made or named soules, of which the Greeke word *ψυχη* signifieth, as it wereto grow colde, and to decline from a better and more diuine estate, being so called, because it seemeth that the spirit or mind is waxen cold and fallen from this naturall and diuine heate. Therefore the soule lieth now in this estate and condition, but when it is repaired and amended it shall returne againe to the condition of a spirit or mind. Which being so, it seemeth that the departing & declining of the soule is not alike in al, but is turned either more or lesse in the soules: and that some spirits or minds doe yet retaine somewhat of their first vigour, other some, either nothing at all or very litle. These soules by reason of many defects of the spirit, stood in need of more grosse and solide bodies: so that for their sakes, this visible world was made and created so great that it might containe al those soules which were appointed to be exercised therein. And forasmuch as all of them did not depart alike from goodnes, the Creatour of all things took vnto himselve certaine seeds & causes of variety, to the end that according to the diuersity of sins, he might make the world variable & diuers. This is *Origens* sentence concerning soules, which selfe same opinion we may read also in *S. Hierom* writing to *Anitus*: whereby we may see how this opinion agreeth in part with that of the Platonists. For the greatest disagreement between them consisteth herein, that these Philosophers attributed the cause of the infection of soules to the bodies into which they were sent from heauē. And *Origen* with many that followed him, supposed that the soules were sent into bodies, as prisoners, to be punished for their offences committed in heauen. From such fancies haue issued so many dreams about soules as are to bee read in infinite writings. But do thou, *ACHITO B*, take occasion hereupon to continue our discourses.*

Of the opinion of the Platonists, and some others touching the substance of mens soales: in what sence not onely the Poets and Heathen Philosophers, but also S. Paul haue said that men were the generation and lineage of God: of their error that say, that soules are of the very substance of God: of the transmigration of soules according to the opinion of the same Philosophers. Chap. 84.

ACHITO B. It is wonderfull to consider, how hard a matter it is to finde out the truth of such things, as are commonly disputed of, because notwithstanding any solution

solution or answer that is made, yet still some doubt may arise in our minds: inso much as there is no poynt how doubtfull soeuer it be, but that a man may alleadge likelihood both with it and against it. But this commeth to passe, especially in matters of greatest reach, the difficulty of which is so much the harder to be defined, as the true knowledge thereof is more necessary for vs. Those men therefore are happy, who are assured of that which they beleene, by certaine testimonies out of the word of truth: especially when the question is concerning the soule, which is the instrument of God whereby he worketh in vs and lifteth vs vp to the contemplation of this diuinity.

Now my companions, by your three former discourses wee may gather both what agreement and what difference there is amongst those whom you haue mentioned, touching their opinions, as well in regard of the birth of soules, as of their distinction, diuision, and corruption. For they agree herein, that they are not engendred with the body, neither of the same seede and matter, at least wise the reasonable soule: but say that it is of a celestiall, diuine and immortall nature. But herein they disagree, in respect of the nature of the matter, and about the time, creation, and birth of the soule, and also in regard of the meanes, by which it is defiled and infected with sinne. The Platonists affirme, that the soule is so extracted out of the diuine nature, that it is a part and portion thereof. Which thing cannot agree with the nature of God, because it would follow thereupon, that it were not one, but might be diuided into diuers parts: and that those parts of which the soules should be created, might be subiect to the pollution of sinne, a thing too contrary to the nature of God. Or else they must say, that there is but one soule in all and through all, and that God is this soule.

The Platonists opinion of the soule confuted.

And this were to fall into their opinion who said that God was the soule of the world, and that the world was his body: which is far from the truth. For if it were so, then must God be mortall and corruptible in respect of his body, and that still one part or other should be corrupted, as we see corporall things daily to corrupt. On the other side, God should not then be infinit and incomprehensible, as he is, neither is it the world that comprehendeth and containeth him, but it is he who comprehendeth and containeth the world. Wherefore neither is the world God, neither is God the world, but the Creator thereof, and he by whom it is and doth consist. So that forasmuch as all these opinions are very strange, and vnworthy the diuine nature, they deserue not that wee should stay any longer in them as they that overthrow themselves. But I know well, that some would haue that place alleadged out of the Poet by Saint Paul, to serue their fantasticall opinion, where it is said, that we are the lineage and generation of God. For Saint Paul doth not alleadg it onely as an opinion of an Heathen Poet, but doth also approoue and confirme the same, taking his argument from thence, that our soule beeing of a spirituall and diuine nature, we ought to make the same account of God, whose lineage and generation wee are. Now albeit the Apostle speaketh thus, yet his meaning is not that the soules of men are of the very substance and essence of GOD, as wee say that the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, are one and the same essence and substance in the vinity of God, beeing distinguished, and not diuided into three persons. Neither doth hee meane, that the soules are engendred of the proper essence and substance of God, or that they proceede from it, as wee say that the Sonne is begotten of the Father, and that the holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, according as it is testified vnto vs in the holy Scriptures. But hee would haue vs learne, that the soule of man is of another nature and substance, not only then the body of man is, but also then the soule of beafts, and that the nature and substance thereof is celestiall and diuine, not because it is drawne from the very substance and essence of God, but by reason of that difference which is betweene the soule of man, and the bodies and soules of beafts: and also in regard of that agreement which is betweene it and the diuine nature, both because of the immortality of the soule, as because it approacheth more neere to the nature of God then of any other creature, except the Angels, whom wee say, also are of a diuine nature and celestiall, for the like reason. For if the Angels and soules of men were of the proper substance and essence of GOD, they should not bee creatures, but Gods themselves, equall in substance and essence with him, as wee say of the Sonne begotten of the Father, and of the holy Ghost proceeding from them both, in the matter of the vinity and trinitie of the diuine nature: which by this meanes should bee diuided into parts, and so nothing at all resemble the fountaine and substance from which they are drawne, as I shewed euen now. And albeit the Philosophers and Heathen Poets did not so well

God is not the soule of the world.

Act. 17. 28. Arat. Phae.

How men are the lineage of God.

Platoes opinion of Demones, or celestial spirits.

Plato dwelt with Egyptians.

Lactantius li. 2, cap. 13.

Eccles. 24. 5.

The soule created of nothing.

Of the transmigration of soules.

vnderstand this matter as Saint *Paul*, neuertheless when they sayd, that the soule of man was of the diuine nature and part thereof, it is very likely they had regard to the reasons touched by mee, not meaning that it was of the very substance and essence of G O D. I speake of them that were of greatest vnderstanding and that wrote best: & namely of them that did best vnderstand the Philosophie of *Plato*. For hee confesseth and testifieth plainly, that the Angels themselues both good and badde, whom in his language he calleth *Dæmones*, as the other Grecians doe, are creatures of another essence and substance: then God is of, and that they are not immortall of themselues, but haue their immortality of GOD their Creatour, who both giueth it and preserveth them in it, and could take it from them if he would, and dissolue them as well as he hath made them. Now if he supposed God to speake so to his Angels, and to declare these things vnto them, a man may easily iudge, that hee placeth not the soules of men aboue the Angels, whom he taketh to be of a more excellent nature, as he sheweth evidently by that which he hath written of them both. In which writing we may see many things touching these matters, which come neerer to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures and of true religion, then in the writings of many others, who yeelded no further then they were able to know & conceiue by naturall things, without going any further. For they do not conceiue so well either of the nature of God, or of that of Angels, or of the soules of men, as this Philosopher doth. Moreover, wee are to know, that *Plato* had other helps, and more light then from his naturall reason, whereby hee attained to the vnderstanding of that, which others were ignorant of, who busied themselues onely about nature and naturall things. For he conuerfed with the Egyptians, as *Pythagoras* did before him, of whom they learned many points touching diuine things, which they should neuer haue learned of the Grecians, nor out of their Philosophy. For the Egyptians had great acquaintance and familiaritie with the people of Israel that dwelt in their land, & with many of the ancient Patriarkes, of whom they had learned many things of the diuinity, and of the nature of soules. But all they that haue beene destitute of the chief light of the spirit of God, haue still mingled many dreames amidst their writings, as wee haue already heard, and shall heare more in the sequelle of our speech. Yet first wee will note, how not onely many amongst the Heathen Philosophers, but also among the Christians haue imagined that the soules of men are the substance of G O D. I omit to speake of the Heretikes, as the Priscilianists, and some others that haue beene of this opinion, but I wonder at *Lactantius*, a man of a right Christian heart, who seemeth to haue beene of this opinion. And there haue beene some, that reasoned after this manner, that if it be to be vnderstood that of the breath issuing forth out of the mouth of God, the soule was created and inspired into the body of man, then it followeth thereupon, that it is of his very substance, and equall to that wisdom which saith, *I am come out of the mouth of the most High*. But that wisdom saith not, that she was breathed out of the mouth of God, but that she came out of it. Now as when wee breath, wee make a blast, not of our nature whereby wee are men, but of this ayre round about vs, which wee drawe in and out by breathing: so the Almighty God made a blast, not of his nature, nor of this creature of the aire round about vs, but euen of nothing. Which was sayd very fitly to haue beene inspired or breathed, when it was created in the body of man by God, who beeing himselfe vncorporeall, and not of a bodily substance, made the soule also incorporeall: but yet hee beeing vnchangeable, made the soule mutable, becauise himselfe beeing vncreated made that a creature.

But let vs goe on with the Philosophy of the Platonists. Wee haue heard their opinion touching the birth of soules, their entry into the body, and the pollution which they receive thereby: namely, that the soules of men are created long before their bodies, but are afterward sent into them when they are begotten and born in the world, at which time they are defiled, as hath beene declared. But further, according to the opinion of *Pythagoras*, who is sayd to be the first Authour thereof, they imagined, that after a soule was once entred into a body, it neuer ceased to goe from body to body, entring into one body out of another. So that when it went out of one body it entred into another, whether it were of a man, or of a beast, or of a plant. For they put no difference betweene the bodies of any liuing creatures whatsoever: but speake, as if euery soule were fit for euery body: so that according as euery soule guided and governed it selfe in that body in which it had liued before, it was receiued into another body, beeing such a one as it had deserued, eyther by her vices, or by her vertues. Therefore those that had taken the way of vertue.

entred

entered into humane bodies worthy their vertue, into such as had beene called to honourable offices and estates: and as vertue had preuayled most with euery one, so were they more or lesse honoured in their bodies. And if so bee they had ledde a brutish rather then a humane and reasonable life, they passed into the bodies of Plants, or of beastes, whose nature resembled the life which they had ledde in their former bodies.

This *Transmigration of Soules* they called *Regeneration*, because it was vnto them as it were a generation and new birth, in respect of their life and conuersation, which before they ledde in the world. Moreouer, they accounted this regeneration to bee a kinde of purification and satisfaction, because that by this meanes euery soule was punished or rewarded, honoured or dishonoured, according to her worthinesse or vnworthinesse, and that so long vntill shee were reduced to her first and right estate. There haue beene Heretikes of olde, who following the opinion of the Platonists, affirmed, that no soule could bee fully purged and bee at rest, and cease from passing out of the one body into another, vntill such time as it hath done and finished whatsoeuer can be done in the world, whether good or euill: accounting both euill deeds and good deeds, vices as well as vertues to bee a kinde of penance and purgation of soules. Besides, these Heritikes affirmed, as the Libertines their succellours doe the like in our dayes, that there was no sin but only in the opinion and fancy of men, and that it is but a concept in their minde that breedeth this opinion.

The regeneration of the Pythagoreans.

A kind opinion of certain Hereticks.

Now when I thinke vpon this manner of regeneration and passage of the soule from one body to another, I muse how it is possible that euery man, especially those that are taken for such great Philosophers, should fall into such foppery, & above all how *Plato* should be of that opinion, who is by them surnamed, *The diuine*. For first of all, wee haue already learned by our discourses of the nature both of body and soule, that the soule cannot dwell nor exercise her offices in any other then in the body of a man, seeing that it is the true forme and perfection of man and of that kinde, without which he cannot be man. We may say the same of the soule of beastes and of plants. For if euery creature had not his proper forme and some thing in which the perfection of it consisteth, without which it cannot bee that which it is, and by which it differeth in kinde from other creatures, there would bee a wonderfull confusion throughout all nature, yea the whole order thereof would bee ouerturned. For all kindes of nature should bee confounded together, neither should there be any one kinde certaine and distinct: which thing is contrary to all naturall reason, and to all order appointed by God. Therefore it is a very hard matter to beleue, that euery man of a sound mind and good iudgement, would admit of such a fantastical opinion. But we may learne of thee *ASER*, in proceeding with the matter of our discourse, what thou hast learned of skilfull men concerning this that *Plato* hath written of this transmigration of soules.

Against the transmigration of soules.

The chiefe causes, as learned men thinke, that moued Pythagoras and Plato to broach the transmigration of soules and transformation of bodies: the auncient opinion of the Iewes touching the same thing. Chap. 85.

ASER. The world was neuer without certaine witty men, that boasted they could answer vpon a sodaine to any thing that should bee demaunded of them. And there haue beene alwayes some others, that in euery controuersie and disputation maintained one while this part, and by and by: the contrarie: which hath giuen occasion as I thinke, to certaine of the auncient Philosophers to beleue, that a man can know nothing perfectly, & that no man ought certainly to determine any thing otherwise then vpon his bare and simple opinion. But in my mind this consideration wil find but few defenders now a dayes, except it bee amongst the ignorant, who leauing all search of things, liue onely at all aduenture, or else amongst them that beleue euery thing that is tolde them, and are led with euery sentence, which they heare of others, without any further inquirie made of the reason thereof. Now as we would be loath to perish with the ignorant, so we must beware that we commit not our selues and our beleefe so easily to the danger of

other mens errors. And indeede oftentimes we iudge not aright of their meaning, namely, when the question is concerning the sense of their writing. As I purpose to let you see my companions, in that which hath beene already spoken of *Plato*.

Why Plato
invented the
transmigration
of soules

I haue learned of many skilfull men, that *Pitthagoras* and *Plato* neuer beleueed that transmigration of soules into many bodies, which we reade in their writings, but that by these fained kinds of speech, their meaning was rather to withdraw men from beastly affections vnworthy their nature, and thereby to paint out and to expresse the diuersitie of those affections, and to set them, as it were, before their eies: thereby to declare vnto them, how by reason of their vnruely affections they resemble all other creatures, and chiefly bruit beastes. Wherefore we may with good reason call man a litle world, if there were no other cause but this, albeit in this respect it standeth not with his honour and credit. For there is no kinde of beast whatsoeuer, nor yet of any other creature vnto which hee doth not in some sort transforme himselfe by his affections, and by his manners and vices. For when he pleaseth, hee transformeth himselfe one while into a sheepe, then into a wolfe, againe into a foxe, or into a hogge, or into a dogge, or into a beare, or into a Lyon, or into some other such like beast. Moreover, sometimes he transfigureth himselfe, not onely into one kinde of beast, but into many together, and yet those very differing and contrary the one from the other. And as he can at his pleasure transforme himselfe into an Angell, so doth he likewise turne himselfe into a Diuell. It is not then altogether voide of reason that *Plato* sayth, that the nature of man is as it were a monstrous nature: yea hee compareth it to a Monster, whose vppermost parts resembleth a Virgine: whose breast, which is the midst, is like to a Lyon: and the lowest part, to a barking and bawling dogge. For hee compareth the highest part to a Virgin, because he placeth reason in the head, as in the proper seate thereof, and of the *animall powers of the Soule*, for their nature and office sake. Next, he saith that the breast resembleth a Lion, because he taketh the heart to be the seate of the Vitall power of the Soule, and also of the affections, that often may well be likened to a Lyon and to furious beastes. Lastly, he compareth the lower partes to dogges, because that part is appointed to be the seate of the naturall and nourishing power of the soule, and of the generative vertue, as that which is very brutish and giuen to all carnall pleasures, and chiefly to fornication. If then a man cannot moderate his affections and concupiscences, hee maketh himselfe like to so many beastes, as he hath affections holding of their nature. This also is the cause, why the spirit of God in the holy Scriptures, so often compareth men to sundry sortes of beasts, to teach vs that they are as it were transformed into them, and into hideous and horrible monsters, to the end they might be the more ashamed of themselves: and that knowing how they turne themselves into beastes and into Diuels by their vices, they should learne also, how contrariwise through vertue they become men of beastes, and Angels of Diuels. Therefore it is very like, that *Pitthagoras* and *Plato* had respect to this which hath beene said in those transformations and transmutations of soules, of which they spake. I thinke also that the Poets, following the same inuention haue for the like reason, fained the transformations of men into diuers beasts, and into other creatures forged by them: but men through ignorance haue taken them in a wrong sense, and so reaped small profit by them. No maruell then if this hath happened both to Philosophers and Poets in their doctrine and manner of teaching, seeing there are so many that profit so little by the doctrine of the holy Scriptures themselves, and by the study thereof. For were there euer any Heretikes, that did not wrest the sense of many places of Scripture to make them serue for their heresie? And doe we not daily see the like in all seducers and false Prophets? It is very certaine, that there were neuer any so absurd and strange heresies, which the fauourers of them haue not laboured to maintaine by the holy Scriptures themselves.

Mans nature
compared to
a Monster.

How men be-
come like to
beasts,

The ignorant
wrest the
sence of good
writers.

But to returne to our purpose, what meaning soeuer the Authors and inuencers of such things had, their doctrine was so vnderstoode, that many helde this opinion, that mens soules passed from body to body, as we haue heard. Insomuch that this error how grosse soeuer it were, came not onely to the Iewes, but to the Christians also, who boast of true religion, and of the authority and knowledge of the holy Scriptures. I speake not of the Manichees ancient Heretiks, who were open maintainers of this opinion. But what shal we say of them, who not onely haue their braines infected with this folly, but which is worse, imagine they can confirme and prooue it by testimonies out of the worde of God? As where it is reported, that when *Herode* heard the fame, of Christ Iesus spreade throughout all

Of the transmigration of the soules. 585

all Iudea, hee saide, *This is Iohn Baptist: hee is risen againe from the dead, and therefore great workes are wrought by him.* And Saint Luke saith expressly, *That Herode doubted, because that it was saide of some, that Iohn was risen againe from the dead: and of some, that Elias had appeared: and of some, that one of the olde Prophets was risen againe.* Wee read likewise that when Iesus Christ demanded of his Disciples, saying, *Whome doe men say that I, the Sonne of man am?* they answered, *Some say, Iohn Baptist: and some Elias: others, Ieremias, or one of the Prophets: and some that one of the olde Prophets is risen againe.* A man may iudge by these speeches, that not onely Herode was tainted with this Pythagoricall and Platonick opinion, but also that it was very common among the Iewes with whom hee conuersed, and whose religion he followed, at least in part and in outward shewe. For Iesus Christ was knowne well enough in Iudea, and in Galilea, and amongst all the Iewes, as it appeareth by the testimony of the Euangelists. They knewe his kindred according to the flesh, and coulde tell that he was brought vp in Nazareth in the countrey of Galilea: for which cause they called him a Galilean, a Nazarean, a Carpenter, the sonne of a Carpenter, and the sonne of Ioseph and Marie. They saide that they knewe his brethren and sisters, whereby according to the Hebrew manner of speaking, they meant his cousins, Nieces, and his kindred: taking occasion thereby to despise and reiect him. But on the other side, many seeing the workes and miracles which he wrought, were constrained to passe farther, euen Herode himselfe, hearing onely the fame that went of him throughout the country: so that some tooke him to be that Christ, others, to be some great Prophet. And of them that held him for a Prophet, it appeareth by those sundry opinions that were among the people, that they did not thinke him to be a Prophet borne at that time, but that some one of the olde Prophets was reason againe in him, not in body but in spirit. For they knew well whence he issued in respect of his bodie, as that which was commonly knowne throughout the country. Therefore it is easie to iudge that they spake of resurrection, in regarde of the soule, as the skilfullest Interpreters expounde these places, referring these speeches of Herode and of the people vnto that Pythagoricall opinion, of the transmigration of soules from bodie to bodie. For according therunto, those soules that had behaved themselves vertuously in their first bodies in which they dwelt, were sent into other more honourable bodies, endued with greater gifts of God according to their deseruing. Nowe because Saint Iohn the Baptist had not the gift of miracles annexed to his Ministerie, neither did worke any, all his life time, it might be thought that this gaue occasion to Herode to thinke thus of him, that beeing risen againe from the dead after a Pythagoricall manner, hee had this gift and vertue added vnto his former graces, that so hee might haue the greater authoritie. Neither ought we to thinke it very straunge, if a great part of the Iewes were infected with manie foolish and naughtie opinions, seeing they were not onely corruptly instructed by their teachers, but also had sects amongst them there, which plainly denied the resurrection of the bodie, the immortalitie of soules, and that there was any Angel or spirit. Therefore we see the great brutishnesse who would ground their transmigration, vpon that which is said in the Scriptures touching the opinion of the Iewes in this point, which notwithstanding is openly reprehended and condemned by the selfe same worde of GOD, True it is, that the ignorance of the true sense thereof gaue occasion to many to fall into such dreames. For the Lord speaking thus by Malachie, *Beholde I will sende you Elias the Prophet, before the coming of great and fearefull day of the Lord,* the Iewes vnderstood this place diuersly. Some of them thought, that the auncient Prophet Elias, who was rapt vp into heauen, should bee sent againe in proper person: others vnderstoode it onely of the transmigration of his soule and spirit into an other body. For this cause they asked of Iohn Baptist whether hee were Elias: but Iesus Christ himselfe expounded those wordes of Malachie, and declared vnto the Iewes that Iohn Baptist was that Elias which should come, and that although hee were come yet they did not know him. For when hee spake so of him, hee meant not that hee was the very person of Elias in bodie and soule or that the naturall soule and spirit of Elias was entred into his body: but his meaning was according as the Angel spake to Zachary, when he tolde him of the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn his sonne, saying, *He shall be filled with the holy Ghost, euen from his mothers wombe. And many of the children of Israel shall be turned to their Lord God. For he shall goe before him in the spirit and power of Elias, A man may easily iudge by these words, that he meant not to say, that the naturall spirit of Elias should enter into the body of Saint Iohn Baptist, but that God would giue a spirit adorned with such gifts and spirituall graces, and with such zeale and constancie as he gaue long before to Elias.* There-

Math. 14. 2.
Marke 6. 14.
Luke 9. 7. 8.

Mat. 16. 13.
14.
Luke 9. 19.
Of the Iewes
opinion of the
transmigration
of soules.

Marke 6. 3.
Mat. 13. 55.
56.
Iohn. 6. 42.

Mala. 4. 5.

Iohn 1. 21.

Matth 11. 14.
and 17. 12, 13

Luk. 1. 15, 16
17.

fore he addeth power vnto spirit, thereby to declare the better what is meant by Spirit. And before he shewed the meanes whereby this spirit should be given him, when he said, that hee should be filled with the holy Ghost from his mothers wombe: that is with the gifts and graces thereof, as the Scripture calleth them ordinarily. Afterwardes also, the Angels declareth more at large, after what manner Saint *Iohn* came in the power and spirit of *Elias*, signifying that hee ought to behaue himselfe and to doe as *Elias* had done in his time, and as *Melachy* had foretolde of him. Moreouer wee haue in the Scripture other kindes of speaking, that agree verie fitly with this of the Angell, so that the one may well serue to open the other. For it is written of *Moses*, that the Lord did separate of the spirit that was vpon him, and did put it vpon the sennientie annient men, whome hee appointed vnder him to be an helpe and comfort vnto him in the gouernement of the people of Israel: and when the spirite rested vpon them they prophecied continually. Every one knoweth, that the spirit of *Moses* whereof the Lord speaketh, is not his naturall spirite but that hee meaneth by this spirite, part of the gifts and graces which *Moses* had receiued of the Lord, such as were necessarie for their charge: as likewise hee gaue to *Moses* according to the charge committed to him. Some also vnderstand this separation of the spirite of *Moses*, to be onely a communication of the graces of the spirite of God, like to those which *Moses* had receiued for his charge that was given to those, who were ioyned vnto him for his helpe. Now if we take it in this sence we may say that God vseth this manner of speech, the better to let vs vnderstand thereby the nature of his gifts and graces, and the meanes hee obserueth in dispensing of them. For hee doth not onelie distribute so much as is needefull for them whome hee mindeth to employ in his worke, but giueth also vnto them such manner of graces as are requisite for the worke, as Saint *Paul* testifieth. Besides all this, his purpose is also to teach vs what agreement there is betwixt all his gifts: as likewise what vnitie proceedeth heereof betwixt them that are partakers of these gifts, whereby wee may perceiue that they come all from one spirit, which, albeit God thereby powreth out his graces in so great abundance, is yet a fountaine and sea that is not onely not dried vp, but not so much as anie way diminished.

Numb. 11. 25.

1. Cor. 12. 11.

The fountaine of Gods graces diminisheth not.

2. King. 2. 9.

Thus wee see how one and the same Spirit of GOD governed *Moses*, and the rest that were ioyned with him, inspiring them all with his grace, and distributing to every one according to his measure: as the winde is dispenced in many Organ-pipes al at once, according to their seuerall capacitie, and according to that sound which every one is to yeelde for the making of a good harmony: or as many Candles or Lampes are lighted by an other, with the same fire wherewith that was first kindled. Also wee are to vnderstand in this sence, the request that *Eliscus* made to *Elias*, when hee demanded a double portion of his Spirit, because hee succeeded him: in regarde whereof hee stood in neede of such gifts and graces of Gods Spirit, as *Elias* was guided by, that hee might faithfully execute his charge as hee had done before. Thus wee see howe places of Scripture expound one an other, and how little they helpe the Pythagoreans: of whome I woulde not haue made so long a discourse if this fopperie were driuen out of mens braines, and namely among Christians. For to this day there are two manie fantastical heads (I say not amongst true Christians) but amongst them that falsely beare that name, who are as much or rather more infected heere with, then any Pythagoreans or Platonists in former times. And for this cause, *AMANA*, I leaue you to goe on with this point, that afterwards wee may returne to our chiefe matter of the nature, generation and immortality of the soule.

Of the Pythagoreans of these dayes amongst Christians, and of their foolish opinions: of the opinions of many doctors and diuines touching the creation and ordinary generation of mens soules: of the moderation that ought to be kept in that matter: of the cause of the filthines and corruption of mans soule. Chap. 86.

AMANA. There was neuer yet any opiniõ, error, or heresie so strange or monstrous in the world, which hath not alwaies found men enough to receiue it, so that there were authors & matters to broach it abroad. For God doth thus punish the curiosity, ingratitude, malice, & peruersenes of men, and that contempt of his word & truth, which is ordinarily in them, together with the pleasure and delight they take in vanity and lies. Wherefore God through

through his iust iudgement deliuereth them vp into a reprobate sence, inso much as they can not but reiect the truth continually and embrace that which is false, according as he often threatned them, & foretolde it by his Prophets & Apostles. And this is the cause why the Pythagoreans doe at this day finde men void of sence and vnderstanding who cleaue to their fantastical opinions, and why Epicures and Atheists are neuer without a great number of disciples.

Esay 29. 14.
2. Tim 2. 2, 3
2. Thes. 2. 10,
11.

Now albeit these men be in truth most blockish & grosse beasts, yet we cannot perswade them so, nor many others also, who imagine they know much. For there are euen doctors and some that reade lectures in Vniuersities, who keepe not their opinion of the transmiration of soules so secret to themselves, but they make some profession thereof, at least wise amongst their schollers & familiar acquaintance. There are some also, who, boast of the knowledge of tongues and of the turning ouer of many antiquities, haue published this fancy of theirs in books written by them: yea they themselves are perswaded, & they would make others believe the same with them, that their soules are the very soules of some famous personages that haue liued heretofore in the world, and that they haue already passed through many excellent bodies, which haue done great things: as likewise they promise to themselves, that they shal bring to passe great matters, seeing they haue their soules. True it is, that according to our manner of speaking wee say some times of such as agree in manners with others who haue liued before them, that their soules whom they resemble is entred into them, and that the others are raised vp in their persons. For example sake, if there bee a cruell tirant like to Nero, we say that *Neroes* soule is entred into his body, and that *Nero* is raised vp in him. But yet every one knoweth wel enough, that wee vse to speake so by reason of the agreement of tures and of manners, not because of any transmigration of soule.

The Pythagoreans of our time.

Of the true transmigration of soules.

And this may be spoken in respect of that Diuillish spirit, which possesseth the wicked and ruleth in them: as we say of the spirit of Gods seruants in regard of his vertue, that it is giuen to such as resemble them and haue receiued the same graces from aboue. For as the holy spirit, who wrought heeretofore in others, worketh now also in them that haue receiued like grace: euen so it is said of that euill spirit in regard of the wicked, who are all led with the selfe same spirit of Sathan. Wherefore hee doth such workes in them whom hee now possesseth, as he wrought heretofore in their predecessours. So that in this sence it skilleth not though we say that the spirit of one entreteth into another, who succeedeth him in the same wicked works. But the *Pythagorians* of whom I now spake, take it not so, but as hath bin already declared. And to set the more color vpon this so strange an opinion, their prophaneenes is such, that they dare to alleadge those places of scripture, which were spoken of in the former discourse, whereby they labour to perswade themselves and others also with them, that the word of God confirmeth the same. No doubt therefore, but that they who haue yet such toyes in their head, are not without others also: yea, there is no question, but that there are wonderfull puddles of errors and of very strange heresies in their fantastical braines, so that they are ougly monsters among men, and would be abhorred of every one, if that which they carry enclosed in their frantike heads might be seene with corporall eies. But leauing this point, we are to returne to our principall matter into which we haue made some entrance, namely, the nature and originall, the pollution, purgation, and immortalitie of the soule of man: concerning which thing, wee haue heard the opinion of the Philosophers, and of many that follow them. Whereupon wee haue to obserue this, that notwithstanding any error in opinion which they held, yet they alwaies came to this point, that they concluded the immortalitie of the soule.

Now as touching the ancient Doctors of the Church and the late Diuines, they haue written diuersly of the originall of mens soules and of their entrance into their bodies: about which point there haue beene and are at this day, great disputations and controuersies, namely, amongst the Physicians and the Diuines. Some haue beene of that opinion touching the generation and beginning of the soule with the body, whereof we haue already spoken. But some restraine this to that soule which they call *Vegetative* and *Sensitive*, as hath bin shewed vnto vs, others comprehend also the reasonable soule therewithal. And besides that which we haue spoken already touching originall sin in the soule, they ground themselves vpon that which is written in Genesis, how that after God had created man, who was the last in the creation of all the creatures, hee rested the seventh day from the worke which hee had made, after he had accomplished whatsoever it pleased him to doe. Therefore they conclude, that from that time forward God created not any new creatures,

Of the creation & generation of soules

How God
rested the se-
venth day.

but hauing set such an order as it pleased him to appoint in the nature of things created, he preferred the same afterwards by his providence, whereby he worketh alwaies in the guiding and consideration of his creatures, although not after that manner whereby hee worketh in the creating of them. And thus he rested in regard of the worke of creation, so as he created no more any creatures in such sort and manner as hee did the first creatures in the beginning. Neuerthelesse, hee rested not in respect of the worke of his providence, which neuer ceaseth, but daily createth all those creatures that come newly into the world, by meanes of those seedes, which hee hath put into euery one of them according to their kindes, and by other meanes which hee hath ordained to that purpose. Hauing then laid this foundation, they conclude that mens soules are not daily created of nothing, nor in such maner as the soule of the first man was created, but by that meanes which God then appointed for the preservation of mankind. But because they know well enough that there is great difference betwixt the soules of men and of brute beasts, they agree that God useth other meanes in the procreation and producing of mens soules, then in that of beasts, by the concurring of his generall action, whereby he sustaineth and preserveth the natures of all things, according to that naturall disposition which he hath indued them with from the beginning, agreeable to that which is written, that *In him we liue, & mooue, and haue our being.* Therefore as God vsed other meanes in the creation of the soule of man, then he did in that of beasts, and placed it also in the body of man after an other fashion that was speciall and peculiar vnto man: even so in the procreation and production of mens soules, he hath his speciall order for them, which differeth from the order vsed in the generation of the soule of beasts. And indeede he sheweth very evidently, that hee ruleth after another fashion in the production of men, and namely, in regard of the soule, then in that of beasts, by the excellent gifts wherewith their soules are adorned, not onely in that their soules doe far exceede the soules of beasts, but also in that one soule excelleth another in the nature of man: as we see it in many to whom God hath given heroicall spirits, which are gifts that cannot proceede from the body. And so much for the opinion of these men.

After 17. 28.

Another opi-
on of the cre-
ation of the
soule.

Gen. 2. 7.

Others do not only deny the reasonable soule to be taken from any portion either of the diuine nature & essence, or of the body of man, but they say farther, that God by his diuine power and vertue createth it of nothing, after that the body of the infant is made perfect in the womb of the mother, hauing all the parts and members thereof. And being thus created of God he presently placeth it within that bodie, which he hath appointed for the lodging of it, that it may dwell therein vntill after the death of the body it depart immortall out of it, as it was created immortall, and was so indeede when it entred thereinto. These men ground themselves vpon that which we reade in *Genesis*, where it is said, that after God fashioned mā of the dust of the earth, *he breathed into him the breath of life, & he was made a liuing soule.* For it appeareth plainly by this testimony of *Moses*, that the soule of the first man was not onely not created together with the body, as the soule of beasts was, but also that it was giuen vnto him of some other nature and substance. For if there were no more in it then in that of beasts, and if it had no kinde of participation with the diuine nature, why should God inspire it into the body of man after another fashion then he did that of beasts? and what should that inspiration or breathing of God, signifie & import? We haue heard already what some answer vnto this. For they deny nothing of all this, but they say onely, that God did then establish this order now spoken of, which hee daily continueth in the generation of man. I omit heere many other opinions touching this matter, which come not so neere vnto the truth: namely a great controuersie betwene the Doctors in Diuinitie and in Physicke touching the *vegetatiue*, and *sensitiue* soule, and the time when the burthen beginneth to be nourished and to haue sense thereby: considering that it is a great deale better to enquire of these things to sobriety, and to leaue the resolution to GOD, who knoweth that which is hidde from vs, then by vaine questions and curious disputations to thinke to determine of the matter according to truth, and to the contentation of euery one. For as wee haue before touched, we can know nothing either of the generation, or original or of the substance and nature of our soule, or of the immortalitie thereof, but onely of those testimonies which by the effects it affoordeth vnto vs, and which God setteth downe in his word. Wherefore according to that which hath beene already handled, we must distinguish those things vnto which our mindes may in some sort reach, and of which wee may haue some knowledge, from them that are so hidden from vs, that we cannot know or iudge of any thing, but like blinde men, by groping and guessing.

This

This is a matter then of which we must speake very soberly, and with great reuerence of God, contenting our selues with that which it pleaseth him to make knowne vnto vs by the meanes afore said, and goe no further by desiring to know that which we cannot conceiue or comprehend, vntill such time as God himselfe shall giue vs more ample and cleere knowledge thereof. And I suppose we shall not erre, if we say the like touching the question propounded by vs in the beginning of our speech about this matter, namely, of the meanes by which the reasonable soule should be infected with originall sinne, seeing it is not engendered of that corrupt seede of which the bodie is bred. Let it then suffice vs to know, that albeit the soule cannot be defiled with sinne, as it is created of God, yet as God created all mankind in *Adam*, so when he fell, all the rest of the world fell with him, and in him was bereaued both of originall iustice, and of other gifts which he lost by his fall. So that albeit mens soules are created and produced of God pure and entire, yet they keepe not that purity still, neither can they be the soules of men and ioyned vnto their bodies, and so become members of mankind in them with any other condition, then with that into which the first father brought all his children by his sinne, as we haue before touched. Wherefore wee must not search for the cause of that originall sin wherewith they are infected, either in their creation, because they are created by God of a diuine and immortall essence: or in the generation of the body and in that seede of which it is ingendered, as if the soule tooke her originall and infection together with the body from the seed. Moreover, we must not (as the *Pythagorians* do) search for the corruption of soules in their entrance and coniunction with their bodies, as if they receiued it from them: but we must seeke it in that blot of sinne vnto which the whole race of mankind was made subiect through the fall and corruption of the first stocke, and in that decree of God, whereby hee hath condemned all mankind by his iust iudgement, without any further enquiry after the meanes and manner how it came to passe. For this cause *Saint Paul* doth bring vs backe to this consideration, when in propounding vnto vs the first stocke of mankind, he saith, that *by one man sinne entred into the world, and by sinne death*. And then he propounded vnto vs this stocke of sinne, so on the contrary side, he propoundeth to vs the stocke of iustice and righteousnesse, namely *Christ Iesus*, the new man, who is an other stocke of mankind regenerated, renewed, and reformed after the image of *GOD*. Therefore he saith, that *as by the disobedience of one man, many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one, many are made righteous*. Now as humane Philosophie knoweth not, either the corruption of all mankind such as it is, or the fountaine thereof, so it is ignorant of the meanes whereby it must be restored, neither knoweth it that the wound is so great and mortall, as that it cannot be cured but only by the hand of God. For which cause he was to giue vs his owne sonne to be the Surgion and Phisition. The ignorance heereof, is the cause why humane Philosophie so greatly magnifieth the nobility and excellencie of the soule, as it is well worthie being considered in the first nature, in which it was created. But the sequele of this matter we will heare of thee, *ARAM*.

The nature of the soule is not curiously to be searched after.

How the soule is stained with sin.

Rom. 5. 12, 13

Verse 19.

Humane Philosophie is blinde.

The causes of errors.

Of those powers and properties, which the soule of man hath common with the soule of beasts: of those powers and vertues, which are proper and peculiar to it selfe, according to the Philosophers: of the difference and agreement that is betweene humane Philosophie and Christian doctrine touching these things. Chap. 87.

ARAM. Amongst the heathen, they that were most ancient, and neere to the true Church of God, & conuersed most with his seruants, had greater knowledge and better vnderstanding of the nature of God, of Angells, and of mens soules, and of other matters belonging to true religion, then they that were farthest off and succeeded latest after the other. For the farther off that the doctrine of heauenly things was drawne from the fountaine of it, the more hath it beene altered and corrupted both by ignorance ouerwhelming it, and by false vnderstanding of it, as also because euery one hath added to and taken away what seemed him best: and that, either to boast themselues that they may seeme some body, or to cover their thefts, that none might know from whence that thing was first taken and borrowed, that so they might be thought to be the first members thereof: or lastly, to please

Of the properties of mans soule.

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please and satisfie the curiositie & vanitie of the mind of man. No maruell therefore, if there were heathen Philosophers among the ancients, who beleued and taught many things agreeable to the word of God, and if there be now some amongst vs, who boast of their study in Philosophie, and yet haue no part of that first innocencie and purity, but haue their mindes filled with strange opinions contrary to all reason and trueth. Wee see well enough by experience what impiety raigneth in this our age. For there are an infinite number to be found of whose religion no man can iudge, except it bee herein that they thinke there is none at all, and therefore mocke at all religion, what shew soeuer they make to the contrary. But I know not why they shoud not blush for shame, when they heare from heathen Philosophers so many goodly instructions as they haue left vs, concerning the nature and immortalitie of the soule.

It is true that the reason of man cannot of it selfe contemplate the soule in her first and perfect nature, in which it was created: but it doth consider of it as it is at this present, and yet as though it were verie sound. Whereupon the Philosophers greatly magnifie the nobilitie and excellencie thereof. Therefore when they are to consider of those points vpon which they ground the powers and vertues of the soule, for the first they take the vegetatiue vertue, which it hath common not onely with the beastes, but also with the plants: and this comprehendeth three other faculties vnderneath it, namely the vertue of nourishing, secondly of encreasing, and lastly of procreation, as it hath beene already declared vnto vs. This vertue with the rest that are comprehended vnderneath it, is the basest, most earthy and vilest of them all: besides that it followeth the sensitive vertue, which may be referred as well to the internall as to the externall senses. So that we may deuide it into two parts, and more properly call that the sensitive vertue, which the soule hath in taking knowledge of corporall things, by corporall senses, and by their vse in the body. The other part that belongeth to the internal senses may more specially be called, the *cognitive vertue*. And because these two powers serue to encrease knowledge and vnderstanding, they are as it were the fountaine therof, or rather helps and instruments. The Astronomers, who refer all to the vertue of starres & planets, place the influence of the vegetatiue power with the parts of it, vnder the Moone, of which the soule (as they say) receiueth it: the other two parts of the sensitive power, of which I spake euen now, they place vnder the Sunne, as they doe the fourth, which is the will and vertue of desiring, vnder the planet *Venus*. The fift, which is called the *angry facultie*, giuing heart and courage to a man and moouing him to wrath, vnder the planet *Mars*. Then for the sixt they place the vertue that giueth motion from one place to another. For the seventh, that which the Physicians call the vitall vertue, and others the spirituall, because it containeth vnder it the power of *respiration*, and both these are attributed to the same, because it is a propertie of the sensitive power to moue and breath. Now all these powers of the soule are common to man with beastes, or at leastwise there is no great difference. But these which now follow are proper and peculiar vnto him, namely the *reasonable power*, of which the other that ensue are kinds, of which number the Philosophers or Astronomers place in the first ranke the vertue of *speech*, whereby the soule expresth her conceits, thoughts and affections. And although all men vse not the same words to vtter their thoughts each to other, by reason of the diuersity of languages that is amongst them, notwithstanding as the things which they vnderstand and conceiue, and by which they are moued to speake, are all of one substance and nature amongst all nations, so all the conceits and affections of men, which are signified by their language, are alike in the soule and minde, where they are written and ingrauen. This vertue they attribute to *Mercurie*, as the other that followeth to *Iupiter*, which they call the *practicke* and *active vertue*, whereby a man that hath his will at libertie, doth by counsaile and settled reason, exercise and bring to passe through arte, prudence, and wisdom, those things of which he hath sure knowledge. For it is not enough to haue the contemplatiue vertue, vnles the active also be ioyned vnto it to declare it by effect.

Thus you see where they place free will, which comprehendeth vnder it, first election, then action, which is the practicke that followeth it. And because the practicke dependeth of the theoricke, which is the speculatiue and contemplatiue vertue, and goeth before the active vertue, therefore they ioyne this to that, and so referre it to the planet of *Saturne* which is melancholike. And this is that vertue of the soule, whereby man hath vnderstanding, knowledge, and wisdom: and it comprehendeth the seats of such things as the mind is able to vnderstand & comprehend, as also those general rules and principles, which

Three faculties vnder the vegetatiue vertue.

Two parts of the sensitive vertue.

How the Astronomers refer the powers of the soule to the starres.

Powers proper to the reasonable soule.

Of speech.

Of the speculatiue and active vertue.

it must afterward bring into vse and practise. For this cause this speculatiue vertue must of necessitie goe before the actiue, because the practise is not very certaine without the theoricke. Afterward followeth that which they call the politike vertue, which hath for her subiect all morall Philosophy. They vnderstand by this vertue of the soule, that whereby a prudent, wise, and well experienced man, moderateth his naughty desires, and pernicious affections through his vertue, and whereby he declareth by practise and settled reason, that vertue and goodnesse, which is requisit in the publike societie of men, and that not only in his private behauiour, but also in his publik affaires. The principal vertues contained vnderneath it, are *prudence, Iustice, fortitude and temperance*, which are commonly called cardinall vertues, because they are chiefe and containe vnder euery one of them many other vertues, which depend of them, as branches doe of their stocke. He is accompted a ciuill good man and iust, that hath this vertue which is diuided into sundry kinds, according to the diuersitie of estates that are in common societie. For it is sufficient for a private person to haue so much of it, as whereby he may know how to guide himselfe honestly according to his estate. If he be a father of a family, he hath need of that prudence and skill which is necessarie for the gouernment of his house. If he haue any publike charge concerning ciuill affaires, it is needfull for him to haue that art and skill, and those vertues without which he cannot well execute his office, according to that place and degree in which he is set. For if he occupieth the roome of a Lawyer, or counsellor at the Law, he must haue skil and knowledge of the lawes. If he be a capitaine or souldier, he must be skilfull in militarie discipline. If he be a Iudge & magistrate, it is necessary likewise, that he vnderstand what belongeth to his office. If he be a diuine & pastor in the Church, the sciēce of diuinity, which is the knowledge of the holy scriptures, is necessarie for him not only so much as is requisit for his owne saluation, but also that he may be able to instruct others, & to direct the in those things that appertaine to religion. Besides, to all these vertues they adde the heroicall vertue, which is no vulgar and common vertue, but very rare and excellent, and if I may so speak, rather diuine then humane. In regard wherof they that were endued with this vertue among the heathen, were placed in a ranke & degree by themselves between God & men, and were accompted & taken for *demy-gods*. And these are those vertues, which the Philosophers by experience find to be in the reasonable soule, which are no fained or imaginative, but true vertues, neither are they found in the soules of beasts, as those are of which wee speake in the first place. Wherefore albeit man hath the vertue of desiring common with beasts, yet he hath reason to moderat his desires, which is wanting in beasts. Now al this doctrine touching the vertues of the soule, accordeth well with the doctrine of Christianity, so far forth as the soule agreeth with that nature in which it was first created of God. But that which the Astrologians affirme of the influences & infusion of vertues into the soule by the planets, as we heard, I take it to be a bird of their own braine, whereby they attribute to the creatures that which belongeth to the Creator onely. For although he vseth the creatures according to that order, which he hath placed in them, neuertheles when the question is of the reasonable soule, wee must ascend vp higher then the heauens, vnto which it cannot be subiect as the body is, seeing it is of a far more excellent nature. For how should the heauens, stars, and planets giue that to the soule, which theselues haue not? I verely beleeeue that when God created the soule of the first man, & placed it in the body that was before created of the nature and substance of the corruptible elements, he tooke not those vertues, with which hee endued and adorned it, either from the heauens or from the planets. And seeing he created all mankind in this first man after his image, which he imprinted in his soule, no doubt but that which yet remaineth in mans soule, proceedeth from the same fountaine: also what euill soeuer is befallen since, wherby this image abode not perfect, it proceedeth from sin, & from the nature of man corrupted by sin, and not from the heauens or planets. And as the Astrologians easily beleeeue whatsoeuer they haue imagined touching this point, and would haue the will of man subiect to their influences & constellations: so the other Philosophers abuse themselves greatly, in magnifying the vertues of the soule more then they ought to be esteemed in this corrupt estate of mans nature, not iudging the corruption to be so great as it is. Hereof it is also that they faile in regard of vertue, which they attribute altogether to the liberty of man, as if he could by his owne vertue moderate his affections, & make himselfe iust and righteous. Which fault proceedeth from hence in that they content themselves with a iustice that seemeth so to be before men, & put no difference betweene diuine and humane iustice: that is, betwixt that which is able to stand & approue it self in the iudgement of God, & that which

Of the publike vertue.

The kinds of it.

Of the heroicall vertue.

Against the astronomical influence of vertues.

Philosophers esteem too highly of mans nature.

What iustice
God appro-
ueth.

Fourē contē-
platīue ver-
tues accor-
ding to the
Platonists.

How these
agree in some
sort to foure
Christian
vertues.

men approue. For there is no iustice able to satisfie the iudgement of God, but that of Iesus Christ, which it pleaseth him to impute vnto his children, and in regard thereof to accompt them iust. But let vs returne to our matter.

We haue further to note, that besides the fornamed vertues, the Platonists attribute to the soule foure others, which they call *contemplative vertues*, as those that belong to the contemplative life, vnto which they are referred by them. The first is named the *purgation* or *second death* of the soule: for the first death of it say they, is her descending into the body of man, into which it is thrown as it were into a prison, and in a maner buried in vices. Therefore they say that the soule standeth in need of this second death, whereby she beeing purged from her vices is as it were dead vnto them, that she may liue vnto vertue: The second kind of these vertues is called *pure* or *purified*, because the soule beeing purged from all her euill affections, exerciseth good works by the same. The third is called by them an *exemplary* or *patterne vertue* in the minde of God: whereby they meane, that as God conceiueth and knoweth the *Ideas*, *kindes* and *images* of all sensible & intelligible thing, so he sendeth down from heauen this vertue into the soule, of man who is thereby purged and purified as wee haue already heard. And for the last they adde a fourth vertue, which they account greatest and chiefest aboue the other, and therefore they call it *Divine*, because it bringeth to the soule a vertue to doe more then humane workes, euen such as wee call miraculous workes. Which foure kinds of vertues appeare evidently to haue beene drawne by them from christian doctrine, but yet disguised after their fashion. As touching the first, it agreeth to that which the word of God teacheth vs of regeneration, and mortification of the flesh, whereby we die to sinne and to the diuell, that we may liue to righteousness and to God. The second agreeth to good works proceeding of faith, which being done in the same, purifie the heart, and to christian holinesse, which accompanieth and followeth iustification by faith. The third agreeth to gifts and graces inspired by the holy Ghost, and to the infusion of them into the soules of Gods true seruants: and the fourth agreeth to the giftes of prophecy and to that vertue of working miracles, which hath beene heretofore in the holy Prophets, Apostles, and Disciples of Iesus Christ. But to conclude this whole point, we are to obserue this, that what praise soeuer may be giuen to the Platonick Diuinity, yet it is in no respect to be compared with Christian Philosophy: because this is pure, and true, and endited by the spirit of GOD, but the other impure, disguised and counterfained by men, who haue mingled with their Philosophy, many things which they could either heare or learne out of the holy Scripture.

Moreover, as concerning the whole doctrine of the Philosophers touching the nature and vertues of the soule, we may truelie say, that of it selfe it reacheth higher, then those politike vertues of which we made mention euen now. For when a ciuill, good, and wise man hath attained to that politike vertue and to the highest degree thereof, he is able to goe no farther, except he be holpen else where, euen by the illumination of the holy Spirit. And indeede all those other vertues of the soule propounded by the Platonists, are but dreames and opinions in the ayre, by which the Spirit of error laboureth to disguise the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, which leadeth vs to those true supernaturall vertues, which the soule receiueth by the inspiration and infusion of the gifts and graces of the holy Spirit, who is the true Doctour, of whom we must learne this Philosophy, which is not naturall, but supernaturall. Now then being instructed and guided by him, hauing discoursed of the creation and nature of the soule, let vs enter into this goodly field of the immortalitie thereof, in which we know there are many ranged battels of enemies, who waite to enter into the combat with vs. It belongeth therefore to thee *ACHITO B*, to begin the skirmish.

How men can haue no certaine resolution of the immortalitie of the soule but by the Word of God: of the peruersenesse of Epicures and Atheists in this matter: Of the chiefe causes that hinder men from beleeuing the immortalitie of the soule, and of their blockishnesse and euill iudgement therein: How we must seeke for the image of God, after which man was created in his soule. Chap. 88.

ACHITO B. We are now fallen into a time, which discourseth vnto vs not only false religions, but euen an *Atheisme*, that is far worse. For they that are altogether without Religion

without Religion are farther distant from true pietie, then they that follow a false religion: and yet at this day there are as many or more that declare themselves to be *Atheists* and *Epicures*, as there be of such as are taken for good Christians. And if in outward shew they pretend some exercise of Religion, it is but to cover themselves with the vail thereof, to the end they might not be esteemed and accounted for such as they are in truth. But in their heart and with their companions they doe but make a mocke of the holy Scriptures, and of all those testimonies that we haue in them of another life besides this, of Heaven, of Hell, of the blessed immortalitie, and eternall death of the soule. Now it is an easie matter to conuince such fellowes of error and lies.

But it is a thing worthy to be bewailed in all the affaires, opinions and counsels of men that when any question ariseth of the truth, and of that which is Good, no proofes or testimonies, how rich, or of how great authority soeuer they be, seeme sufficient to vs, and worthy to be beleeued. And yet if the question be of any euill, falshood and lies, no testimony, how slender and bad soeuer it be, but satisfieth vs very well. For by reason that we are euill and ignorant, full of blindness and darkenesse by nature, we are alwaies the readier to follow that which is like our selues, namely, wickednesse and falshood, lies and error: as we see it by experience in *Atheists* & *Epicures*, and in all infidels and scornors of God and of his Word. For there are many skilfull in Arts & humane learning, and in naturall Philosophie, who reprehend and condemne *Epicurus*, *Lucretius*, *Pliny*, and other such like Philosophers, *Epicures* and *Atheists*, in that which they haue taught and written of naturall life belonging to this life, and call them ignorant men and void of experience. But in that which they haue spoken against the providence of God, the immortalitie of soules, and all Religion, abolishing them wholly by their false doctrines and by Philosophy, they embrace and praise them, for the skilfullest and most excellent Philosophers that euer were, as hauing deliuered men from the greatest torments that could seize vpon them, and brought vnto them the greatest good that could befall them, by taking from them all feare of God, of hell, and of all punishment after this life, and all opinion and hope of Paradise and of a better life after this. In a word, they extoll them, as if they onely had found the beane in the cake, as wee vse to say, and as if they onely deserued to bee the kings of beanes among their fellowes. Forasmuch then as we are entered in this matter of the immortality of the soule, and seeing at this day so many *Atheists* herein follow the opinions of these Epicurian Philosophers before named, I say not onely more then they doe all the best Philosophers, but also then the authority of the holy Scriptures, and the testimony of God in them: wee cannot gather too many arguments, whereby at leastwise to cause them to ponder the matter more diligently, if they will not bee confounded wholly by naturall reasons, seeing they make so small reckoning of that celestiall and heavenly doctrine. It is true that it will be a very hard and difficult matter to perswade such in this point, as give no more credit to this testimony of the word of God, then they do to all humane and natural reasons that can be alleadged vnto them. For although the argument of those Philosophers that maintaine the immortalitie of the soule, are strong and waighy, yet they can neuer wholly and fully assure men of their immortality, except this testimony of God take all doubting from them. But that argument of all others is most forcible, which hee hath giuen vnto vs in the resurrection of Iesus Christ, whereby his soule was vnited againe vnto his body, and so wrought those heavenly works which followed his resurrection & ascension into heaven: and namely, by the gift of the holy Ghost, which he sent vnto his Apostles, and by the effects thereof, which according to the promise of Iesus Christ appeared so great and manifest throughout the whole world, and that in so short a time, that no prudence, wisdom, skil, eloquence, authority, power, or force of man, was able to hinder that vertue, or the course of the Gospel. But because *Epicures* and *Atheists* accompt these things for fables and are of so peruerse and monstrous a nature, that they had rather fight against Nature it selfe, and cleave to the worst opinions most vnworthy the nature of man, then to follow the reasons of the best Philosophers, grounded vpon a more sure foundation, let vs at leastwise put them to some further trouble, by vrging them to be fully resolued in that opinion, which is contrary to the immortality of the soule. For certainly I doubt not but they will be alwaies without resolution. And indeed from whence should they fetch this resolution of theirs, seeing they haue no certain ground of their false opinion, & seeing there are so many & so forcible reasons to the contrary? But we must note, that the principal cause that keepeth men from beleeuing

Why men incline to lies rather then to the truth.

The diuinish infection, of Atheisme.

Reasons to proue the immortality of the soule.

Why men be-
leeue not the
immortality
of the soule.

Wise. 1. 1. 2.
&c.
The sayings
of Epicures.

Verse 2, 1, &c.

Wise. 3. 1.

The corrupt
opinion of A-
theists and E-
picures.

Atheists may
well be com-
pared to
beastes.

the immortality of the soule is, partly their ignorance, partly their malice and perverseness. For some there are so blockish, that they measure all things according to the knowledge and reach of their bodily senses: so that they set downe with themselves to beleue nothing, but that which they are able to know and perceiue by them. Others there are who besides this are so wicked and perverse, that they would not onely have their soules not to be immortal, but wish also that there were no God, to the end they might haue no Iudge. For by reason they are so wholly addicted to the world, and to their carnall pleasures, they would haue no other God, or other life after this: but wish that all life might end with their delights, and the soule with the body, that so they might haue no accompt to make to any Iudge. Therefore they are of that number, whereof mention is made in the Booke of Wisdome, who make these discourses, saying, *Our life is short and tedious, and in the death of a man there is no recovery, neither was any knowne that hath returned from the graue. For wee were borne at all aduenture, and wee shall bee hereafter as though wee had neuer bene: for the breath is as smoke in the nostrilles, and the words as a sparke raised out of the hearts. Which being extinguished, the body is turned into ashes, and the spirit vanisheth as the soft ayre. Our life shall passe away as the trace of a cloude, and come to naught as the mist that is driven away with the beames of the Sunne, and cast downe with the heate thereof. Our name also shall bee forgotten in time, and no man shall haue our works in remembrance. For our time is as a shadow that passeth away, and after our end there is no returning: for it is fast sealed so that no man commeth againe. Come therefore, and let vs enjoy the pleasures that are present, and let vs cheerfully vse the creatures as in youth. Let vs fill our selues with costly wine and ointments, and let not the floure of life passe by vs. I omit other speeches of a voluptuous, wicked, and vniust life, which they purpose to lead, exercising all iniustice violence, and cruelty, without all regard had to any right or iustice, either to poore or rich, young or old, but chiefly against the seruants of God, who approoue not their kinde of life, but reprove and condemne it.* Therefore it is sayde after all the discourse, that they imagined such thinges and went astray. For their owne wickednesse blinded them. They doe not understand the mysteries of God: neither hope for the reward of righteousness, nor can discern the honour of the soule: that are faultlesse. For God created man without corruption, and made him after the image of his owne likenesse. Nevertheless, through enuy of the diuell came death into the world: and they that hold of his side, prone it. But the soules of the righteous are in the hands of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the sight of the vnwise they appeared to die, and their ende was thought grievous, and their departing from vs destruction: but they are in peace. We see then that these men go no farther then they can see with their bodily senses: and because they see, that man liueth by breathing and cannot liue without, and that he dyeth when his breath faileth, they thinke that the soule of man is but a little winde and breath, and so is scattered and vanisheth away as it were winde and breath, or as a cloude in the aire. The same iudgement they are of in regard of the blood, because life leaueth the body with the blood, as if it had no other soule but the blood or breath. And forasmuch as the eye discerneth no difference betweene men and beastes in death, they iudge also that there is no difference betweene their soules. But if they be resolved to giue credit to nothing but to their corporall senses, and in death consider onely what difference there is betweene men and beastes, they will not beleue that either beastes or men haue any soule at all that giueth them life because they see nothing but the body onely. And then by the like reason we must conclude, that not onely the whole man is no other thing but this body which we see, but also that there is nothing in all the world, but that which may bee seene by the eyes and perceiued by the other senses, and so all that which we haue not seene & known by them shall be nothing. Which being so, men shall differ nothing from beastes, as indeede we can say no better of these men. For beastes thinke of nothing but that which they behold and perceiue by their senses, and goe no further: which is so farre from all science and discipline, and from all iudgement of man, as nothing can be more. Therefore they that beleue nothing but their corporall senses, deserue to be compared not only to little children, or fooles who when they see pictures, or their face in a glasse, suppose they are liuing men, because they goe no farther then they see, but even to the brute beastes, who haue lesse sense and vnderstanding then children. It is wonderfull to consider how men take such great pleasure and paines to become brutish. For if they doe but see a smoke come out of a place, they will iudge that there is some fire within, although they behold it not: and if they smell any ill saour, their

their nose will tell them that there is some place infected, or some carion lying not farre off, albeit they see it not. What is the cause then, that when by their senses, they perceiue some what more in men then in beasts; they are not induced thereby to thinke, that of necessity there must be somewhat within them, which causeth the to differ much from beasts? Which is not by reason of the body, but of the soule that is not seene but onely by her actions, workes and effects. Whereupon it followeth, that if their actions differ from the actions of that soule whereby beasts liue, the cause also from which they proceed, must needs differ: and so consequently, that there is great difference betwixt the soule of men and the soule of beastes. For let them consider onely the diuersitie of arts, which man exerciseth his hands, and the variety of so many witty and wonderfull works as are wrought by him, which cannot proceede but from a great spirit, and from a passing excellent nature, the like whereof is not to be seene in beasts, or in any thing they can doe. Besides, doe they not see how the spirit of man discourseth throughout all nature? what reason is in him, and how his speech followeth reason? which are such things as haue a certaine vertue and the image of a diuine spirit shining in them. Wherefore, albeit wee should make man wholly like to a beast, by reason of his body, both in regard of his birth and death, yet we must needs confesse, that hee is of a farre more excellent nature in respect of that great and manifest difference, which wee see is in his soule. If then the soule of man bee mortall as well as that of beastes, to what purpose serue those graces which it hath aboue the other? and from what fountaine shall wee say they flow in it, and to what ende were they giuen vnto it? But for this time I will leaue these Atheists, hoping that to morrow wee will not leaue any one naturall reason able to vrge them in their damnable opinion, which shall not be laid out at large. And I demand of them that haue any taste of the holy Scriptures, and yet seeme to doubt of the immortality of the soule, or at leastwise are not fully resolu'd therein, how man is said to bee created after the image of God, if hee shall be altogether dissolued and brought to nothing? and where shall we then seeke for this image in him? It is certaine, that this is not in the body, seeing that God is a spirituall nature and substance, and not corporall. Then it followeth, that this image is to bee sought for in the soule, and not in the body. And if it be in the soule, wee must necessarily conclude, that it differeth very much from the soule of beasts. For indeed, if they were both one, why should it rather be written of man then of beasts, that hee was created after the image of God? And if man be the image of God, especially in regard of the soule, it must needs be then of a diuine and immortal nature: otherwise, there would be no good agreement between the image and the thing of which it is an image, therefore a corporal thing cannot be the true image of a spirituall thing, if there be no resemblance or agreement of nature betwixt them.

Reasons to
shew their
soule of men
to differ from
that of beasts.

The image of
God is to be
sought in the
soule.

For although a corporall image should bee of another matter then the thing is of, which it doth represent, neuerthelesse, there is alwaies some resemblance when both the one and the other is of a corporal matter, and when the image hath some agreement in forme with the thing represented. Now if any be desirous to seeke for the image of God in a corporal thing, we shall finde as many of them as there are creatures in the whole world. And yet it is not said of any creature, no not of the Sunne it selfe, not of the Moone or Stars, that haue no soule, nor yet of the liuing creatures themselves, which are endued with soule and life, that God said in their creation, *Let vs make them after our image and likeness*, neither that he created them after his image, as it is written of man. If then there be no immortality of the soule of man, where shall we finde the image of the immortalitie of God who is immortal? And if there be no immortalitie in man, but that his soule is, either the temperament of his body, or his vitall spirit, as in beasts, God shall haue no image that shall more neerely resemble him in man then in beasts: neither shall he haue any spirituall image agreeable to his nature, in any creature vnder heauen.

Now if any reply and say, that this image is to be sought for, not in the immortality of the soule, but onely in reason and in the other vertues, wherewith it is adorned aboue the soule of beasts, I say, that these things are in such sort linked together, that they cannot be separated. Wherefore he that taketh away the one, taketh away the other: because the soule of man should not haue that which it hath more then the soule of beastes hath, if it were not of another nature then theirs is. And we know well, that whatsoever it hath more is not like to any creature vnder the heauens: and that it cannot agree but to God, or to natures that haue some participation with the diuine nature, which cannot bee mortall, but

An answer to
an obiection.

immortall. So that when we see so many signes and tokens which testifie vnto vs, that man hath a celestiall and diuine birth, it followeth that he hath in himselfe some greater thing, that is more noble and excellent, then can be seene or touched with hands. It is true, that they who stay onely in the corporall senses, as wee haue said, shall neuer pearce to the contemplation of these things: but they delight rather, for their confirmation in that beastly opinion, to heare the common bye-word vsed amongst the vulgar sort, that no man knoweth what becommeth of the soules of men after the death of their bodies, nor into what countrey they goe: because no body as yet euer brought any newes from thence, and therefore no maruell if no man either doe or can know what is done there. Which speeches albeit they be very friuolous, yet are they heard many times from them that thinke themselves to be none of the meanest. Therefore it will not bee peradventure without profit, if we answer them more at large to morrow, going forward with our reasons and arguments of the soules immortality against the Atheists: of which matter, *AS ER*, thou shalt beginne to speake.

The end of the eleuenth daies Worke.

The twelfth daies worke.

Of those who desire returne of the Soules departed, to testifie their immortalitye: what witnesse haue beene sent vs of God out of an other world to. resolute vs therein. Chap. 89.



A reason of
Atheists con-
futed by a si-
militude.

Luk. 16. 26.

AS ER. We said yesterday, that they who stay onely in their corporall senses, as bruite beasts doe, propound commonly against the immortality of Soules, that which is vsually spoken of the common people, namely, that it is not knowne what becomes of mens soules after the death of the body, or to what countrey they goe, because none euer returned from thence to bring any newes. Wherefore (say they) no body can tell what is done there, neither can any thing be knowne. Now before we make answer to so friuolous and false an argument, I would gladly demand of them whether there were nothing at all of those new-found Ilands, (which were lately found in our time) before they were discovered by them, who not onely were neuer there, but did not so much as once heare of them before. For no body went thither from hence, neither did any come hither from thence: so that there was no more intelligence betweene them and vs, then betweene the living and the dead, or betweene them that are altogether of another world: therefore also their countrey is called *the new World*. Now then shall it be thought, that this people were not at all because they were not knowne of vs, nor their manners and kinde of life? And yet now the time sheweth evidently, that notwithstanding any distance of place that hath beene betweene them and vs, there we meane sufficient to communicate and trafficke together and those more easie then any is betweene the soules already departed out of their bodies, and vs, who yet remaine in the world with our bodies. For concerning the distance and difficultie of the places, who doubteth, but that it is farre greater betweene heauen and earth, Paradise and Hell? Therefore also *Abraham* speaking of the place and estate of the elect and reprobate in an other life, saith to the rich man, *There is a great gulph set betweene you and vs, so that they which would goe from hence to you, cannot: neither can they come from thence to vs.* And this wee may say in like manner of our selues, and of those that are already departed into another life, in regard of their returne vnto the living. For it is ordeined, that they shall not returne againe into the world, as also that they shall depart hence but one. And they that goe from hence, doe it not with soule and body ioined together: for it is not a voiage like to those which we make in this world, when we goe from one countrey to another. Now as the Lord hath determined how long the soules shall abide in their bodies in this life, so he hath ordeined and set the time in which they ought to depart, & the place where they are to be receiued, according to the estate of every one, even

vntill

untill their returne into their bodies at the resurrection. If they be soules of the reprobate, they are detained in hell in eternall fire, wherethere is weeping and gnashing of teeth: if they be the soules of Gods elect, they shine as the Sunne in the kingdome of heaven, in a life accompanied with perpetuall ioy and happinesse. But we must vrge them better that require testimonie for the immortality of soules by their returne into this world, or of some that haue come from another world. For it is an easie matter for vs to bring them as credible witnesses as any can be, to tell them most certaine newes, if they will beleue them, according as they deserue it. And for the first, haue we not Iesus Christ, who first came downe from heauen and became man, to bring vs newes, and to declare the same vnto vs in his owne person, not onely before his death, but also after his resurrection? Besides, how many other witnesses haue we, that haue testified most certainly of the same? who saw with their eies and touched with their hands, euen to the number of more then five hundred, according as *S. Paul* testifieth? Moreouer, they that were raised as well by him as by *Elias* and *Elizus*, and by the Apostles and disciples, may they not serue vs also for good witnesses to assure vs, not onely that soules are immortall, but also that their bodies shall rise againe, and that God is of sufficient vertue and power to do it as he hath promised? I omit here the testimony which the Angels haue giuen both of the resurrection and ascension of Iesus Christ: besides that of the holy spirit, which is the chiefest of all, with signes and gifts wherewith hee came accompanied, and those workes and effects that followed them. Wherefore seeing we haue for this point the word of God that is most certaine and cleare, which teacheth vs what we ought to beleue and hold, let vs rest our selues in the testimony thereof and not desire to make further enquire. For it is hee that said to *Moses*, *I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Iacob*. Whereupon Iesus Christ concludeth, that *Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob* doe liue yet after their death, seeing God is the God of the liuing, and not of the dead, that is to say, of them that are yet in being, and not of them that are nothing at all. For otherwise, if all men should so perish by death, that nothing of them should remaine in life, at leastwise in regard of the soule, then should he be the God of nothing. And although it seemeth that Iesus Christ alleadged this place against the Saduces, not onely to proue against them by the doctrine of *Moses*, the immortality of soules, but also the resurrection of bodies, wee may well gather, that if it bee fit to proue that bodies arise, it is much more strong to assure vs of the immortality of soules. For when the Lord spake these wordes, *Abraham, Isaac and Iacob* were not alieue in regard of their bodies, but onely of their soules. And yet Iesus Christ alleadged it to confirme also thereby the resurrection of the dead, although at the first sight it might seeme not to be very fit and firme to proue that so much as the immortality of soules. But if it bee narrowly looked into, his argument shall be found to be very well deduced and grounded vpon inuincible reason. For Iesus Christ had respect to that promise which *G O D* made to those holy Patriarkes of whom he spake, and which was not made onely to their soule, but to the whole man together compounded of body and soule. Wherefore all they to whom it was made, and to whom it appertaineth should not haue the whole effect of it, nor the full fruition of that which it containeth, if they were not whole inheritors thereof both in body and soule. For if it were otherwise, the promise should be accomplished but in one part of man, and not in the whole man. Whereupon it followeth, that seeing the promise is not of a temporall benefit, but of an eternall, therefore the whole man that must enioy the same, must of necessitie liue an euermore life, being of the same nature that the benefit is of which he must inherit. Wherefore seeing the course of mans life is broken off by death in regard of the body, the body must necessarily rise againe to liue againe with his soule in a better & longer life, to the end that the whole man may possesse the inheritance, which is promised him of God: or else the promise made by God to his seruants is altogether vaine, or the testimony which the holy Scripture beareth is wholly false, and so also the Scripture that propoundeth the same vnto vs. But none may once thinke either of these two last points, without great horror of blasphemy contained in them. So that the first point concludeth very strongly, according to that ground which it hath most certaine in the word of God. Whereunto may be added further, that seeing the soule of man is created, not to liue alwaies without a bodie, as the Angels doe, nor yet to wander from body to body, but to be knit and ioined to that body, which is assigned to it of God, it must needs be, that being part thereof, as of her lodging, she should once againe returne thither. Besides, seeing the body hath serued the soule, either in obeying God, or in disobeying his will, the nature

Nath. 28. 9.
Mark. 16. 14.
Luke 24. 36.
Ioh. 20. 19, 20
Act. 1. 2, 3.
10.
1. Cor. 15. 6.

Exod. 3. 6.
Mat. 22. 32.
33.
Mark. 12. 26.
Luke 20. 37,
38.

The resurre-
ction of the
dead proued.

2. Thes. 1. 6, 7

of Gods iustice requireth, that it should be rewarded also with the soule, according to the qualitie of those workes whereof it hath beene an instrument. Therefore according to that which we haue discoursed of this matter, the resurrection of the body doth so depend of the immortality of soules, that it followeth necessarily vpon this: so that if wee haue assurance of the one, wee ought to haue it of the other, seeing both of them are certainly grounded vpon the iustice of God, which cannot be iust, vnlesse he iudge men both in body and soule according to his word, and according as euery one liueth. But seeing the matter of the immortality of soules, and that of the resurrection of bodies are sundry questions, and that we are to handle but one of them, wee must returne to our first point of the soule touching the immortality thereof, which is easily beleued of all that approue of the doctrine of holy Scriptures and that giue credit to the word of God. For they are thoroughly resolu'd thereof. Yea, we may know by the writing of all antiquity, that the common opinion of all people and nations of what religion soeuer they haue beene, hath beene this, that mens soules were immortal. Wherefore in regard of this point, wee are to fight onely against *Epicures* and *Atheists*. And because they will not beleue the word of God, but deride it as tales made vpon pleasure: I am of opinion that now we are to search chiefly for those testimonies, which God hath giuen vs in nature touching the immortality of the soule: euen the actions and effect thereof, by meanes of which we come to the knowledge of hidden and secret causes, from whence they proceede. Therefore consider *AMANA*, what you minde to speake vnto vs of this subiect.

Of naturall reasons, whereby the immortalitie of soules, may be prooued against Epicures and Atheists: and first of the argument taken from the facultie of knowledge which the soule hath, and from that knowledge of eternitie which is in it: how it appeareth, that it is not begotten of this corruptible nature, because it ascendeth vnto God: and how by a speciall benefit of God, it is daily created, and not by the vertue of nature. Chap. 90.

A*MANA*. Seeing *Epicures* and *Atheists* giue credit to naturall Philosophy in things whose causes it proueth by their effects, they haue no reason to refuse it in the consideration of the nature of mens soules. Now it is very certaine, that if we will take this course, besides the testimonies of God in his word, touching the immortality of the soule, which way soeuer wee turne our eyes, whether aboue vs or beneath vs, on the right hand, or on the left, wee shall finde euery where arguments and reasons concluding the same. For we haue nature, and the necessitie of causes, proportion and similitude, life, the excellent dignitie of man, the goodnesse of God, and the profit of mankind proceeding from his bountifullnesse, which with one common consent, and as it were, all with one voice teach vs, and cry out that the soule cannot be mortall.

How wee
know the hid-
den things in
nature.

An argument
taken from
the know-
ledge of the
soule to proue
it immortall.

First then we obserue, that the true and naturall essences of all things are not knowen of vs by themselves, but continue hid in the secret closets of euery one of them, vnto which our minde being burthened with this masse of the body, and ouerwhelmed with the darkenesse of this life, is not able to reach. Therefore wee must enquire by the accidents adhering vnto them, and principally by their actions, whereby our reason discourseth, and concludeth of euery thing, what it is, and of what quality. For euery thing hath his actions, and workes, according to it owne substance and nature, and by them declareth and maketh it selfe knowne: so that if we consider the actions of the soule wee shall by them know the nature and immortality thereof. Let vs then consider her first and principall action, which is to *know*, and this importeth also to vnderstand, to comprehend, and to conceiue. Whereupon we haue to note, that there is no power of *Knowing*, that can accaine to the knowledge of any thing, but it hath some agreement and proportion with the nature of the same thing: because *knowledge* is as it were the Image of things, which is imprinted in the soule as in a glasse. Now it is certaine, that a looking glasse cannot represent the image and similitude of a spirituall thing, because it selfe is a corporall thing, which hath no agreement in nature with that which is spirituall. Likewise it cannot represent any thing

thing belonging to the other senses but only that which concerneth the sight: and therefore it cannot represent either sounds, smells, or tastes, because the use thereof is only for the eyes neither doth it agree with any of the other senses, but onely with the sight. And as for our externall senses, they cannot perceiue those things that haue neither quantitie nor bodily substance, because they themselves are corporall, neither yet can they perceiue things that are ablent. And the internall senses, as the fantasie & the imagination, cannot perceiue spiritual things, as namely, either God or Angels: but only the spirit of a man doth perceiue, know and comprehend them, which power & faculty no other creature vnder heaven hath. For if it were otherwise, it could not in any wise comprehend a thing that surmounteth it with an infinit greatnes, & with which it hath no agreement at all. For further confirmation of that which I say, let vs consider of *Eternity*, as it is whole and entire of it selfe: then let vs diuide it into that which was since the creation of the world, & finally, into that which followed the same, and which shal be for euermore. When our spirit entereth into the consideration of that which was before the creation, our thought is not able to comprehend it, so that it is overwhelmed with the greatnesse thereof: but wee doe well vnderstand and comprehend that part of eternity, which shall follow vs hereafter throughout infinite ages. Whereby it appeareth, that this first consideration of it, is too great for our soule, as hauing no proportion therewith, nor yet agreeing thereunto: but it is otherwise with the soule in the consideration of that other eternity, for the fruition whereof it was created. For the soule is not eternall as God is, as though it had no more beginning then he had: and therefore it hath no agreement with him in this respect. The soule then entereth into a bottomlesse gulfe, when it discourseth of an eternitie, of which it is not partaker: but it hath agreement with the eternitie of GOD as Angels haue, in that it is created immortal, to liue an eternall life with him: which appeareth in that it is able to comprehend the same. Therefore *S. Iohn* in the beginning of his Gospell leadeth vs euen to the gates of this first eternitie: But forasmuch as it is a gulfe in which we shall be swallowed vp, if wee enter farther into it, he proceedeth not forward, but stayeth vs there: and calleth vs presently vnto the meanes whereby God manifested himselfe, telling vs how hee did this by his eternall word: and first by the creation of the world, then by those other meanes, which he setteth downe afterward: all which our soule comprehendeth well, and so cannot the soule of beasts doe. Wherefore when we consider God in his essence and nature before the creation of the world, and the time that was before that, we are then overwhelmed therewithall, and see no whit at all into it. But if we enter into the consideration of the times after the creation of the world, and into those which shall follow still after vs vnto all eternitie, we looke into it more clearly, and are not so much dazeled therewithall, because our soule more capable of this consideration, then of the other, which was before all creatures. From hence we may conclude, that the soules of beasts and plants that haue not in them this cogitation or apprehension of eternitie, are produced and taken out of the power and vertue of that matter, of which they are engendred: but the spirit of man is more specially bred in the body by God, above all the powers of the matter and nature of the same. For nothing ariseth higher, or passeth beyond that thing of which it receiueth essence and being, and those powers and strength that it hath: for if it did, then should it not receive being from thence, but of some other thing before and above that, or else further off, vnto which it tendeth. We see this in all the senses both externall and internall, which are common to vs with beasts. For they know nothing else, beside that which is of this nature which we see, neither doe they ascend higher: but our spirit not content with the sight and knowledge of the heavens, starres and Angels themselves, mounteth vp to God, and being come thither can goe further. What other thing els doth this signifie, and declare vnto vs, but that the soules of beasts are engendred of this corruptible and mortall nature, beyond which they cannot lift vp themselves, but that ours are produced of God above the power of this nature? And so that may be said of our soule, which is spoken of a spring water, namely, that it ascendeth as much vpward as it descendeth downward, but can goe no higher. For when a man would carry the water of a spring any whither and would haue it mount vpward, it will be an easie matter to bring it as high as the spring-head, from whence it floweth: but no higher except it be forced by some other meane then by it owne course and naturall vertue. Notwithstanding, it will easily descend lower. And so fareth it with our spirit. For as it came from God, so it is able to mount againe to the knowledge of him, and no higher: but it descendeth a great deale lower. And as for our senses they re-

Eternity con- sidered di- uersly

A special dif- ference be- tween the soule of man and of beasts. A firme profe of the soules immortalitye

A fit com- parison

Gen. 1 26.

Why man
was said to
be a living
soule.

How God
daily createth
soules.

What a mira-
cle is.

Buggery vio-
lateth the law
of nature.

God is the
only father
of our spirit.

maine lower then the workes of nature, and pearce not to the depth of them, but are alwaies busied about the externall face of them. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Moses* meant to teach vs these things by that which he rehearseth of the meanes vsed by God in the creation of man, which differed from that he kept in the creation of all other creatures, either living or without life. For we haue heard what deliberation and counsell he vsed, before he put hand to the worke: how he fashioned the body, and how hee placed the soule therein by and by after. Therefore in that the Prophet describeth the creation of the body apart, and then that of the soule, he giueth vs to vnderstand, that we must seek for something more high & excellent in that of man then in that of beaſts, whose soules were created with their bodies, and of the selfe same matter with them. Moreover, he teacheth vs this very plainly when he saith, that God created man after his owne image and similitude: which he did not say of beaſts, as we haue already heard. Therefore there must needs be in the soule of man some other power & vertue, then that by which it giueth life to the body, and which is common to it with those of brut beaſts. So that as God gaue to this dead body taken out of the earth, a soule that endued it with life, motion, and sense: so he imprinted & ingraued his image into the soule, vnto which immortalitie is annexed. Therefore when *Moses* saith, that man was made a living soule, no doubt but by the name of soule hee meaneth another nature and substance then that of the body. And in that hee calleth it living, hee declareth plainly, that the body hath not of it selfe and of it owne nature, that life where-with it is endued, but from the power of this soule. And although he there maketh not any speciall mention of the other vertues thereof, it is because he considered the capacity of the people with whom he liued, vnto whom he would frame himselfe, being content to speake opely of that power of the soule, which appeared best without, & which the external senses might most easily know & perceiue by the effects therof. But I thinke it wil not be vnfit for this matter, if we return to that question which before we touched concerning the creation of the soule, namely, whether, since it was created by God in the first creation of man, it be still created after the same sort as it were by a new miracle, in them that are daily borne in the world, or whether it be naturally created, but yet of God by a certain order appointed for that end by him. Now albeit it be very requisite, that we should be sober and not rash in this matter, for the causes already set down, notwithstanding we wil here propound the opinion of some learned men, grounded vpon that order, which God hath accustomed to obserue in his works & in his creatures. For seeing he hath set a law in nature for al other creatures according to which he createth & produceth them, and not by any new miracle, it is more likely that he createth soules naturally, and that he hath ordained a stedfast law for mankind but differing from that of beaſts, so much as his creation differed from theirs. For hauing once established an order, hee vseth not to change it into a diuers or contrary order, but keepeth still the same, except it be that sometimes he vseth extraordinary means by way of a miracle. For although all his workes be great miracles, and chiefly man: neuer the lesse we call none by that name, but onely those which he worketh by supernaturall meanes, not against, but beside the common order of nature. But that which I say, derogateth nothing from the nature and immortalitie of mans soule. For although it be placed in the matter which is already prepared and appropriated for the fashioning of the bodie, yet doth he this above the vertue of the matter and of the worke of nature, by a law which he hath established to that effect. For this cause hee doth not onely giue a soule to them that are begotten by a lawfull mariage, but to those also who are brought forth in whoredome, whether it be adultery, incest or any other suchlike. For although that honesty which is enioyned mankind by God, be not kept in such a birth & generation: but contrarieth the same, yet it is not contrarie to the law of generation ordained by God: as that generation is which is by buggery, wherein not onely the Law of honesty is violated, but also the law of nature. We wil conclude then, that it is not only true, that our soule is not brought forth by the power of nature, but by the benefit of God only, but also that it is expedient & very behoofeful, yea necessary for mankind that it should be true: and because it is behoofeful & necessary, it is true also without all questiō. For God hath omitted nothing that is agreeable to his glory, & profitable and expedient for mankind. For seeing the soule is placed within the body, not by the vertue of nature, but properly and peculiarly by a speciall benefit of God, man oweth the chiefest and best part of himselfe, not to nature, but to God. VVhich is the cause why hee should acknowledge him as the only father of his spirit, and consecrated the same wholly to him alone: not yeelding any right and interest

Arguments to proue the immortality &c. 601

terest therein to any other besides him onely, who is soueraigne, almighty, and the onely father of spirits. For if the question be of the body, and of all the senses thereof, many may claime an interest therein vnder God, namely fathers and mothers, the children themselves, nature, the kindred, the countrey, friends, Kings, Princes & Lords. But the soule belongeth to none but to God alone, which he willeth & commandeth should be reserved to him onely for our happinesse, because he only is the author and creator thereof. If it be so then, that our soule is not begotten or produced by his nature, which is the handmaide of God and worker vnder him, but by God alone, it followeth very well, that nothing in nature can extinguish it, but God onely who is able to doe it if he please. Now it is not likely or credible that God would make a thing by it selfe, and that after a different maner from other things, which should haue nothing besides the creation of it, and then within a while after would destroy it. For if it were otherwise, why would he obserue another meane in the creation of man, then in that of beasts? Why would he not rather haue bestowed vpon nature, the power of the generation and corruption of mans soule, as he hath done that of other living creatures. Wherefore would he seeme to reserve that thing as proper to himselfe, which he would make subiect to the law and common condition of other things? Thus much then for those arguments, which we may take from the knowledge that God hath giuen to mans soule, and from his constant worke in the creation of it, to proue the nature and immortality thereof. Now wee are to consider what arguments wee haue to the same purpose, in that vertue of *desire*, which is giuen vnto it. These things then wee may learne of these

AR AM.

Of the argument for the immortalitie of the soule, that may be taken from that naturall desire thereof, and of perpetuities, which is in it: of another argument to the same purpose: of the desire which men haue to continue their name and memorie for euer: an argument to the same ende taken from the apprehension and terror which men haue both of the death of the body, and also of the soule and spirit.

Chap. 91.

AR AM. These three things are so linked and knit together, namely Gods religion, his diuine providence, and the immortalitie of the soule, that they neither may nor ought to be seperated in any wise. For if our soules were not immortal, no reward or punishment for good or bad doings were to be looked for: and then God should not seeme to haue any care ouer vs, which if he haue not, why should we worship him? Our hope should be in vaine and religion vnprofitable. But if without the grace and goodnesse of God we cannot liue, and if he wil be sought vnto of vs by praier, then religion is very necessary, and the immortality of the soule certaine. And euen as a man cannot renounce those excellent gifts, which naturally are planted in his spirit and minde and in that reason which God hath bestowed vpon him, but hee must renounce himselfe, and become like to the brute beast: so fareth it also with him, when he renounceth his immortalitie. But seeing wee are now in handling the powers of the soule, to shew that it dieth not, and seeing we haue spoken of knowledge, we will consider what arguments to the same end may be taken from the vertue of *desiring* that is naturally in it.

Three things vnseparable.

Heretofore we learned, that all knowledge both in man and beast, is giuen to this ende that they should desire whatsoeuer they know to be good, and eschue that which they know to be euill. Concerning the knowledge of our senses, they conceiue well inough what it is to be present, and so doe the senses of beasts, of which and of our whole nature, wee may iudge both by our externall and internall senses that are common to vs with them, & so we may discern of all such like things. But the appetite or desire of beastes goeth no further then the time present. For that naturall desire of their owne preservation which is in them, proceedeth not from any knowledge which they haue of things, but from the workmanship of nature, and from that naturall inclination which they haue thereunto, without any motion of reason or vnderstanding.

Whereupon it followeth, that their desire to preserve themselves, and their power of procreation proceedeth not from their knowing vertue, that is chiefest in them, but from the

the

The desire of
perpetuity, an
argument of
the soules im-
mortalitie.

Another de-
fire, which is
to continue
our memory
for euer.

Another de-
fire of perpe-
tuitie, appea-
ring in fune-
ralls

An obiection

the *Vegetative vertue* which is the basest & most abieft. But man goeth a great deale further. For man hath knowledge of perpetuity and of eternitie, as we heard in the former speech: and because he knoweth that eternitie is a good and profitable thing for him, he doth also desire the same. This desire then is naturall: and if naturall, it followeth also that it is a very meet and conuenient thing for vs, and so consequently, that it is not given to man without cause and to no purpose. We must then conclude hereupon that it may bee accomplished, and that of necessitie it must besometime or other. For if it were otherwise, to what purpose should this knowledge serue, which man hath of so great a benefite, and which also moued him to desire the same, if he could neuer attaine to the fruition thereof? And why should God teach the same to men, if he would not make them partakers of it? Were it not rather to debase, then to aduance, them aboue beasts, whereas bee hath created them Lords, and as it were his last and principall piece of worke, in his worke of creation? Should it not seeme to be not onely a vaine thing, but also (if I might so speake) as though God delighted to torment men, to cause them to desire that thing, of which they should neuer haue any participation? were it not better for them, at leastwise, as good, that in this respect he should haue created them like to bruite beasts? For so they should liue a great deale more quiet, and not torment themselves as they doe, after a thing, which is altogether vnpossible for them to attaine vnto. Now we haue a very euident signe and testimony in vs, of the continuall being of this desire of eternitie, in that longing which men haue to make their name eternall, as much as may be, and that their memory might remaine in all ages that should follow long time after the. And which is more, this affection is so natural & imprinted so deepe into mens hearts, that euen they who deny the immortalitie of soules, and who thinke that every man doth wholly vanish away by corporall death, doe couet notwithstanding the immortalitie of their name, and to haue a good report amongst men still after their death. Hereof we haue very good prooue in the last Will and Testament of *Epicurus* himselfe, the Captaine and Standerd-bearer of all Atheists and Epicures who haue receiued their name of him. For he appointed therein, that the day of his natiuity should be yearely celebrated, and that at certaine times assigned by him, a banquet should bee made for those of his sect, in remembrance of his name. Whereby wee see that this dogge himselfe, who made no difference betweene the death of men and of beasts, and who denied vtterly the immortality of the soule of man, could not for all that plucke out of his owne soule the desire of immortality: but doth what lay in him to make himselfe immortall after his death, by the perpetuity of his name and memory. Wee may take the like argument from that which men vsually appoint at their death, touching their funerals, sepulchres, and tombes. For why is it, that they will haue sumptuous funeralles, and stately & magnificent tombes? Why haue many caused Churches and Chappels to be erected, themselves to be engrauen, and their eschutchions to be hung vp, where they haue laid themselves? It is certaine, that if they desired not to make their name as immortall as they could, and their memory eternall amongst men, their death would not bee so ambitious, neither would they leave behind them such marks of their ambition, and of their desire of immortality. And as great men afford this testimony of their desire, so the common people are not without some one or other for their part. For a poore Artificer, as a Tayler or Shoemaker, or some such like, if he be able he will appoint to haue a stone laid vpon his graue, in which his name shall be engrauen, and his marke, or some such like thing: to this end that the Suruiours and they that come after him should know that he once liued and was in the world, and that he would still liue, at leastwise, in name and memory. And this is further confirmed by them, who albeit they cannot continue their name and memory by any good deedes and valiant actes, yet they strue to make themselves immortall by wicked and execrable doings. As among others wee haue the example of *Herostratus*, who set on fire the Temple of that great *Diana* of Ephesus for no other cause, but onely that hee might bee spoken of, and that the memory of him might remaine and continue for euer amongst men: as indeede it hath done, notwithstanding the contrary endeavour of the Ephesians, who by a publike Edict ordeined, that his name should neuer bee written in any place. But it may bee objected vnto mee that this argument deriued from the desire of men to continue their name to prooue the immortality of soules thereby, is not very fit nor of great force: because this desire is rather found in men that are most foolish, vaine, carnall, and wicked, then in the wiser sort of men, and such as are more graue, spirituall, and vertuous. For who couet more this immortality

rality of name and memory, then they that are most vaine glorious and ambitious, vnto
 whose ambition death it selfe can bring no end, but it receiueth and liueth still therein? We
 see also, that they who least of all beleue the immortality of soules and scoffe most at it, are
 greatliest affected with this ambition, and labour most to become immortall after that
 manner, because they expect no other immortality. All this I confesse is true, yet mine ar-
 gument continueth stil firme. For first we haue alwaies this testimony from them, that they
 know and acknowledge a certaine immortality and perpetuity, & desire to enioy the same
 as much as they may, thinking to continue the same euen after their death: which know-
 ledge and desire is not to be found in brute beasts. And whereas the vaine and worst men
 are more moued with this foolish desire, then the wisest and most vertuous men are, the
 reason thereof is good and euident. For the wisest men and such as are endued with
 most vertue make least accompt of this temporary and fading immortality, which is but as
 it were a winde that goeth from mouth to mouth, or is but in paper, parchment,
 wood, stone, brasse, or in some such corruptible matter: because they expect a better perpe-
 tuity that is more certaine, more glorious, and of longer continuance, of which they are cer-
 tainly perswaded. Which perswasion can not be vaine in them, seeing it is grounded vpon
 the testimony of Gods Spirit, which saith, that the iust shalbe had in euerlasting remembrance,
 not only before men, but also before God and Angels. But the other sort of men busie them-
 selues about an immortality, which deserueth not to be accompted so much as a shadow and
 image of true immortality: because the desire thereof is infected and corrupted with that
 darknesse of error and of ignorance, which sinne hath brought vpon the mind of man, with
 those peruerse affections that proceede from the same, and with their euill education and
 instruction, who are not taught in the word of God. By means whereof this naturall desire
 of true immortality degenerateth into a foolish desire greedy of fame & name among men:
 (euen as when good seed falleth into bad ground) but still it proceedes from a good begin-
 ning and fountaine, if it were not corrupted. As we see also that it falleth out with the greater
 part of men in the naturall desire they haue of skill and knowledge, which albeit it be in
 them by nature, yet they turne it into a vaine and foolish curiosity, that endeouereth to know
 that which is not onely not profitable, but very hurtfull and dangerous for them, in stead of
 seeking to know that which is more profitable and necessary. But besides that which wee
 haue already spoken, our affections also tell vs plainly, what the nature is aswel of our spirit
 as of our senses both internall and externall: and what difference there is betweene them.
 For if the Spirit entred into a cogitation of it owne death, the internall senses, with fancy
 and imagination are not greatly moued or troubled therewith, but passe it ouer well
 enough, as if they had no feeling thereof, supposing that this corporall life will last a long
 time: but the spirit is so confounded and troubled, that it feareth and flyeth nothing more
 then it. And surely I doubt not, but that they, who being pressed and oppressed with great
 euills, desire death through a blind fury of their mind, and wish to bee wholly extinguished,
 would change their purpose and abhorre that kind of death, and thinke it to be a greater
 mischiefe then all those which they suffer, if they might haue leasure & means for some smal
 time to come out of their despaire, and to returne to their right minde, that so they might
 haue some rest from the troubles of their spirit, and thinke seriously vpon the death thereof.
 And as all the senses are presently troubled, and as it were, carried out of themselues through
 the cogitation of corporall death: so the spirit contrariwise, if it be sound, quiet, and well set-
 tled, abideth firme, and derideth the ignorance, error, and terror of the senses, correcting and
 reprobuing them for the same. Wee may then conclude from the euidence of these things
 that the death of the Spirit is contrary to the nature of it, and therefore is affraid of it, and ab-
 horreth euen to thinke of it, or to make any mention thereof. But the senses care not but for
 this bodily life which the Spirit contemneth in regard of the other: whereby it appeareth,
 that the death of the body doth affect & touch it nothing at all, but the body only, & those
 things that are ioyned vnto it, as namely, both the external & internal senses. For this cause,
 those men that are carnall and led most by their senses, thinke little either vpon the one or
 the other, except it be when they see themselves in danger of corporall death. For, perswa-
 ding themselves that they shall liue long in this world, or at leastwise gathering to them-
 selues as much hope therof as they can, they think nothing at all in a maner of death during
 their whole life, no more almost then if they were borne immortal, vntil such time as they
 see in good earnest that they must dislodge. The are they awaked out of their sleep, & if they
 be not altogether become brutish, they are constrained to think both vpon the death of the

The answer
to it.

Of the true
immortality.

An argument
take from the
apprehension
of death to
proue the im-
mortality of
soules.

Of the end of
good and euil
men.

body, and of the death of the spirit: and the lesse they are prepared against them both, the more astonished and amased they are in themselves. Contrariwise good and iust men, who of a long time, yea all their life haue thought vpon both, finde themselves lesse troubled a great deale, because they are resolutely perswaded and assured of a better life. Moreover, wee finde by experience, that when the spirit is troubled with affections, or confounded through fancies and imaginations, or ignorant, vicious, prophane, wicked, without feare of God and void of religion, it is a great deale more mooued at the cogitation & remembrance of corporall death, then if it be found, well disposed and settled, quiet, skilful, innocent, religious, and fearing God. Whereupon we may consider and learne, which of these two iudgements is more certain and true, either that of a spirit that is troubled, diseased, ignorant, euil, without feare of God, and void of religion: or that of a spirit, which hath all those perfections rehearsed by vs, contrary to these vices. It is an easie matter to iudge. Therefore if we attribute more, as in reason we ought, to that Spirit whose iudgement is most true and certaine, the conclusion that I haue made shalbe confirmed thereby. And as by the difference of desires, we may easily iudge of the nature and essence of mans soule, so we may do the like by those delights wherein it taketh pleasure. But I leaue thee *ACHITO B*, to go forward with the discourse of this matter.

Of the argument that may be taken from the delights and pleasures of the soule to prooue the immortality thereof: an argument to the same end taken from the insatiable desires and pleasures of men, euen from such as are most carnall: of the testimony which they may find euen in their vices to prooue the immortality of their soule. Chap. 92.

The right
Armes of
Machiauellis
Nobility.

ACHITO B. It hath beene a saying heretofore, that it belonged not to a vile person to deny God. Which Prouerbe came of this, that the nobility and gentlemen were so ill taught, and so ignorant of true nobilitie, that they reserued this occupation to themselves as proper to their estate, turning it to their glory, and endeavouring to bee feared by this meanes. And surely these were faire Armes and goodly Scutcheons to set forth the Nobilitie of their estate by, namely, horrible and execrable blasphemies, which the very Iewes and Turkes would neuer suffer among themselves. I would to God we might now say rightly, that this was once, but is no more: and so likewise, that there were not some among them that thinke themselves the greatest men, who haue this in their thoughts if they dare not speake it openly, that it belongeth not to men of courage to beleue in God and in his Word, or to thinke that there is a iudgement to come, at which men shall appeare: but that this appertaineth to the simple and foolish, not to these great and noble spirits, which flie above the clouds, and indeed know more then they ought to leade them into hell.

An argument
of the plea-
sures of the
soule to shew
the immorta-
lity thereof.

But as by the difference of appetites and desires, we haue shewed them that the soule cannot be mortall, which concludeth a diuine providence and a second life, as we declared before, so it is an easie matter to proue the same by those pleasures in which the soule taketh delight. For by how much the more those things that bring delights, do resemble the vertue of the soule that is delighted, and the greater affinitie, proportion, and agreement they haue with it, so much the greater, sweeter, and more pleasant are the delights, as also more firme and of longer continuance. Indeed it may be objected vnto mee, that if wee looke to this we shall find, that the greatest part of men take more pleasure in those delights which they can receive by their senses, which are more earthly & brutish, then in others that are more naturall to the spirit, and more spirituall & heavenly: and therefore the iudgment that we can gather from hence of the nature and essence of the soule, may seeme not to agree to this we speake of. It is very certen that those men are of such a brutish nature, that a man may well doubt whether they be men or no, & whether they deserue not rather to be reckoned in the number of beasts, to which they are more like then to men, except it be for their face: in which respect also a man may compare them with Apes. For if they be led by the same desires and lusts, and satisfie themselves therein as brute beasts, and goe no further, wherein doe they differ from them? & to what purpose serueth that which God hath bestowed vpon their soules more then vpon the soules of beasts, if they content themselves with a brutish life & pleasure as they do? For where is the vse of reason & vnderstanding which God hath bestowed vpon them

Some more
like to beasts
then men.

them more then vpon beastes? And if they vse them no more then beastes doe that are altogether void of them, who can know whether they are partakers of them more then they? And so consequently, how shall that definition commonly giuen of man, agree to them, wherein he is called a liuing creature partaker of reason? Therefore when wee enquire of the nature and substance of the soule, we must follow that rule, which is vsually propounded in searching out the nature and essence of all other things. For when a man would haue true knowledge of them, he taketh not in each kind of them that which may be, in some of the same kinde, lesse perfect and monstrous. As if there be occasion to iudge of the nature of mans body no man wil take them that haue some defect of Nature, or that are more deformed and monstrous then others: but the soundest, goodliest and most perfect bodies. We must doe the like when we search into the nature and essence of the soule. For to know it well, wee must not make choice of men that are borne brutish, so that a man can know nothing in them whereby they differ from brute beastes, except the outward shape of a man. Yea there are some borne with lesse sense and government of themselves, then beastes haue. The like may be saide of them, who being better borne, voluntarily become brutish of themselves. For this cause, we must chiefly consider what effects the noblest and most excellent soules bring forth, if we will iudge of the nature of all other soules that are of the same kind. For albeit the soules of some me are more brutish then of others, yet it followeth not but they are all of one & the same nature & substance, seeing they are all of one kind: but the difference between them proceedeth from hence, that some are more degenerated from their true and proper nature, then others are. Neuertheles this changeth not their natural essence but that alwaies continueth one & the same in all: as the ill dispositiō of bodies taketh not from them that nature & essence which they haue common with others, notwithstanding they differ from them, as a sicke and deformed body differeth from a sound and perfect body. Now there is no doubt, but that the noblest & most excellent soules take more pleasure in the internall senses then in the externall, and more in reason then in fancy and imagination, but aboue all in the contemplation of the Spirit. And among those things which the spirit doth contemplate, it delighteth most & staieth longest in them that are spirituall and eternal, that are highest & of greatest souerainty. And as the spirit longeth most after these pleasures, and retaineth them with greatest affection, so it is lesse weary in searching for the and in the contemplation of them. Whereupon it followeth, that spirituall and eternal things are more conformable to the Spirit, then those that are corporall and temporary: and that it hath greater participation and agreement with heavenly things: then with earthly. For it is marueilously delighted & contented with spirituall things, as if they were his own things which is by similitude, proportion, and agreement of nature: as contrariwise, both the internall and externall senses please themselves in corporall things, and are not able to comprehend or attaine to the other, but onely by coniecture. Whereas if the Spirit were as mortall as the senses, then the excellentest Spirits, and such as approach neere to the heavenly Spirits & to the nature of God, would giue themselves to transitory & corruptible things as much as the senses doe, and would search after them as earnestly as it doth after true and perfect pleasures. But we see by experience that they ascend vp a great deale higher. Yea the Spirits euen of most carnall & brutish men, in that they neuer meete with any pleasures in transitory things that doe fully content and satisfie them, thereby giue euident testimony, they are borne to enioy greater pleasures then they can find in all this nature, and that they are of another nature, surpassing them which mounteth aboue corporall and temporary things. For who euer saw an ambitious man satisfied with honours, or a couetous wretch with riches? And from whence cometh this that they are so insatiable, but only because the spirit that God hath giuen them, is of so noble a race & of such an excellent nature, that how much soeuer it be fallen from his first nature & nobility, yet it can neuer content it selfe with any thing, that is of another nature more base & vile then it owne, as that which is too much vnworthie and vnbecoming the spirit, & very much disagreeing from the essence of it. For although, being buried in this body, as in a sinke of all carnall and brutish affections, it cannot so well perceiue it owne nature, dignity, and nobility, nor acknowledge the same so well, as the noblest and most excellent spirits, and such as are farthest from this stinking puddle, are able to do, neuerthelesse without thinking thereupon as it were, it hath euer more a secret sense of it owne nature and dignity, which keepeth it from being contented with any thing whatsoever, although it bee with neuer so great liking and abundance, except it enioy that thing which is most proper and agreeable to his naturall disposition, which is

How we must
iudge of the
nature of the
soule.

Of the true
pleasures of
the soule.

An argument
from insa-
tiable plea-
sures for the
immortality
of the soule.

Arguments to prooue

of a more high, noble, & excellent nature; then any thing proceeding from this mortall and transitorie masse. But because it is buried in this darkenesse, which sinne hath brought vpon the mindes of men, the same thing happeneth to the spirit, of which we haue already spoken concerning the immortality and eternitie of name and renowne. For the right and naturall desire of true and immortall honours, and of eternal riches agreeable to the nature of mans soule, is degenerated into this false and corrupted appetite of worldly honors, and temporall riches. Notwithstanding this is manifested heereby, that as euery spiritual waies searcheth after God as a blinde man goeth by groaping, as we haue heard already: so it seeketh after riches and honours agreeable to it owne nature. But because that darkenesse with which it is overwhelmed, hindreth it from knowing them well, and so consequently from taking that way, which it ought to enter in that it may attaine vnto them, therefore it changeth them into others, that are of a differing and cleane contrary nature. So that it can neuer finde out or attaine to that which it seeketh, because it is ignorant thereof, and so seeketh for it vnder a maske, which it taketh for the true face, and vnder a shadow, which it taketh for the very body whereby it commeth to passe that the maske and shadow remaine with it, instead of the very face and body that are lost by meanes of them. In which the same thing happeneth to the spirit that doth in the matter of Religion, when it forgeth vnto it selfe new and strange gods and idols, instead of the true God whom it searcheth after, because it knoweth not who he is, although it seeketh him, & desireth to find him. Wherefore being thus deceived, & not knowing it, neither the meanes wherby it is deceived, it stil desireth, because it perceiveth very wel whether it wil or no, that it hath not attained to that which it wanteth, as indeed it might well know the same, if it were not become very brutish by reason that it neuer findeth any contentation in any thing that it doth, or can attaine vnto. By which things we may further learne, that men shall finde euery in their vices, testimonies of the nature, essence and immortality of their soules, whereby they may be convicted, and namely in their ambition & couetousnes, which ought to admonish them of that that hath been set down, and to cause them to thinke more diligently thereupon. We may say the same of their lust. For although it be in the number of those pleasures that are most earthly and brutish, and which the senses themselves both externall and internall ought to be soone weary of, for the reasons before heard, neuertheless they shew plainly how insatiable this appetite is in them, in that no kind of lust can content them: insomuch as they are carried headlong therewithall euery beyond the bounds of nature, within which brute beasts containe themselves. And truly all these things ought to driue vs into admiration, and cause vs to consider the iust iudgement of God vpon men, and how he is reuenged of them for dishonouring him, and their owne nature, by suffering it to degenerate and waxe beastlike, in forsaking spirituall, heavenly, and diuine things, for those are corporall, earthly, and brutish. Therefore God depriveth them of that vnderstanding which hee had given them, that they should torment themselves after such things as vexeth their spirit, as it were damned soules, and that so much the more miserable and with lesse contentation, as they enioy more of them. For what a torment is ambition and couetousnes, and other affections and vices that accompany them? And if we speake of lust, we see what is the vengeance of God vpon them, who going beyond the bounds of nature, so dishonor their bodies, and their owne nature, that there is no essence or nature whatsoever, vnto which they may be compared. For none doe so much peruert their nature as they: I meane not beasts onely, but not the diuels themselves. And although they be so beastlike, as to consider no more of the nature and essence of their soule then they do of beasts, yet the very figure of their bodies should make them to thinke, that God hath not made it differing from beasts, and namely in creating the head and face vpwards, but that hee hath also endued them with a soule differing from theirs, to the end it might be correspondent to the body in which it is. But it belongeth to thee *ASER*, to prosecute this argument, thereby to shew vnto vs the immortality of the soule.

A corrupt spirit
taketh the
shadow of
things for the
things them-
selves.

An argument
taken from vi-
ces for the
immortality
of the soule.

How God
punisheth vi-
cious desires.

Of the testimonie that men haue of the immortall nature of the soule in their very body, by the composition and frame thereof: of that which is in the motion and rest of their soules: how the creation of the whole world should be vaine, and how there should bee no providence of God, no religion, no diuine iustice if the soule were mortall: of the multitude and qualities of the witnesses that stand for the immortallitie thereof. Chap. 93.

ASER. That good king Ezechias complaining in his sicknesse, said, *Mine habitation is departed, and is remooued from mee like a sheepebeards tent: I haue cut off like a weauer my life.* This holy man compareth his body and the life of man in it, to a tabernacle & lodge; or to a tent and pavilion, which are no firme lodgings but remoueable and such as may be transported from one place to another, as souldiers carry away theirs, when they raise their campe to pitch it in some other place. And indeed a mans body in this world is as it were a lodging assigned for his soule to abide in a while, not to dwell there alwayes, as it were in one place. For this life, is like to a military life, and as a continuall warfare, vntill such time as we depart hence, and that God cutteth it off, (after we haue finished our appointed dayes) as a weauer cutteth off the threedes at the end of his web after it is finished. Therefore Saint Peter also calleth his body a tabernacle when he saith, *I thinke it meet as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stirre you up by putting you in remembrance, seeing I know that the time is at hand that I must lay downe this tabernacle,* euen as our Lord Iesus Christ hath shewed mee. S. Paul also vseth the like manner of speech when he saith, *For wee know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, wee haue a building giuen of God, an house not made with hands, but eternall in the hea-
uens.* For therefore we sigh, desiring to be clothed with our house, which is from heauen. And to this agreeth that which is written in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. *For here we haue no continuing city, but wee seeke one to come.* Here truely are notable testimonies of the second and eternal life, against them that doubt of the immortality of the soule. But according to that which is giuen vs in charge to discourse of touching this matter, wee must bring them other testimonies euen in their bodies, seeing their spirit cannot mount vp to celestiall and diuine things.

We may easily iudge, if there be any light of nature remaining in our mind, that God would haue vs know, by the composition and stature of our bodies, how the soule and spirit dwelling within them should be affected, and whether it ought to looke. For why would God lift the head and face of men vpwards, and not the head of beasts, but that he would admonish them thereby, that they are of a celestiall nature? and that they must alwayes looke, not to the earth as beasts do, but to heauen, as to their native country, from whence they received their Originall, in respect of their principall part, which all *Atheists & Epicures* doe renounce? And if the body be lifted straight vpward, the spirit is much more, which ascending by degrees from inferior things, maketh no stay vntill it come to the heauely & diuine things: & hauing at length attained vnto them, it stiaeth there and contenteth it selfe therein. In regard whereof, as in naturall things wee know by their moouing and resting which is their naturall place, so by the same reason we may iudge of the naturall place of mans soule, which is in perpetuall motion, and can find no rest here below on the earth, as the soules of beasts can: which because they are altogether earthy, and all their naturall and proper good coming from no higher place then from the earth, their snows also are continually bending towards it: and the more earthly and brutish they are, the more downwards do they alwayes bend. This we may easily perceiue, if we compare not onely the beasts of the earth with birds which hold more of the nature of the ayre, and liue most therein, but also if wee compare the beastes of the earth one with another. For albeit all of them haue their snows inclining towards the earth, yet the hogge hath his head more bending downward then others haue. For it is fashioned & bowed after such a fashion, that no beast can lesse lift vp the head and stretch it towards heauen then the hog, neither is any so much troubled as that is, which by force it is compelled to looke vpward. The same may be said of the Moule, and of other such like beasts. Therefore if the *Good* that is proper and peculiar to the nature of man, consist not in this eternity and celestiall immortality of which wee speake, to what purpose is

Esa. 38. 12.

2. Pet. 1. 13.

14.

2. Cor. 5. 1, 2.

Heb. 13. 14.

An argument taken from the frame of mans body to proue the immortality of his soule.

Another argument taken from the motion & rest of the soule.

Of a fish cal-
led Vranos-
copos.

Except the
soule be im-
mortal, man
was created
in vaine.

The immor-
tality of the
soule is linked
to the religio
and prou-
idence of God

An argument
taken from
the consent
of all people.

his head lift vpward, and his eies looking towards heauen, especially seeing God hath ioy-
ned these things with a soule that is partaker of reason and vnderstanding; For among the
beasts, we finde one fish, that hath the eies set in the top of the head and therefore it is cal-
led by the Græcians *Vranoscopus*, which signifieth as much as a *Beholder of heauen*, or *looking
towards heauen*. But because it is not partaker of vnderstanding and reason, more then o-
ther beasts are, and seeing the soule of it differeth not from theirs, we may easily iudge, that
the eies of it were not set in that place for the same reason that man hath his lifted vp to-
wards heauen. Shall we say then that God hath created man and endewed him with so
many graces and singular properties, to make him more wretched then beasts in this life,
who otherwise is so miserable, and compassed about with so many euils on euery side? For
whereto serueth the disposition of his nature, but to torment him the more by looking vp
towards heauen, and by that knowledge which hee hath more then beasts haue, thereby
encreasing in him a vaine desire of such a happinesse as he can neuer enioy? And which
is worse, the more noble spirit that any on hath, the more learned and vertuous he is, or the
more and longer oppressed he is with the miseries of this life, the more would this vaine de-
sire pricke and torment him. And if there bee some, who like beasts passe over all these
things without any sense and feeling, this befalleth them, either because they are of a
heavy, sleepey, and blockish spirit, or else because they are drunken with that which is
commonly called Fortunes fauour, namely, with the honours, riches, and pleasures of
this world. So that wee must conclude vpon this speech, that because beasts doe here
all that they haue to doe, according to those powers and gifts that are naturally in them,
therefore they liue and die here: but because the Spirit giuen to man, cannot doe here ac-
cording to his naturall disposition, it followeth necessarily, that as it is borne in an other
place, so it must haue anot her place wherein to effect that which it hath to doe. And con-
trariwise, if the soule of man be mortal, al that he hath to do is in this life, as it is with beasts:
and then also it followeth, that he was created in vaine and without cause. For God created
nothing, but hee propounded to himselfe the end for which hee created it, and that such an
ende as is agreeable to the nature and dignity of euery one of his workes, else all things
should haue beene created in vaine by him. Now if he created man onely to liue in this
world, as he did other creatures, then did he not in his creation propound to himselfe an
end befitting the excellency of such a nature. Which thing the greatest Philosophers a-
mongst the heathen haue after due consideration bin constrained to confesse. And if a man
for whose sake the whole visible world was created and who onely can, will, and knoweth
how to vse all things contained therein, was created and receiued this life in vaine, what
shall we thinke of all other things that were created because of him, and for his sake? Shall
not the whole worke of creation be in vaine, and vnworthy the infinite maiesty and wise-
dome of God the Creator? and he that is the Governour of the world, shal hee not be spoiled
of all prouidence? Who ought not to abhor the very cogitation of such a thing? And yet the
religion of God, his prouidence, and the immortalitie of our soule are so fast linked and ioy-
ned together, and depend in such sort one vpon another, that they cannot be separated, nei-
ther indeed is it lawfull to separate them. For he that abolisheth the one, shaketh also that
faith which we ought to hold of the rest: because if our soules be not immortal, there is nei-
ther punishmēt nor reward, either for vertue or vice, or for the good or ill deeds of men. For
we see euidently, how all things are mingled and confused in the course of this present life,
that they are turned into a common robbery, that the worst men make themselves
Masters and Lords of the world, as if it were created onely for them, that they might bee
in it as Gods vpon the earth: and contrariwise that good and iust men may seeme to haue
been created onely for a pray to the wicked, and to bee lesse accounted of them then the
brute beasts. Which if it were so, then should God haue no care of men: & if he haue no care
of them, how shall hee bee their GOD and Creatour, and why should they rather then
beasts call vpon him and honor him? For if it were so, what hath he done, or what doth hee
yet more for them vnto whom hee hath giuen his law and commandement to call vpon
him, to honour and serue him, then he doth for beasts to whom hee hath giuen no such law
or commandement, and who do not call vpon him nor honor him according to the same
as men doe? And what may we accompt all religion, all feare and reuerence of God to be,
all holinesse, honesty and vertue, but superstition, and a vaine and foolish opinion & fancy
of the mind of man? Not withstanding there hath alwaies bin a common testimony & euery
consent of religion among all nations, euery amongst the most Barbarous and rude people
that

that ever were found. Neither ever were any so ill taught but they haue put some difference betweene vertue and vice, and betweene honestie and dishonestie. It can not bee then, but that religion and vertue, narrowly engrauen in the heart of man, are good things, yea far better then their contraries. Whereas if God had no more respect to one then to the other, and were not to iudge thereof, to what purpose serueth this difference which men make betweene them? and what profit shall they reape to themselves by esteeming better of that which is good, then of euill? Good men should not onely receiue lesse profit by vertue then by vice, but further they should be damned by the same: & wicked men should euer haue the better: yea they should be rewarded instead of being punished. For the best and iustest men are commonly a pray vnto the wicked. And who shal deliuer them out of their hands, seeing for the most part they are the strongest, and haue in a manner the government of the world in their power, so that the most innocent persons are at their mercy as it were, except God should let them haue iustice either heere in this world or in some other? And if God should faile in doing iustice, vpon what right should the iustice that men vse against malefactours be grounded? Shall there be more iustice in men, who are altogether iniustice themselves, then in God who is the fountaine of all iustice, yea iustice it selfe? All this must be so, or else we must confesse, that all these things testifie vnto vs, that God hath care ouer vs, and that there is another place & time of rewarding euery man according to his works, then in this world, and here in this life. For this cause Saint Peter calleth the day of the last iudgement, in which all shall appeare before God, *the time of the restoration of all things: foretold of God by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.* For considering that all things are so confused and troubled in the world, that it seemeth there is no difference betwixt the blessings and curses of God pronounced in his law, and that all things are turned topsie turvy by the malice of men, the Lord hath ordained a place & time, in which he will put an end to this disorder, and will restore all things to their right estate and good order. Now if the Lord hath appointed that euery one shall bee rewarded at that time and place, it followeth that then and there also we must search for the end for which man was created, and that his soule shall liue there. And if the soule then liueth, and in that place, it followeth well also that there is the end of it. For we take the end for that which is the last and most perfect in euery thing. So that if the question be of the authoritie of men, and multitude of witnesses for the confirmation of that, which hath bene hitherto saide of the immortallitie of the soules of men, we shall haue for this purpose all those, who from the beginning of the world amongst all people & nations, haue beleued and thought that there is a God, that there is a Diuine nature and providence, and consequently any religion: yea even those barbarous and savage nations, which were found out of late dayes in those new Ilands, commonly called the new found world. And if the qualitie of the witnesses is to be considered, we shall still haue almost all on our side. For if wee looke vnto the most barbarous and strangest nations that are, the testimony of nature which all of them carry in their hearts, compelleth them to range themselves one this side. And if wee come to others that haue bin more ciuill and better instructed, we shall haue a greater aduantage. Or if the question be of the greatest, and of such as by the consent and testimony of all, were accompted, and were indeede best learned and most vertuous, we shall not onely finde them to haue bin on our side, but also that they haue condemned as ignorant men and vnworthy to liue, them that haue bene of a contrary opinion, betwixt which men and the other there is great difference. For those amongst the Philosophers that denied the immortallitie of the soule, were such as did abolish also diuine nature and providence, and all religion, and such as placed the soveraigne good of men in pleasure: which kinde of men were alwayes worthily taken to be the vilest & most abiect, and as it were the skum and dregges of the professors of Philosophie. For to the end we may the better vnderstand this, by mine aduise wee will consider of the best arguments that are alleadged by Philosophers to prooue the immortallitie of soules, that they who will not credite the testimony of the holy Scriptures, may feeble themselves vrged in their conscience with the sayings of Ethnickes and heathen men, who shal rise vp in iudgment against them to aggrauate their condemnation. Now it belongeth to thee, *AMANA*, to follow this matter.

Other reasons to the same end.

Acts. 3. 21.

What the end of a thing is,

Of the multitude and quality of witnesses to prooue the immortallitie of the soule.

What kinde of Philosophers Atheists and Epicures were.

Of another argument for the immortalitie of the soule taken from that naturall desire which men haue knowledge: of Aristotles opinion touching the immortalitie of the soule: of other reasons of Philosophers to prooue that the spirit cannot be of a corruptible and mortall nature: and how iust men should be more miserable, and should haue more occasion to feare and to eschew death, then the vniust and wicked, if the soule were mortall, Cap. 94.

AMANA. There is in all men a naturall desire of knowledge and wisdom: yea a man may perceiue that molt barbarous men desire naturally to know, vnto what Art soeuer they apply their spirit, iudging the same to be commendable and honest, as contrariwise they accompt it vnbecoming a man and dishonest, to be ignorant, to erre, and to be deceived. From this desire the wisest and molt famous among the Philosophers tooke a very good argument to prooue the immortality of the soule. For seeing this desire is naturall, and that in this world all the knowledge and wisdom that men can haue, is the very small, and as it were nothing in respect of that which they want, they conclude necessarily, that there must needs be some other place and time then in this life, wherein that which is here begunne but slenderly, is to be accomplished and made perfect.

An argument taken from the desire of wisdom to prooue the immortalitie of the soule.

1. Cor. 13. 12.

An objection made by some philosophers.

The answer.

The reason from whence they deriue their argument, is that common saying, that God and Nature the minister of God doe nothing without cause. Wherefore seeing this desire of knowledge and wisdom is naturall in man, it cannot be in vaine, neither is it given vnto him, but that it should attaine to some end and perfection. For to what purpose serued the corporall eies of liuing creatures, & for what cause should they beginne them, if they could neuer see, or were to liue alwaies in darknesse? So likewise, why should the eies of the soule and minde be giuen to men, thereby to behold celestiall and diuine things, which cannot be seene with bodily eies, if they could neuer view them, but in such darknesse as they do here behold them? To what end also should man be naturally pricked forward with a desire to know the truth & to haue skill, if he could neuer soundly enioy his desire, but should remain alwaies in ignorance for the greatest part of those things, which he desireth to know & which are of so great waight, that whatsoeuer he is able to vnderstand and know in this world, is nothing or very little in regard of that which yet remaineth behinde for him to know? For not to speak of those things in which all humane philosophie must acknowledge her ignorance, let vs come to that vnderstanding which we may haue by the holy Scriptures revealed vnto vs of God. For although the knowledge we haue by the, surpasseth without all comparison all humane philosophie & science, yet S. Paul compareth it to knowledge that is very obscure, to a light that is seenethrough thick & darke clouds, & to an image presented vnto vs in a glasse, in comparison of that molt high and perfect knowledge and vnderstanding, which is reserued for vs in another life, and whereof we haue here but a very little taste & weake beginning. Therefore if we could neuer goe further, would it not be a vaine and ridiculous thing, if God had giuen this desire onely to men, & neuer would vouchsafe to let them haue the effect of it? And if it wereso, that GOD had not ordeined another time and place, for the finishing of that which is here begunne in this life, it seemeth that the complaint made by some of the greatest Philosophers against Nature, should not be without some ground of reason. For what iust cause is there, that he should giue a longer life to some beasts then to men, seeing it skilleth not whether beasts liue long or no; because long life cannot makethem more learned, or more wise then they are at their birth? But it is otherwise in man. For seeing that knowledge and wisdom are his greatest Good, whereby he approacheth neerer to the nature of God, and of which all his other good things chiefly depend, it seemeth to stand with reason, that God should haue giuen a longer life to men then to beasts, that so they might the better attaine to so great a good, so necessary for them, in regard of which especially, they are preferred before beasts and differ from them. For we see by experience, that we must die so soone almost as we beginne to taste of Sciences, and to waxe wise. But we haue no cause to make this complaint against the wisdom, prudence, and goodnesse of God, who hath granted vs life long enough, wherein we may learne here as much as we neede, (if wee could vse it well) both to passe away this life, and also to attaine to the other, in which we shall abound in knowledge and wisdom and

and be fully satisfied therewithall. And although God hath giuen vs a life twice as long in this world as that we now enioy, so that we might liue as long as the auncient Patriarkes, whose yeares were so many, especially before the flood as *Moses* testifieth, yet al that which we could possible learne during the time of so long life, would be very little in cōparison of the knowledge reserved for vs in that Eternitie. For the eies of our spirit and minde are not able to endure so great brightnesse of heauenly knowledge and wisdom, whilest it is here shut vp and as it were imprisoned in this body of sinne; and in a manner wholly overwhelmed with darkenesse but it fareth with the spirit in this respect, as it doth with the Owle in regard of his eyes, and of the light of the Sunne. Therefore every one hath better cause to assure himselfe, that God hath appointed an other time and place for the full accomplishment of this desire of knowledge and wisdom that is so firmly engrauen in the nature of men, then to accuse God, as if he offered them iniury to deprive them thereof by the shortnesse of their life. Now let vs come to other particular reasons of Philosophers concerning this matter we haue in handling. Although *Aristotle* so famous amongst them bee very obscure and wauering where hee handleth the same, so that it is a very hard matter to vnderstand what was his opinion and resolution therein, neuertheless he dares not plainly say that the spirit of man is of a bodily nature & corruptible matter, or that it is mortall as the body is. But in one place he saith, that if the Spirit be able to vnderstand without the fantasie, it may be separated from it: but it cannot vnderstand without it, then it cannot be separated. Which is al one as if he saide, that if the spirit could vnderstand without the senses, & the vnderstanding and reason without fantasie and imagination, then a man might certainly conclude, that there is a difference in nature & substance betweene these things, & that there may a separation be made: so that the destruction of the one doeth not bring with it a corruption of the other. Wherefore none may conclude the mortality of the spirit that is capable of reason and vnderstanding, by the immortality either of the externall or internall senses. But *Aristotle* leaueth it doubtfull in this place, whether this separation may be made yea or no, and whether a man may conclude thereupon, that the spirit is of an other nature and substance then the senses are, and so consequently immortall. But it followeth not, that if the soule being in the body vnderstandeth things bodily, that is to say, by the bodily instruments that are outward, and then by the conuenience of the internall senses, therefore it can vnderstand nothing but that which they declare and bring vnto it. For after the internall senses haue gathered together the images and similitudes of those externall things that are offered vnto them, and so retaineth them fast being secluded and separated from all matter, the vnderstanding is to receiue from thence the first and simple knowledge of things. So that as the qualities of externall things are the matter subiect of the internall senses, so their images conceived by the internall senses, and purged from all bodily matter, are the matter subiect of the vnderstanding and spirit. And the spirit labouring about them draweth out certaine motions, and knoweth many things from them, which cannot mooue the senses, and which the senses cannot know. And yet the spirit is first mooued by these images, as the senses are by externall things. But wee must declare these things somewhat more familiarly. We vnderstand already, how corporall things are the subiect and objects of the corporall senses, and that the bodily senses receiue and know them corporally, even such as they are presented vnto them, every one according to his nature and office. But they cannot receiue or perceiue any more then that which is laied open vnto them, and manifesteth it selfe outwardly. Now after the outward senses haue thus receiued them and their matter couered with their qualities, the internall senses, to which the externall are seruiceable, conceiue the images without the matters and qualities of those things whereof they are images. For the eye cannot see either the Sunne or the light of it, nor yet any other creature discovered by the light, except it be present before it. But the *Fantasie* and imagination receiue and conceiue the images of things, even in darkenesse, although the things of which they are images, apparant to the eyes, nor yet are perceiued at that present by any corporall sense. We see then already how these images are separated from the matter of which they are images, and how the internall senses behold them without their matter and bodies, as the externall senses looke vpon them being ioyned with their bodies.

Aristotles opinion touching the immortality of the soule.

How the vnderstanding cometh to the knowledge of outward things by the senses.

How the outward senses looke vpon things. How the internall senses receiue the same things.

Then haing receiued them thus purged from their corporall matter, the spirit receiueeth them yet more pure, and goeth further in the knowledge and vnderstanding of them then all the senses do, comprehending other things, of which the senses can

haue

How the Spirit receiue them from the internal senses.

Other reasons for the immortality of the soule.

The soule cannot bee diuided.

Other reasons for the immortality of the soule.

Pro 1. 10. 24.

have no knowledge or apprehension. And thus the Spirit beholdeth and vnderstandeth corporall things corporally, that is by meanes of those instruments which it hath in the body, and spirituall things it beholdeth spiritually without those instruments. Whereupon it followeth, that although it vseth the senses and such kinde of instruments, neuertheless it is not so tied vnto them that it cannot be separated, or do nothing without them, or not know and vnderstand that which they are not able to conceiue or know. So that it is no hard matter to beleene, that the soule is of another nature & substance, as a man may iudge also by this that it is the fountaine and beginning of motion begun by it selfe, & not by any other, but as we haue already declared. Likewise by this, that it is capable of the knowledge of infinite things, of which it retaineth the memory, and that it inquireth into secret things separated from all corporall matter, which cannot be perceiued by any sense: & that it doth so many and so great things without the helpe of any bodily nature. Whereupon the Philosophers conclude, that it is of a simple nature, not compounded, and so consequently that it is immortal. For that nature, which is adorned and decked with such vertues, & with the facultie to vnderstand, the like whereof is not in the body, and which can vnderstand by it selfe without the vse of the body, cannot be compounded of an earthly & mortall nature, nor haue any part thereof mingled with it selfe, but it is stayed and sustained by it selfe, it subsisteth of it selfe and is immortal. Hereof also it followeth, that if the soule of man be of such a nature, then it cannot be rent in sunder or diuided, or pulled into peeces, or haue any thing in it that can be separated from it: & so it must needs be that it cannot die or perish. And therefore the best and most excellent Philosophers hold that sentence as immouable, which Aristotle saith in another place, namely, that the spirit is a thing separate and distinct from the senses and from the body, as an immortall thing from a mortall: and that it commeth from without, and else-where then from the body, as we haue already touched it in another place. Whereby to my thinking, he hath declared very plainly, that hee did not take the soule of man to be mortall. But yet it is somewhat hard to iudge what his opinion was, because he doth not shew himselfe so openly as the matter requireth. Yet whatsoever he thought or resolved with himselfe, the soule shal not be therefore any whit the more mortall or immortal. For the immortality thereof dependeth not vpon his opinion, or of any other mans whatsoever. Neuertheless seeing so subtil and sharpe a Philosopher durst not affirme that it was mortall, every one of any sound mind may well iudge, that he knew there were too many arguments to the contrary, and those so waightie, that they deserued to be diligently, examined, and were not so lightly to be reiected. For he was not so shamefast & modest, but he durst boldly reiect and condemne the opinions and sentences of all others that were as well in his time as before him, how great and famous personages soeuer they were, when he thought hee could doe it with any shew of reason, insomuch as he spared not his master Plato. Therefore albeit wee had no other resolution from him touching this matter, but this only that he was in doubt, and durst affirme nothing on either side, yet his authority ought to preuaile much with vs against them who depende only of humane Philosophy and reason, & are so easily induced to approoue rather of the mortality then of the immortality of the soule. For at leastwise they may imagine, that so great a Philosopher who is in such wonderfull estimation amongst all learned men, did not iudge their reasons frivolous & vaine, who maintained the immortality of the soule, as our Epicures and Atheists thinke, because they are more blockish & foole hardie. And therefore they boldly condemne that which either they will not or cannot conceiue and comprehend, not considering what a confusion of things their opinion worketh in all mankind. For besides that which wee haue spoken to this purpose already, if it were so that the soule were mortall, the wickedest and most desperate men should haue that which they desire most, and which is most expedient for them: and that should befall the best and iustest men, which they abhorre most, & flee from as very hurtful for them: contrary to that which Salomon saith in the Proverbs, *That the wicked shall fall into the euill he feareth, and that the desire of the iust shall be accomplished.* In regard whereof good men should haue far greater reason to feare death, then the wicked to desire it. For what good man is there of noble courage, who will not greatly abhorre death when he thinketh with himselfe, that it consumeth and swalloweth vp the whole man, as if he were buried in perpetuall darkenes? What consolation will serue him, and what comfort can a man offer him, that will be able to surmount the feare and horror of death, but that he will expect and suffer it with great impatiencie and dispaire, when hee shall be through necessity brought vnto it? As for that consolation, which is taken from the necessitie of nature

ture, and from the common condition of all men, it is very leane if there be no other. We see by them who are so greatly tormented, that they wish and aske after death, as after a haven wherein they may be deliuered from that tempest and torment in which they are, although the greefe which they suffer breede such vowes and desires in them, yet if they haue but a small respite, they gather some consolation to themselves by some assurance, that their grieft will in time cease, or else that time and custome will make it lighter vnto them, and will teach them to beare it patiently.

To be short, life is so acceptable and beloued of euery one, that such as are most miserable and wretched cannot be brought to leaue it but with great grieft, no not those who destroy themselves with their owne hands. Whereby we may iudge, how much more better it is to them that haue not all these occasions to desire it. For euery one may imagine, what extreame grieft it would be to a good man, who for liuing honestly all his life time, and for all the good which he had ener thought, spoken or done, should not onely receiue honour nor recompence in this world, but which is no worse, (as it commonly falleth out among men) should receiue nothing but euil for good. And yet in the meane time he should see the woorst men, that wholly giue ouer themselves to dishonor & despite God, enioy, the honors, riches, & pleasures of this world: and contrariwise himself to haue nothing but dishonour, shame, confusion, famine, pouerty, miserie, sorrow, torment, & oftentimes cruel death. What comfort can such a body haue, if he thinke that there is no other reward after this life, nor any better estate for him then for the wicked & abominable person in the world? And although none of al this should euer happen to good men, yet what contentation could they find in all the rewards which they should receiue in this world for recompence of their vertue? It is an easie matter to iudge by this, that the memorie of the name & praise of well doing doth not alwayes take effect, neither is it alwaies due to the that haue it, but oftentimes very vniustly giuen. But from thee, ARAM, we shall receiue more full instruction touching this matter.

Of that praise and reward which wisdom and vertue may receiue of men in this world: how miserable it is, if there be no better prepared for them else-where: how death would be more grievous and lamentable to the best learned and wisest men, then to the ignorant and foolish: if the soule were mortall: how the best and most certaine iudgement of men is for the immortalitie of the soule: of them who not beleeuing the same, say that it is good for men to be in such an error. Chap. 95.

ARAM. If the Philosophers might draw many arguments of great waight from the naturall desires of men, to prooue the immortality of soules, this which we haue now to propound of that purpose and reward, which euery one naturally desireth, is of great consideration touching this matter. For it is very certaine, that the best and most iust among men, albeit they could auoide all hurt from wicked men, wherewith commonly they are rewarded from procuring their good, yet they should not enioy any true & sound contentation in any of these rewards, which they might haue in this world as recompence of their vertue. But rather whilest they were expecting & hoping for them, they should be euer in doubt and feare of missing them, by reason of the inconstancie of men, and of the vncertainty of all humane things. So that nature might well seeme to haue giuen vnto them this desire of praise and of reward, if they should neuer enioy their desire else-where but in this present life. Whereof we may easily iudge by the reasons that are to be set downe.

For the first, the memory of a mans name and the praise for well doing doth not alwaies come to passe, neither doth it fall out aright in regard of all, but is for the most part very vniust. For how often is glory and honour attributed to vices, yea to very execreable crimes & to the wicked, whereas it ought to be giuen to vertue and to good men? And if these haue sometime any commendation, yet it is very sparing. But it falleth out much woorse, when vertue receiueith blame in stead of praise. And when something is giuen to the vnto whom it appertaineth, it cannot be stretched out farre, by reason of the diuersity and contrariety of natures, of minds and opinions, of the manners of men, and of people and nations. For how often cometh it to passe, that some condemne & blame that which others approoue and praise? Yea many times one and the same man will contradict himselfe through the inconstancie of his iudgement, now dispraying that which before hee had prayed, and contra-

Euery one naturally desireth life.

From this it is manifestly seen, that the best men are not rewarded according to their merit.

Can the best men be rewarded in this world according to their merit?

What reward is there for the best men in this world?

Reasons taken from reward and praise to prooue the immortality of the soule.

wife

The dead
haue no fee-
ling of praise.

Death most
lamentable to
the best men,
if the soule
were not im-
mortall.

Cato bele-
ued the im-
mortality of
the soule.

What com-
fort it is to
beleue a
place of rest
after this life.

What store of
testimonies
stand for the
immortalitie
of the soule.

wife. On the other side, albeit fame and commendation should bee neuer so great, yet it could not bee of any long continuance, considering that time consumeth, and bringeth an end to all that is vnder the heauens. Moreouer wee see what great alterations are daily wrought by time: and although praise were perpetuall among the liuing, yet what could it profit the dead? or what feeling can they haue of that, more then of blame and infamie? For the praise which good kings and Princes haue purchased by their vertues, and the memory they haue left behinde them among men, can profit them no more in regard of the world, then the memorie of that infamie and dispraise, which tyrants haue left behinde them can do them any hurt. For how well or ill soeuer men speake and thinke on of another, the dead haue no sense at all thereof. Yea it is likely, that they care not greatly for it, & that they rest neuer the lesse at their ease for all that. Therefore we may well conclude, that notwithstanding al the praise and reward which wisdom & vertue can receiue from men in this world yet they are still very miserable, if there be no better provided for them elsewhere. And if wise and vertuous men hope for another reward, they must needs beleue a second life, in which they shall be recompensed for their good and iust works. But further, when a learned and wise man hath by his spirit discoursed and gone through the heauens, the planets and starres, beasts, men, and through al nature, yea hath reached to the Angels, and euen to God himselfe the Creator & king of the whole world, and hath passed through al histories both new & old, and hath gotten the knowledge of al things contained in the, that haue come to passe in the world: I pray you let vs consider what he can be told of, that wil be more grievous, more bitter & fearefull vnto him, then of death, and what consolation can he receiue when he shal vnderstand, that his soule which hath seene & beheld so great riches, so many goodly and excellent things, and which hath bin as it were the storehouse & treasure of them, shal be wholly extinguished in the midst of such a goodly, pleasant, and wonderfull scaffold and theatre, that is so excellently adorned with all kind of beauty, so that it shall neuer be againe at any time or in any place, nor shall haue any more sense and feeling then the soule of a beast hath. What is hee, who after such a consideration of death, should not haue great cause to feare it, in so great miserie as may befall him in his life? Doe we thinke that these men among the Heathen who heretofore slay themselves to eschew the hands of their enemies and that shame and infamie which they feared to receiue among men, & who haue accounted it an act of great vertue & constancie to kill themselves in that maner for the auoiding of shame, would haue done that which they did, if they had not thought that there had bin another life besides this? At lest wise *Cato Uticensis* for his part testified this vnto vs, who the same night in which he had purposed to kill himselfe (which he did because he would not fall into the hands and subiection of *Iulius Caesar*, against whome he had taken Armes in that ciuill war) caused those Dialogues of *Plato* to be read vnto him, in which hee maintaineth and confirmeth the immortality of the soule, according to the doctrine of his master *Socrates*. We may then iudge by the contrary, what consolation it is to a good and wise man, against all the miseries that can befall him in this world, if he knoweth and is assuredly perswaded, that there is a resting place prepared for him not therein to be deprived of all sense of good and euill, as they imagine who seeke for rest in death without all hope of another life, but a place of happines for them that with a good heart and Will haue given themselves to vertue and holinesse, which is appointed by God, who is all iust almighty, & all good. For what rest can that thing find, which is not at all? So that if man be no more after the death of the bodie, then death cannot bring him any rest at all. And therefore we may say of this rest, that as God is not the God of the dead but of the liuing, according to the testimony of Iesus Christ, so rest is not for them, that are not, but for them that are. For rest presupposeth a being, because the thing it selfe must needs be, as well as the rest that belongeth to it: otherwise neither of them both should haue any being. Thus then wee may iudge, after so many reasons taken from nature, and hauing had so many testimonies as haue hitherto beene alleadged, from the authority and sayings of men, on which side the truth is most certaine, whether with them who haue all good and wise men on their side, or with the other, who haue none but foolish and wicked men.

We haue then in this matter which now we follow, the iudgement, authority and sentence of all the greatest and most excellent men in the world, with the greatest and chiefest part of all mankind. Vnto whose testimony we further may add religion, iustice, holinesse, and al vertues which are so grounded, and laide vpon the immortality of mans soule, that if this foundation be taken from them, they are altogether ouerthrowen. For albeit they haue

haue their chiefest foundation in God, neuerthelesse he hath so ordained and ordered them, that they cannot take place, if there bee no immortality of soules, and that for the reasons already declared. It followeth then well, that truth is on their side. For truth will rather stand for them, then for vices, villanies, and notorious wickednesse, vnto which the mortality of the soule is more agreeable then the immortality. And if all the Philosophers were not able to attaine to the knowledge of the soules nature, nor define the immortality thereof, we ought not to be greatly abashed, if such as were most ignorant, vile, and abiect of them (as they are called by some of the best of the Ancients) abused themselves so grossely, and spake so vnreuerently, seeing many of the greater sort and of good account, fell so shamefully, and shewed themselves to be worser then beasts in some things wherof a man may iudge by the outward senses. For haue there not some beene found, who albeit they saw the snow white, yet they durst maintaine that it was blacke, and that pepper was white; and although they felt the fire hote and burning, yet affirmed that it was cold? But for this time let vs leaue the opinions of Philosophers, and speake somewhat of them, who although they do not beleue the immortality of soules, nor yet all that is spoken of GOD or of religion, say not withstanding that it is good for the life of man, that men should bee of that opinion, without which humane society could not bee kept inuiolable, neither would men doe any thing, as they ought, if they were not as it were with a bridle kept backe by this feare, that there is another life after this, and that there are gods to take vengeance of such as haue done euill. And therefore they say, that feare was the first that made gods. Hereof they conclude, that religion is nothing, but onely in opinion, yea that it is nothing else but superstition, which proceedeth from this foolish opinion. But seeing this error serueth for the benefit of mans life, it is good, say they, to vpholde it, and to confirme men therein.

Of such as say it is good to keepe men in this opinion of the immortality of the soule, and yet themselves beleue it not

And they that vse this speech, are none of them that are taken to bee fooles and ignorant persons, but of the greater and skilfuller sort of people, yea of the wisest men of the world according to the iudgement of men. For when wee speake of good men and such as are wise, wee must iudge of them according to the matter which we handle, and according to the iudgement of God in his word. Therefore, if according to this reason wee iudge of these men of whom we now speake, they shall bee found to be the grossest and most blockish beasts that the earth beareth. For all science, wisdom, and greatness, separated from vertue, are not the things themselves indeede, but brutishnesse rather, and vile basenesse. And if wee iudge otherwise, what is all the knowledge, wisdom and greatness that is in all men, in respect of that which is one Diuell onely? For what want the diuels from being Angels like to those blessed Angels that continue still in their obedience vnto God? If there bee any question made for greatness of spirit, they are all spirit. If for such wisdom and knowledge as that cunning and wise men of this world haue, of whom haue worldly wise men learned their skill but of them, in comparison of whom they are but young schollers? If the question bee for greatness, what King or Prince in the world is so great as they? For who is called the Prince of this world by Iesus Christ, the God of this world by Saint Paul, principalities, powers, worldly gouernours, and the princes of the darknesse of this world? Are not the Diuels so called, who rule and gouerne the great ones of the whole world, that are great indeed according to men, but not according to God? What then doe they want of being celestiall Angels, but vertue and goodnesse? But because these men of whom we speake now, beleue not that there are Angels or Diuels, wee will beate them with other arguments. For of these men also there bee some that say, we must liue as the most doe, but follow the opinion of the fewest. Now then, when they would haue men to bee perswaded to vertue, and to doe their duty by lying and error, namely, by intertaining in them an opinion of religion, and of a second life, although there bee no such thing, is not this, a very proper means to call all truth into question, and to trample all vertue vnder feete? For if any propound the immortality of soules vnto men, not as if it were a true matter, but as a fayned and false thing which yet they would haue them beleue as true, to the end that through the feare of Gods iudgement they might bee kept backe from euill, and lead vnto goodnesse, every one may guesse easily, how men will dispence with themselves, when they once know, that whatsoever is spoken and propounded vnto them, is but a scarre-crowe to make them affraide, as we vse to deale with little children and with birds by puppets and strawe men, and such like things. And who will first perceiue and finde out these subtilties, such

How we must iudge of a wise man.

Ioh. 1. 2. 3. 1.
2. Cor. 4. 4.
Eph. 6. 12.

The inconueniences which follow the former opinion of perswading men to goodnes by false means.

as are most ignorant and foolish, or the other that are more skilfull and wise? It is easie to iudge, that they who haue best wits and are best learned, will sooner perceiue the same then the other.

Now what will follow hereupon, but that they being freed from the feare which held the in before, shall by the same means be let loose and sundred from the bond of all religion and vertue, as if it were cleane broken: as it hath and daily doth happen to them that maintaine this opinion, and to those also that haue bin taught & instructed in their schoole. And consequently this also will follow, that the quicker and sharper wit a man hath, and the greater knowledge and vnderstanding is in him, the more wicked and bad he will prooue. For if he vnderstand that religion is but religion in name, and indeed is nothing but foolish superstition, and if he iudge as much of the immortality of the soule: hauing thus shaken off all religion, he will cast away all feare of God, & not suffer himselfe to be bridled in any sort, either by any terrour of the iudgement to come, or reuerence of the deity, but only by the feare of mens lawes. And if this take place in men, we may well thinke what licence they will take to themselves to commit the greatest sins & abominations in the world, especially if they be in darknes, and think no man seeth them, & that there is no other iudge that perceiueth them, to who they must one day giue an account. And if they be so great, that by their power they may violate all lawes both diuine and humane, as tyrants commonly vse to do, who shall stay them from living like sauage beasts among men? So, that as euery one by dexterity of spirit, by doctrine and instruction, shall approach neerer to that perfection for which man was created of God, the more inclined, ready and armed he will be to commit all kind of malice and wickednesse. For how can he doe otherwise, when that secret of the schoole shall be disclosed vnto him, and when he shall learne, that whatsoever is here taught concerning religion, vertue and honesty amongst men, is but fained and inuented for the nonce to keepe men in feare? Surely this will cause him to let loose the raines to all licentiousnesse. Now what corruption of the spirit and mind of man is there comparable to this? or what will sooner turne it aside from that perfection in which the soueraigne & chiefe good of it consisteth? Therefore seeing the cause standeth thus, this opinion of theirs cannot be true, but overthroweth it selfe. For whatsoever corrupteth the spirit and turneth it from his perfection, is contrary to the nature thereof.

That which
corrupteth
the spirit is
contrary to the
nature of it.

Wherefore we must conclude, that it is far otherwise, & that this saying of theirs is as true as if one should say, that the perfecter a man is, the more he is vnperfect, the better he is, the worse he is: and the more truly he is man, the further off he is from the nature of a man, and more like to the nature of sauage beasts. Who then can doubt of the truth of the soules immortality after so great a multitude of arguments, and of so strong and so mighty witnesses, who fight in battell array, as it were a strong army, against them that vphold the contrarie? But we haue others no lesse worthy to be considered of, which we beare within our selues, and which are so common to all, that there is no man whatsoever, but he feeleth and perceiueth them, whether he will or no. Therefore it shall be good for vs to speake somewhat thereof also, to the end that the matter we haue in hand may be the better and more perfectly vnderstood, to the confusion of Epicures and Atheists: and that we may still acknowledge more and more the testimonies of the image of God in vs, and who we be, and what good or euill things are prepared for vs in the immortality of the second life, according as we shall be conformed and reformed to the will of God, or els as we shall be remooued from that image and giue credit to impiety and lies. Now it belongeth to thee, *ACHITOB*, to discourse of this matter.

Of those infernall testimonies, which all men carry within themselves, to conuince them that doubt of the immortality of the soule, and of the iudgement to come which shall be in eternall happines for the good, and perpetuall torment for the euill: how the very Heathen acknowledged as much by reason taken from the testimonies of nature. Chap. 96.

ACHI. The manifold miseries & scourges of Gods wrath wherewith me are daily oppressed, should minister vnto the iust occasio to think, how odious their sins & wickednes are

are to God, and that he will not leaue them unpunished, neither in this life nor in the life to come. For as he giueth to his children of his goodnes, and of those good things which hee hath prepared for them in another life, by the benefits which he communicateth vnto the in this: so he setteth before our eyes testimonies of his wrath and of his iudgement, and of those evils and torments which he hath prepared for the wicked in another life, by them wherewith he vseth to correct and punish them herein this world. But besides this, every one hath within himselfe testimonies either of eternall blessings or curses to come: which may easily conuince them that will not receiue the authority of the Scriptures, nor any natural reason to prooue the immortality of the soule. For they beare about them all their witnessses and their owne condemnation: and therefore it will be an easie matter to conuince them, although not to confound them. I say to conuince them, because a man is then conuinc'd, when he is compelled to acknowledge in his conscience, that hee hath no reason whereby hee is able to gain say and withstand the truth declared vnto him which condemneth him. But yet if he be obstinate, headstrong malicious and peruerse, he neuer ceaseth for all that to kick against the pricke, and to perseuere in his obstinacy and peeuish malice. For when reason faileth him, he armeth himselfe with impudency, like to a bold murderer, and to a shamelesse strumpet that cannot be made ashamed. But howsoeuer wicked men labour to blind their mind, and to harden their heart against the iudgement of God, yet the same is neuer declared vnto them, but they feelee themselves pricked & pressed therewith, wil they, nill they: not that it fareth with them as it doth with Gods children, who are touched therewith vnto repentance, but as *S. Paul* speaking of the wicked and obstinate, saith, that God hath given them a pricking spirit, because they haue a bitter heart, which stirreth them to whet themselves as it were more and more against God, and to despise him, when they feelee themselves pressed and vrged by his word and by his iudgements.

Now then God having created Angels and men, that they should know him and follow his will, gaue them a nature endued with vnderstanding, and hath set within them rules of iudgement, and of certen knowledge, which are vnto them as lawes in nature, and hath also placed in them the will with the affections, as ministers & practisers of those rules and lawes. This selfe same diuine prouidence hath appointed also that the affection of ioy should be naturally in men, which commeth vnto them by reason of some good which they receiue or looke for when they obey his lawes that commandeth them to do iust things, as contrariwise, he hath put in them the affection of sorrow and heauines to take vengeance of the rebellion against his lawes, & of the transgression of them. For as God hath decreed, that the nature of man should lead a ioyfull life, and should by this means of ioy be preserved in the knowledge of God his creator & in his obedience, & so rest in him: so also he hath appointed flames of wrath & griefe to destroy this nature, when it doth not conforme it selfe vnto the rule of his heavenly wisdom & will. Therefore we may wel say, that we cary about with vs, as it were our paradise and our Hell, & haue already in this world true beginnings of the both. For so long as we conforme our selues to God and follow his wisdom and wil, so that we submit our will to his, and desire not to be wise but in him and by him, nor iudge any thing good or euill, but according to his iudgement, neither will any thing but that which he willeth, and take no pleasure but in obeying & pleasing him, we cannot be thus affected towards him, but we shall receiue an vnspokeable ioy by that mutuall participation of loue which is between him and vs, and by that tast which we receiue thereby of his goodnesse, bounty, grace, and fauour towards vs, which is the toppes of all happinesse. For as the nature of men was created of God, to the end it might be conformable vnto him, so also it was ordained by him that it should liue, not to be extinguished and vndone through griefe, which is an euill that corrupteth and consumeth, as wel as diseases. Therefore if it were conformable to God, so that mens hearts agreed vnto reason and right iudgement, they should alwayes reioyce in well doing, both before and after the deed done: and so we should bee already as it were in Paradise. And although God be euery where in regard of his nature and diuine essence, which is infinite, neuerthelesse we meane according to the stile of the holy Scriptures, that he is properly and specially there, where he sheweth himselfe good, gracious, and fauourable. For this is more proper to his nature in regard of vs, and that which maketh him more louing and amiable to vs, and which is most necessary for vs, and in regard whereof he calleth himselfe properly our God and our Father. But as he kindleth the sparkles of loue in their hearts that are vpright and sincere, that loue and honour him, which worketh in them so great ioy and consolation, that all other ioy and pleasure are nothing

The difference
betwixt con-
uincing and
confounding
a man

Internal testi-
monies of the
immortality
of the soule.

The cause of
true ioy of
the spirit.

Where God
is said to be
especially.

The true cause
of griefe and
torment.

vnto them in respect of that: so contrariwise, if we turne aside and separate our selues from him, opposing our selues against his wisdom and wil, as rebellious subiects to their Prince, violating all his lawes and statutes, he kindleth in vs fire-brands of his wrath and furie, which work in vs extreame griefs, so that we cannot beare them, but are consumed by them. For in this corruption and peruerseness of nature, our heart burneth with the flames of this infernall fire with which it is kindled, and which strue against reason and right iudgement, even before it hath committed the fault: neither doth it feare afterwards to comit the same, how great and enormous soever it be. But forasmuch as it belongeth to the iustice of God, to destroy that nature which is disobedient vnto him, he hath established this order, namely, that sorrow and griefe (as it were the hangman) should punish and destroy them that are guilty, as criminall persons are punished by the appointment of iustice. Wherefore although wicked men are oftentimes blockish and lulled asleepe, and as it were void of all sense and feeling, so that they feele not this griefe to the quick, neuertheless, in the end it is throughly felt of them, so that it vtterly destroyeth them. For it is like to a fire which hauing beene covered or smothered, afterwards kindleth againe, and gathereth strength, when it is recovered and receiueth aire, if it haue matter whereupon it may worke. For besides that naturall griefe which hath this office, God addeth thereunto horrible feare and terror, where by he ouerwhelmeth the wicked, as if he thundred vpon them: so that euen here they feele their Hell, and the fire of Gods wrath taking hold of them, yea they carry about them their internall furies, which are vnto them in stead of Hangmen.

How men carry about them
the matter of
two fires.

Deut 4. 24.
Heb. 12. 29.
Esay 66. 24.
Mat. 23. 13.
& 25. 30.

Thus we may learne, how we may carry about with vs the matter of two fires, the one celestially and diuine, the other infernall and diuillish. Wherefore let vs consider well with our selues, which of them we had rather haue kindled in vs, and which we ought to desire most, either that which giueth vs both light and heat, and preserveth vs in the hope of true life: or else that which burneth and consumeth vs and doth wholly deprive vs of that life. Now surely they are very wretched, who desire not that which is most agreeable to their owne nature, and vtterly detest and abhor the other. For as we delight in the fire, because it giueth vs light and warmeth vs: so we feare greatly to be burned and consumed by it. Now both these sorts of fire we find in God. For he is a fire to giue light and warmeth to them that approach and draw neere vnto him, and desire to walke in his light, but contrariwise he is a consuming fire, ioyned with smoake and obscurity, to them who by rebellion and disobedience rush against him. For this cause the fire of hell and of Gods wrath, which is prepared for the diuell and for all the reprobate, is called eternall fire in the holy Scriptures, that is neuer put out: and the pains and torments of the damned are likewise called darknes without, where shalbe weeping and gnashing of teeth. And to the end we might know the nature of this fire the better, God hath put sparkles therof within vs. Wherefore we are only to consider what matter we bring to kindle and encrease either the one or the other, either for the preservation of our nature and life appointed vnto vs by God, or els for the overthrow and destruction therof. And by the sense and feeling, which we may haue hereof that ioy, gladnes and contentation, which the knowledge of God and obedience to his will bringeth to our hart, we may also iudge whether there be a paradise, and another life & other ioy besides this, which we receiue by corporall pleasures, as beasts doe. For this ioy that cometh to vs from such pleasures, is common to vs with them, and vsually it endeth in sorrow and sadnesse. But they haue no other that commeth vnto their soule, of which they may haue any apprehension as we haue. And by the same consideration, wee may also in some sort iudge of that happines in which we shall be in the other life, when this ioy shalbe perfect in vs wherof we haue here but a very smal tast, in respect of that we shal haue, when we shalbe fully reformed according to Gods image, so that both our vnderstanding, reason & wil shall be made conformable vnto him, because we shalbe wholly swallowed vp in his loue. Contrariwise if here we feele a Hell which we carry about vs, and which greatly tormenteth vs, after we haue offended the maiesty of God, especially when we haue committed some horrible crimes, this also is another argument wherby we may iudge whether there be not a Hell, & vengeance fro God to be executed vpon his enemies in another life. For that sorrow, which our crimes committed doe breed in our hearts, is within vs as a brand of this fire of Gods wrath, which is daily kindled in vs more & more. Wherefore if there be in vs already such vehement heate therof, when as yet the Lord doth kindle but a little the fire brands of his wrath in our hearts, how great shall it then be, when all his wrath shalbe set on fire? certainly they are very dul that do not well consider & vnderstand it. Now we haue heard heretofore

A sure argument in the
wicked of
their future
torment in
another life.

how

how the heathen Philosophers concluded the immortality of mans soule by the nature thereof, affirming that it is not created or compounded of corruptible matter, but is of a celestiall and diuine nature; by reason of that knowledge which it hath, not only of particular and corporall things, as the soule of beasts hath, but also of vniuersall and spirituall things, and namely, of God, of numbers, of order, of the difference between vertue and vice, and between honest and dishonest things. For the knowledge of all these things is so naturall to mens soules, that they are with in them, albeit they haue not receiued them from without, either by doctrine or instruction. Whereby a man may easily iudge, yea it followeth necessarily, that they are created of a more excellent nature then is that of the elements, of a nature that is incorruptible and perpetuall. Wherefore it is very euident, that this knowledge, thus naturall to mens soules, is a certaine testimony, that they are not borne at all aduenture, but are created by great art, and by a wonderfull providence of that diuine and eternall nature, by which they haue their being, namely God their Creatour, for which cause also the knowledge of him shineth in vs. So also we may well iudge, that God hath not in vaine placed in our nature the knowledge of the difference, that is between vertue and vice, between things honest & dishonest, and that griefe which is to take vengeance in vs of those vices & crimes of which we feele our selues guilty. And therefore the Heathen themselves concluded, that there was not only a diuine iustice and nature which discerned good men from euill, but also that there was another life after this, in which this iudgement should be made. For they considered what great torments the wicked feele in their heartes and conscience, after they haue committed horrible crimes; and that there is none so audacious and obdurate, not the greatest mocker and contemner of God and of his iudgments that can be, who can alwaies exempt himselfe from this colour and paine, notwithstanding he labour with all his might to the contrary. For there is alwaies a certaine secret vertue of Gods iustice, which goeth beyond them all, and euermore punisheth the wicked. Now it is certen, that these things come not thus to passe at all aduenture.

Naturall reasons to prove the immortality of mens soules.

In like manner it is not possible, that this knowledge which men haue to discern vertues from vices should be a casual thing, and come thus to passe at aduenture, without the certaine providence of God. For if it were so, that there were no punishment appointed for vices, and no more benefit or ioy prepared of God for the good then for the euill, it should follow that all this knowledge should be giuen to man in vaine. For it should doe him no more good then if he were without it as brute beasts are. Moreouer, seeing all the wicked are not punished in this life, it followeth necessarily, that there is another life wherein they shall be punished, and in which also God will acknowledge the iust, and cause them to enioy that good which he hath prepared for them. For God cannot be God, but he must be all good, all iust, and almightie. If he be good, he cannot hate the good or them that doe it, but loue them so, as that he cannot do otherwise. For how should he not loue his like? And as he cannot hate goodnes or good men, so he cannot loue euill, nor the wicked that follow after it, but hateth them necessarily as contrary to his nature. Now Loue is of that nature, that it cannot but desire and procure the good and honor of him whom it loueth: as contrariwise, hatred cannot but desire and procure the the hurt and dishonour of him whom it hateth. It followeth then necessarily, that God being good and iust, loueth good and iust men, desiring and procuring their honour and their good: and contrariwise, that hee hateth vniust and wicked men desiring and procuring their confusion and ruine. And if he haue this desire and this will, no doubt but he can easily and doth also execute the same, seeing hee is all iust and almightie. Truly this conclusion cannot seeme to be ill grounded, and those Heathen Philosophers, who thereupon haue concluded the immortality of soules, and the iudgement of God in another life, had good reason so to doe. For it is taken not only from the nature of man and from the image of God after which he was created, but also from the very nature of God. So that whosoever gain-saith the same, hath no more reason then if he said, that there is no God, and that God is not God, & that man is not man, & that he differed in nothing from a beast, neither God from the diuell. And so not onely all nature should be overthrowne, but God also, the authour and Creator thereof. For we see almost vsually, that the wickedst men haue the greatest honors in this world, & liue most at their ease, as we haue already shewed. If then there be a God, and any providence and iustice in him (now who can so much as think there is none, but he may also perswade himselfe with all that there is no world nor any creature, and that himselfe is not the same he is?) it must I say, of necessitie follow that if God be, there is also another life in which that iustice shalbe performed

The naturall knowledge of good and euill an argument of our immortality.

The nature of loue & hatred

The necessity of another life after this.

performed, which is not here executed, and in which both iust and vniust shall receiue every one the reward of his iustice or iniustice. For it is impossible, that God who is so good and so iust a nature, should create mankind in that sort, as if hee had created the best and iustest part thereof, onely to misery and wretchednes, and the worst to ioy and happinesse. Now continuing our discourse of those internal testimonies, which every one of vs beareth within him of the immortality of the soule, we will speake to morrow of conscience, which presseth men to stand in awe of God and of his iudgements. It is your part, *A S E R*, to intreate of this matter.

The end of the twelfth daies worke.

The thirteenth daies worke.

Of the testimonies which every one may take from his conscience: of that feare vnto which all men are naturally subject to prooue the immortality of the soule, and a iudgement of God vpon the iust and vniust: how that which the Atheists say, that feare causeth gods amongst men, serueth to overthrow their damnable opinion. Chap. 97.



A S E R. The wicked may flatter themselves, and labour as much as they list to rocke themselves asleepe in their impieties and horrible vices, yet they cannot preuaile so much, but they haue continually a warning peece ringing in their eare, and an Apparitour rapping at their doore without ceasing, so that they cannot alwayes sleepe at their ease. For that is ever true, which the Lord sayde to *Cain*, *Why art thou wroth? and why is thy countenance cast downe? If thou doe well, shalt thou not bee accepted? and if thou dost not well, sinne lyeth at the doore.*

Which is as much as if he had saide, that if *Cain* doth as *Abell* doth, hee shall bee receiued of God with that honour that hee is receiued, and shall goe with his face looking vpward: but if he doe otherwise, his sinne shall awake him well enough, and not suffer him to haue any rest in his conscience, but will so presse him, that he shall be as a man that lyeth alwayes in a portall, or neere vnto it: who can take no rest for any long season, by reason of commers & goers that goe in and out by it, or that knocke at it every houre to haue it opened. And therefore it is commonly said, that Repentance euer followeth after sinne. For, howsoever it may be slow in comming, yet it cannot be without great heauines and sorrow: which no vniust person can eschew, but he shall be sure to feele it very sharp & vehement. For he must needs feele & haue experience in himselfe, that of euill nothing but euill can befall him in the end, and that when he feeleth what euill sin bringeth vnto him, he cannot but be grieved that he hath committed it, and wish that the thing were, to do againe. Therefore every wicked man feeleth himselfe accused and condemned by his own conscience, which is a certen testimony vnto him, that there is a God and a iudge, whose iudgement he cannot auoid. But before we proceed in this discourse: it shalbe good for vs to know what conscience is properly.

We are then to know, that although sin hath greatly troubled the mind which God hath given vs, by the darknesse of error and ignorance wherewith it is filled, yet it could not so wholly blind it, but stil there remained in it some sparkles of that light of the knowledge of God, and of good & euill, which is naturally in men, & which is borne with them. This remnant that yet remaineth is commonly called by the Diuines *Sinterefsis*: which is taken from a Greek word, that signifieth as much as if we should say, *Preseruation*, whereby that remnant of the light and law of nature that remaineth in vs, is still preserved and kept in our soule after sin. And to this word *Sinterefsis* signifieth that knowledge of the Law which is borne with vs: and it is so called because it alwayes keepeth in man, yea in the most wicked that can be, an aduertisement or instruction, which telleth him what is right and iust, and that there is a iudgement

Gen. 4, 6, 7.

A similitude.

Sorrow euer followeth sin.

What conscience is.

Why it is called Sinterefsis.

iudgement of God. Some distinguish betwene *Syntereſis* and Conſcience, others take them both for one and the ſame thing, calling this *Syntereſis*, the very conſcience it ſelfe: where as others ſay it is the naturall iudgement, and ſome the light of our minde and ſpirit. The Philoſophers, who had ſome obſcure knowledge, ſaid that there are certaine *Anticipations* in our nature, by which they meant the ſelfe ſame thing in a manner. For by theſe *Anticipations* they vnderſtand thoſe principles of knowledge and naturall informations, which beeing as it were rules, wee haue not learned of any Maſters, neither by uſe or experience but wee haue drawne and receiued them from nature, whome God hath appointed in this reſpect to bee our miſtreſſe. For this cauſe the Philoſophers vſed this word *Anticipation*, or ſome other of the ſame ſignification in the language wherein they wrote, before wee receiue theſe naturall rules from nature, as from our mother, before wee receiue any other, either by learning of our maſters, by uſe, or by ſtudie. For to *Anticipate*, ſignifieth as much as to preuent and to take before it. is true, that theſe rules of nature are in greater number, and more certaine in ſome then in others: and ſo are poliſhed and encreaſed more by ſtudie, by uſe, by experience, and by exerciſe. Now by what name ſoeuer this light of our minde, and this naturall cenſure is called, by which we iudge what is right and iuſt, or otherwiſe, ſure it is, that of it owne nature it is alwaies carried to that which is true and good. And from hence cometh the approbation of vertues, and diſlike of vices, from which alſo the lawes and commandements of men touching manners doe afterwards flow, and ſo the conſcience that is within euery one, to the ende it may argue, reprove, and condemne him for his owne faults. So that there is no man but hee hath a Iudge within himſelfe, except he be altogether deſtroyed of ſenſe and humane vaderſtanding, and ſo beeing turned into a brute beaſt, committeth all vncleannelle euen with greedines, as Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh to the *Ephesians*. And although ſome men that are moſt forſaken of God fall ſometimes into this ſenſeleſſeſſe, yet it continueth not alwaies with them, but God afterwards rowſeth them vp well enough, and cauſeth them to apprehend and fee the rigour of his iudgements. For although nature were ſo put out and ſmothered in them, that no ſparkle of naturall light to reſiſt their iudgement, appeared in them, nor yet any flame of Gods wrath, which burneth the heart that is turned aſide from him, yet hee hath other meanes to kindle the ſame againe and to ſet it on flaming euen after ſuch a manner, that it amazeth them, as if it thunder downe vpon them. Therefore it ſaith with them as it doth with drunkards and frantike perſons, who know not whether they haue any ſoule or ſenſe, any minde or conſcience, ſo long as they are drunke & out of their wits, vntill ſuch time as they haue ſlept their full, and are reſtored againe to their right wits. So that howſoeuer this word *Conſcience* is vſed, it is properly a iudgement that is in our mind, whereby we approve that which is well done, & reprove the contrary. According then as our iudgement is vpright and ſound, or weake and corrupted, good or euill: ſo alſo haue we our conſcience either more right or more crooked. But as it cannot otherwiſe bee, but that they who haue eyes ſee the light, although they will not ſee it, or ſay they do not ſee it: ſo it cannot be but that the eyes of the minde beholdeth the naturall light that is in it, & thoſe things that are diſcovered vnto it thereby ſeeing it proceedeth from God, who is the fountaine of all light, and who will neuer ſuffer it to be ſo cleane extinguished in man, but that ſtill there remaineth ſufficient to condemne him withall. Therefore the very Heathen could ſay, that a wicked perſon could neuer be abſolved by himſelfe, nor yet eſcape and flee from his owne iudgement and condemnation, he being iudge of himſelfe. So that although the wicked and vniuſt, oftentimes eſcape the iudgement of men, yet they can neuer ſaue themſelues from their owne iudgement, which their conſcience alwaies executeth after the perfection of their proceſſe. For it exerciſeth foure offices againſt them. The firſt is, the office of an accuſer: the ſecond, of a witneſſe, & ſo it is as good as a thouſand, as we uſe to ſpeak: the third of a iudge, the fourth, of an executioner and hangman. For ſeeing the iudgement of the conſcience is ordained & eſtabliſhed by God from heaven, in that which is well done there alwaies followeth ſo it, tranquillitie, reſt, and ioy of heart: and in that which is wickedly done, dolour and torment, which puniſheth the offence & taketh vengeance of him that hath committed it. Hereof it is that none liue in greater feare, then the greateſt contemners of God, that are moſt giuen over to all kinds of vice and wickednes, and who declare moſt evidently by their works, that no feare of God or of his iudgements holdeth them in. For as they liue as if they carried death alwaies in their boſome, how good a face ſoeuer they ſet vpon the matter outwardly. And becauſe they caſt all feare of God farre from them, hee

Of the Philoſophers Anticipations.

Ephel. 4. 19.

Atheiſts compared to drunkards and mad folkes.

A ſit ſimilitude.

The wicked alwaies condemne themſelues.

Foure offices of the conſcience.

The more wicked a man is the greater is his feare.

The Deity
proued by
that feare
which is natu-
rally in men.

vouchsafe them not the honour to giue them a hart to feare him, as they ought, but he be-
teth downe their pride in such sort, that he causeth them to stand in feare not onely of
men, of tempests, of thunders and of lightnings, but he terrifieth them also by dreames, and
maketh them to tremble at their owne fancies, yea they quake oftentimes at flies, and
mice, and such contemptible things: but yet so as this feare commeth from a higher cause.
For it is sent of God who thus derideth his aduersaries, making himselfe terrible in his crea-
tures to them that know him not, neither feare him as their Creator and the Creator of
those his creatures. I say then, that although we had no other testimony in vs of any God,
or of any diuinity and diuine nature, & so consequently of his iudgement in a second life, yet
this ought to suffice vs, that cometh from feare, which is a naturall perturbation in man, as
we haue heard. For whosoever feareth, declareth plainly thereby that there must of necessity
be some power aboue him that is able to hurt him. For he that is assuredly perswaded that
nothing can hurt him, is voide of feare.

The greatest
persons liue
in most feare.

Now there is no humane power, or creature whatsoever it be, that is able to deliuer man
from all feare, no not the greatest Emperours, Kings, and Princes themselves, who are most
feared and redoubted, and who cause all men to tremble vnder them, beeing as it were ter-
restrial Gods amongst other men. Nay these men themselves are so farre from being deli-
uered from all feare and terrour, that very seldome any liue in greater feare then they do, as
they declare plainly in that they must alwaies haue a great garde of men about them, and
yet cannot euer auoide those dangers which they feare. For it often commeth to passe, that
they are slaine, either by poison or sworde, or by some other kind of violent death, and that
by such as should haue kept them, or whom they trusted most, as is to be seene by daily ex-
perience. But albeit there were no other feare then the feare of death, which is commonly
greatest in the wicked, & which they cannot finally auoide, yet they cannot but liue alwaies
in feare. And liuing so, they must acknowledge wil they nil they, that there is some other po-
wer greater then their own, which causeth the to feare, & before which they must one day
appeare. For if it were otherwise, why should they feare? Now whilest we seeke this power,
wee must of necessity come to one soueraigne power, vnder which all other principalities
are ranged, & which hath no other aboue it selfe. And being come thereunto, we must with-
all conclude that this power cannot be humane, but must needs be diuine, & so consequent-
ly eternall & infinite: or at leastwise they must confesse, that they cannot comprehend this
power. This being so, I thinke we may fight against the Atheists with the same reason wher-
by they would perswade themselves, that there is neither God nor Diuinity, but only in the
opinion and fantasie of men: and that their feare, vnto which they are alwaies subiect, hath
put this opinion of God into their heades. Therefore they alleadge that which a Heathen
Poet sayd, agreeable to this opinion of the Epicures, namely, that *feare was the first that made
Gods in the worlde*. For men being possessed therewith, and not finding such helpe amongst
all the creatures, as can deliuer them from all those dangers which they feare, they must
seeke for an other without the creatures, which can not but be a diuine power, if there bee
any at all, as in truth there is. Whereupon if the Epicures and Atheists will giue no credite,
I wold faine know of them, what is the cause of this terrour and feare which is of such vertue
and power in the hearts of all, that no creature whatsoever, being partaker of reason & vnder-
standing, can go beyond it, or is able to plucke it wholly out of his heart, & vtterly to ex-
tinguish it: as every one feeleth by experience in himselfe, and as these men of whome wee
speake, confesse by their owne sayings. Therefore I can hope for no better from them in
defence of their impiety, but that they should stirre maliciously against the testimonies of
their owne conscience.

The differ-
ence betwixt
the feare in
men and in
beasts.

We say then that feare is not without a speciall providence of GOD giuen to men after
an other manner then vnto beastes who indeede haue some feare put in them, to the end to
keepe themselves from hurtfull things before they take and vse them: but this apprehension
of theirs goeth not beyond the euills which may befall them in this life, as that doth in men
which reacheth a great deale further. For they that haue committed some horrible crime,
cannot bee without feare although they did it so secretly that no body could come to the
knowledge of it, or else were so mighty and powerfull, that they stood not in awe of any
humane power whatsoever. Now if they that haue not this authority and assurance should
reply vpon me, that they are afraid least men should come to the knowledge of the fact com-
mitted by them and so they should be punished, I demand of them from whence this feare
commeth, but from an apprehension which (will they, nil they) is in them, and proceedeth
from

from a certaine sense and feeling of nature, which causeth them to feare that their offence shall be discovered by some other means then humane? As if nature testified vnto them, that there is some diuine providence and vengeance, which watcheth ouer offences, and discloseth them how secret soeuer they are, and causeth them to be punished. As experience teacheth in many, whose secret crimes haue bin discovered by wonderfull & incredible means so that all men are astonished at it, and are constrained to confesse, that there is a diuine iustice, which will not suffer horrible facts to remaine alwaies hid & unpunished. Therefore how secret & close soeuer they carry the matter, this diuine iustice rappeth continually at the doore of their conscience, as it were an Apparitor or sergeant, calling the to iudgement: so that whether they will no no, they must alwaies liue in feare. And this also hath beene the cause that hath alwaies induced me (I speak not of *Atheists*, who are brute beasts & not men to seeke after some power out of their own nature, & aboue all creatures, to gard and defend the from the euill which they feare. For notwithstanding their diuersity of opinions touching the diuine nature, all with one consent from time to time haue euermore yeelded publicke and constant testimony, that there is some diuine essence and power, that can helpe or hurt them. Whereupon it followeth, that they cannot be without feare of it, or else not without some hope, that by the helpe thereof they shall be kept from the euill which they feare and obtaine that good which they desire. Wherefore if Epicures and Atheists say, that feare was the first shop in which the Gods were forged and made in the world, I will take their saying against themselves. For thereby they are compelled at least to confesse, that feare hath constrained men from time to time to seeke after some God: and that the same is a publicke testimony of nature, which hath caused them to lift vp the eyes of their minde beyond the reach of brute beasts, and forced them to thinke that there is some diuine power and nature. And by the same reason also they may learne, that this is no light fancy & vaine opinion entred into the braine of man, but a naturall, firme, and constant motion and knowledge, which no age of man could euer abolish, nor any thing else in the world. Yea this hath bin daily confirmed in them more & more, and shal be continually, notwithstanding these swinish Epicures grunt in their sties, and these dogged Atheists barke against God and his providence, against his iudgement and the immortalitie of soules, which is the principall foundation of religion, and the establishment and preservation of humane society.

Strong reasons against Atheists.

Feare is a natural testimony of diuine essence.

Now then after so great a multitude of strong arguments and powerfull testimonies, which like a mighty army fight in battell aray to maintaine the truth of the soules immortality, who can doubt thereof in any wise? Let them that vphold the contrary bring forth their arguments and testimonies against ours and place them in the front of the battell, as it were army against army, that all may know on which side not onely the number, but the strength also is the greatest. For the greatnesse of the number would do small good vnles strength also were ioyned therunto. For we must not so much reckon as waigh the sentences, nor consider so much how many men affirme a thing, as what manner of persons they are and of what waight their testimony is, as also what they affirme, & with what reasons. If we fall into this consideration, I doubt not but that every way the advantage will bee on our side for the truth: namely, in regard of multitude, authoritie, nature, reason, and which is more, the testimonie of God, who alone is sufficient. Now to the end that this may be well knowne vnto vs, let vs heare, *AMANA*, the best arguments that our aduersaries can bring for the ground of their error.

Whether Epicures and Atheists be reasonable beasts, yea or no: and what reasons they bring to overthrow the immortality of the soule: of the false opinion of Pliny touching the same, and of his friuolous and brutish reasons to this purpose: of the brutish conclusion, vnbecoming the whole race of mankind, which hee maketh of this matter, and of the iudgement of God vpon him. Chap. 98.

A*MANA*. Many men by reason of their ignorance in the Latine tongue, thinke that *Animal* is a beast, whereas it signifieth a liuing creature, and comprehendeth vnder it as well men as beasts, euen every creature endued with a liuing soule. And therefore when they would shew the difference that is betweene men and beasts, they take the contrary species or kinde for the whole, and say that a man is a reasonable beast not considering that they

What this word *Animal* signifieth.

speake

Atheists are
reasonable
beastes.

speake contraries. For there is as great difference betweene a beast and reasonable, as betweene a man and brutish, or brutishnes. For seeing it is the naturall property of every beast of what kind soeuer it bee, to bee brutish, it cannot bee that any should be reasonable, except peraduenture Epicures and Atheists will say that they be such beasts. And indeede they should haue wrong offered them, to be reckoned among men, seeing they doe voluntarily make themselves brutish. If then they will not confesse, that they are beasts altogether vncapable of reason, I demand of them whether they bee reasonable beastes, and whether they will argue this matter whereof wee intreat, with reasons or no, seeing they will not rest in the iudgement of humane reason, and of naturall Philosophie, and seeing all the holy Scriptures, holy Doctours, wise Ancients, and most notable personages, seeme vnto them to be no better then toyes and fables. Let vs come then to the reasons of these vnreasonable beasts without reason.

Atheists fitly
resembled to
Spiders,

Is there any point in all humane Philosophie that is better grounded and laded vpon so strong, firme, and well concluding reasons, and that hath more or so many reasons as this, whereof we dispute at this present? How many things doe these fellowes beleue according to naturall Philosophie, for which they haue not so many nor so euident reasons? And how many things should be doubted of, except so many arguments could be brought for their prooffe and confirmation, as we haue alleadged, and as might yet be found out for their matter. Now what can they alleadge on the contrary side? For if they beleue nothing but what they see, and whereof they haue experience, I demand of them, how many thinges there are in humane philosophie whereof they are thoroughly resolued, and yet haue no experience at all in them neither can haue any certainty, but onely as they giue credit to such as haue written of them, who yet are deceiued themselves oftentimes, and so haue deceiued others? And yet they are not so hardly brought to beleue their reasons, as to giue credit to them that maintaine the immortalitie of soules, which is a matter of so great consequence and waight. And as Spiders turne into poison the sweetest liquors they sucke, so they maliciously gather the reasons, testimonies and places, not onely of Poets, Philosophers, and others, but also of the holy Scriptures, which they thinke will serue to confirme them daily more and more in their errors, and in their false and wicked opinions, how little likelihood soeuer they seeme to haue, and how slenderly soeuer they make for them. In the meane season they dissemble and make shew that they see not all the other reasons that fight directly against them, which being in number infinite, are so cleere and so certaine, as nothing can be more. There are many of them that haue no other reason but their opinion, who can alleadge no other thing but this. It is not so, or, I beleue it not, or, I doubt of it, or, Peraduenture it is otherwise. And in truth none of them all in a manner haue any reasons of greater shew, or that can vrge them that haue neuer so little iudgement, as we may easily iudge by the examination of one of their cheife Masters and strong pillars, I meane *Pliny*, by whome we may iudge of all the rest. For if he, who is so much esteemed among them, shewed himselfe to be such a grosse & blockish beast, & so far froe reason in that which he wrot touching this matter, a man may soone guesse what can be in the others, who are no body in respect of him, or at leastwise haue not gotten so great credite & authoritie. But let vs heare the reasons of this venerable Doctor. First, he derideth all that men haue spoken or written of the being of soules after the death of the bodies, accompting all this to be but toyes & dreames and then he propoundeth his resolution, that there remaineth no more of a man after his corporall death, then there was of him before hee was conceived and borne.

Plinies brutish
opinion
touching the
immortalitie
of the soule.

Plato his opinion
of the
creation of
soules.

After that he laugheth at the vanity of men in that they are so foolish as at the very time of their death voluntarily to flatter and beguile themselves, in promising to themselves life even after life: some by the immortality of the soule, others by the transfiguration thereof, & a third sort by attributing sente to the dead and by honouring their soules, and making a god of that, which hauing bin a man, is now nothing at all. I maruaile not if *Pliny* mocked at many foolish opinions that were among the Heathen touching this matter, and namely, the fooleries of the Pythagoreans and Platonists, which I doubt not but he meant by the transfiguration of soules, whereof he maketh mention. For *Plato* was so far from yeelding that the soule of man was mortall, that he will not confesse the soule of beastes to be so, because according to his opinion of the creation of soules, he thinketh that there is but one kinde of soule for all sorts of bodies that haue life, and that soules passe and repasse from one to another, as we heard, vntill that being well purged they come to the place of the blessed. Likewise this authour of the naturall history had reason to deride the folly and vanity of men

against the immortality of the soule. 625

in deifying them that died, and in making them immortall gods that had beene before but mortall men. But from these fond opinions he had no reason to conclude, that if soules did not passe and repasse from bodies to bodies, and if men could not become gods after their death, therefore they ceased to be men any longer, and nothing remained of them but their ashes, so that their soules also perished as well as their bodies. But what reasons hath hee to vphold this conclusion? For the first he alleageth, that men breath not otherwise then beasts doe, because he seeth nothing of the soule of either of them, & goeth no further then to the externall senses, as if the soule of men as well as of beasts were nothing else but a breath. Whereby, we see what a grosse beast he sheweth himselfe to be: we may say the same of him, in that he requireth both the internal and externall senses after the death of a man, & the same offices, which the soule performed in the body when it dwelled therein, concluding that without these things there could be no good for man after death. Then he taketh this for another argument, that there are many other things in the world, which liue a great deale longer then man doth, & yet we attribute no immortality vnto the. After, he demaundeth whether man goeth after death, what lodging he hath, and what a multitude of soules there should be in the world frō the time it hath bin a world, if al they should liue that haue bin & so cōcludeth that they should be but as it were so many shadowes. We haue sufficiently answered all these goodly argumētts before, when we spake of brutish men, who rest only in the witnes of their senses, & goe no further then beasts doe. Besides, what an argumēt is that for so great a man, to say that we attribute not immortality to many things that outliue mē, & therefore why should we rather beleue it of mens soules? There are not only many beasts, whose life is longer then the life of men, but also many trees, and therefore we must aske of man, why we should thinke that he is rather capable of reason, & more excellent then other creatures are, and that he hath a soule of an other nature & more noble then they? But I will further vrge these arguments against himselfe, according as wee made answere to the complaint of some Philosophers, who accused nature because she had granted longer life to many beasts then to men, seeing it was so necessary for them. For seeing Nature hath endued man with so many goodly gifts and so excellent, wherewith she hath not adorned beastes, certainly she should be a stepmother, and no true mother, or if shee were a mother yet shee should be a very cruell mother, if she had giuen longer life to beasts then to men, & had not reserued a better and a longer for them. But this reason would not greatly moue *Pliny*, who is the man himselfe, that gaue these goodly titles to nature, vnder which name, he blasphemed God whom he knew not. Neuerthelesse this argument will be of force with them that waigh it aright, considering the prouidence and goodnesse of God towards mankind. He addeth further, that this fantastickall opinion is entred into mens braines, because they would neuer faile but be eternal. But this pretended reason is so far from confirming his opinion, that contrariwise it greatly weakeneth the same, in that it agreeth with the argument for the immortallitie of soules, that was taken from this naturall desire which God hath not giuen to men in vaine, as hath bin shewed vnto vs by good reasons. Moreover he iudgeth it great follie to keepe bodies in hope that they shall liue & rise againe, according to the vaine promise of the Philosopher *Democritus*, who did not rise againe himselfe. But I maruell not if *Pliny* spake so of the resurrection of bodies, seeing he held that opinion of the mortalitie of soules: and seeing those Philosophers who mainrained the immortallitie of soules, did not so much as once dreame of the resurrection of bodies, except this *Democritus* only, at whom I much more wonder, then at al this which *Pliny* writeth of the mortality of soules. For it seemeth that *Democritus* could not learne this of reason & of natural philosophy, vnles it were so that he builded his doctrine vpon the same foundation that he tooke from his Mootes concerning the matter of which all things are made. For according to this opinion hee taught, that all the essences that ever were, should in time haue their beeing againe by the meeting together of those matters, of which they had bin compounded. Surely a very fond opinion for a Philosopher, so that *Pliny* may well deride it, although the argumēt he maketh against himselfe is not strong enough to ouerthrow his imaginatiō. For he would haue had *Democritus* to haue confirmed his opinion by his owne resurrection. But his Philosophy did not insinuate so much that it should haue bin done so quickly, but after the reuolution of many Ages, which *Pliny* should haue staied for before he could haue euicted *Democritus* of his foolish opinion, if he had no better argument to ouerthrow it. Now if this Philosopher did not lay this ground for his opiniō which I haue mentioned, I would haue thought that he might haue vnderstoode the same by some speech come to his eares, of the doctrine

Plinies reasons against the immortality of the soule.

Plin, lib. 7. 50. 55.

Plinie blasphemed God vnder the name of Nature.

Democritus beleued the resurrection of bodies.

What Philo-
sophers went
into Egypt to
learne wise-
dome.

of the holy Patriarkes and of the Hebrews touching this matter, by means of the *Egyptians* amongst whom those good Fathers long dwelt, because they that wrote the lives of the Philosophers, put Democritus in the number of them that descended into *Egypt* to learne the wisdom of that people, as *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, *Orpheus*, *Socrates* & *Pherecydes* with others, did the same. But let vs returne to *Pliny* and heare his other reasons such as they be.

He accounteth it great folly in men to thinke, that by death a man may enter into a second life: & thereupon breaketh forth into an exclamation, as if men were out of their wits so to thinke. But he would have found it no lesse impossible that generatio should come of corruption, & that of seed, which is but as it were a little slime, a man could be engendred, or a beast, if experience had not taught the same. And because he hath not seen a soule liue after the death of the body, nor a dead man risen againe, therefore he concludeth, that there is neither mortality of the soule nor resurrection of the body. But we may call to minde that which was vttered to this purpose, when we spake of the similitude that is betweene our first & second birth. I omit that which he saith of the rest and quietnesse taken away for euer from men that are borne, if that diuision of the soule separated from the body which some Hea-then Philosophers made, should take place, namely, when they so diuided it, that the sense of soules remained aboue, and their shadowes beneath among the dead: for all this is but fopperie. Neuerthelesse the argument taken from the common consent of men touching the immortality of soules remaineth still, and is confirmed euen by *Pliny* himselfe in this place, although peraduenture he neuer thought it.

The conclusi-
on of *Pliny*
touching this
matter.

Let vs then come to the finall conclusion which he maketh of this whole matter. Hee calleth it deceit of wordes, and foolish credulitie, whatsoeuer men speake or beleue of their immortality, & accompteth it as a poison that destroyeth the chief good of Nature, which as he saith is death, adding further that by this means death shall be doubted, or (as soe read it) the griefe of him that is to die shall be doubled, when he shall thinke vpō that which is to come. For if it be a sweete & pleasant thing to liue, to whom can it be pleasant to thinke that he did once liue? Therefore he setteth this down for his last resolution, that it is more easie and certaine for euery one to beleue himselfe and that whereof he hath experience in him- selfe, then to trust any other: and to fetch his assurance from that which a man was before he was borne. Thus we see how he laboureth to perswade, that no man can be blessed in the life to come, because the chief good thing he can haue in nature is taken from him, except hee be wholly like to beastes in his death, and except hee beleue that there remaineth no more of him after death, then there was before his conception and natiuity. And to confirme and assure himselfe in this opinion, hee would haue euery one to fetch an argument and prooffe hereoffrom the similitude of that estate in which hee was before hee was conceived or borne, to compare it with that which followeth his death that a man may iudge of the one by the other. But what reason is in this? For is there the same reason from not being to being, that is from being to not being? We knowe well how man is come from not being to being, but can wee hereby bee so assured, that he shall bee no more after hee hath beene, as wee know he hath beene after a time wherein he was not? And whereas he would haue vs giue more credite to our owne experience in our death, then to all that can be saide by others, I would demande of him what that is of which we haue experience, and whether we ought to conclude, that wee die wholly as beastes doe, because to the sense of man we see no difference betwixt their deaths and the death of man. It seemeth this is his meaning.

The iudge-
ment of God
in *Plinies*
death.
Plin. Nep.
epi. ad. Oct.
Tac.

But as they of his coate aske who euer came from the dead, to testifie that soules are immortal, so we may aske of him, who euer returned frō thence, to assure vs of that which euery one may haue experience of in his death, & whether they perceined themselves to be altogether like to beastes after the same. For they can haue no more certaine testimony of this by their senses, then they haue of the other point. Also I would gladly aske of him how hee found himselfe, when he was choked neere to the mountaine *Vesunius* with smoake, & with the smell of brimstone issuing out of the same: and what consolation hee found in death, which he saith is the greatest good of Nature. Whereby he shewed how smally hee had profited in the knowledge of God the creator of Nature, by the contēplation of his works therein. No maruaile thē if knowing him no better, he called her stepmother & cruel mother, seeing that according to his Philosophy, the greatest good which she bringeth to mē, is death: & seeing she neuer doth thē better turne, then when he bringeth thē back againe to that estate in which they were before they were cōceiued or borne into the world. According to which

which conclusion, a man may well approve of that desperate sentence of theirs who affirm resolutely, that it were good for men, either never to be borne, or to die presently after their birth. So that the first and chiefest benefit of nature should be, never to be borne; and the second, to be borne before the time, or to be as soone dead as borne.

Moreover, it should follow by *Plinies* Philosophy, that nature had made men with such a condition, that they cannot but be miserable, if they live after this life, and if death doe not wholly destroy them; and if they be not resolutely perswaded of this to have no hope at all of another life. For that which he saith importeth as much. Is not this then a goodly resolution and conclusion of so great a searcher of nature, whereof he hath written the history? With what eyes did he looke vpon all that which he might have seene? How much differed they from the eyes of beasts? and what profit reaped he by that knowledge which he might have more then they? In truth we have in this man a wonderful example of Gods iudgement vpon the learned and wise men of this world, who so vilely abuse that reason, knowledge, & vnderstanding which God hath giuen them. And forasmuch as this dog was permitted to vomit out such horrible blasphemies, both against God and against nature, and yet receiued no punishment for the same from man, therefore God himselfe tooke vengeance of him by smoke, whereby he was choaked to death. For seeing he esteemed the soule to be no better then a little winde or breath, he deserued well to loose the same in the midst of smoke and brimstone. But we haue spoken enough of him. Now you may, *ARAM*, tell vs some more lies rather then reasons, wherewith Atheists fortifie themselves against the truth of this matter we haue in hand, and how we ought to consider of the iudgements of God vpon them.

The absurd
consequents
of *Plinies*
opinion.

*Of them who say, that we cannot know by the light of nature but that the soule is mortall:
of them that alledge a place of Salomon against the immortalitie of the soule: how
we ought to consider of the iudgements of God vpon Epicures and Atheists:
how the absurdities, which follow their doctrine, declare plainely the
grossenesse of it: of the force of those arguments that were
produced before for the immortalitie of the
soule. Chap. 99.*

A*RAM*. It is a great matter when men iudge of things, not according to reason, but according to their affections: because then their eares are closed vp against all reasons, as we haue the example of the Iewes, who were the enemies of Iesus Christ. For after they had once resolved not to acknowledge him, neither to receiue him for the true Anointed of the Lord, but to reiect and condemne him with all his doctrine and workes, no reason was euer sufficient to remoue them from thir theis purpose. But to confirme them in their obstinacie there needed no great arguments, no not in shew, as it appeareth in that difficulty of theirs to beleue his resurrectio. For neither all these witnesses of which they had so great a number, nor all their doctrine, nor all their holinesse, nor all their signes and miracles, were of any force with them in regard of that testimonie, which the theeuish and murdering Souldiers corrupted with money gaue them to the contrary, and that by a lowde lye which overthrew it selfe.

Mat. 28. 12,
13.

Therefore we may easily iudge what the minde of man is, when it is corrupted and perverted, and when men suffer themselves to be carried away with their euill and froward affections, so that God doth euen blindfold and forsake them. We see many such examples in this matter, which we now handle touching the immortality of the soule. For on the contrary side, what are the strongest reasons, which these doggish Epicures and Atheists, enemies to God, to mankinde, and to all nature, against whom we now dispute, can alledge for themselves? What would they doe if they had as much against vs, as we haue against them? How would they lift vp themselves against those that maintaine the contrary, and tread them vnder their feet? We heard in the former speech the strongest arguments vpon which their error leaneth, whereby we may know what a bad foundation it hath. O, there are who say, that in the light of faith the soule is immortal, but in the light of nature it is mortall, so that whilest they would seeme Philosophers, they shew themselves to be ignorant and grosse beasts. For there is but one onely truth both of nature and of faith,

Against them
who say that
the Soule can
not be known
to be immor-
tall according
to nature.

truth neuer being double, but alwaies one. Therefore if the soule be immortall in the light of faith, it cannot be mortall in the light of nature, but onely in the darkenesse thereof.

For we see how this small remnant of naturall light, that yet remaineth in the corrupt nature of men, sendeth them with one common & publike consent to this truth of the immortallitie of mens soules: so that none, besides those in whom it is as it were vtterly put out, and whom God hath by his iudgement wholly reiected and cast into a reprobate sense, but acknowledge the same. How then would this light of nature shew it selfe, if it had still continued in integritie? Therefore I demand of these men, what it is which they call naturall light, and whether it be not the reason of man: and if it be that reason whereby men differ from beasts, I aske againe of them, whether any thing that may be knowne by arguments and reasons, although they were all gathered together, and examined narrowly hath greater and more euident light of reason then this hath. Neuerthelesse I agree with them herein that the light of faith maketh vs a great deale more certaine of all this matter then any reason that can be alleadged: because that is the light of Gods Spirit, which illuminateth the eies of the minde a great deale more clearly then any naturall light can do, as being grounded vpon the testimony of God himselfe. Some also there are, who perswade

Of them that
alleadge Sa-
lomon a-
gainst the im-
mortality of
the soule.
Ecclef. 3. 18.
19; 20, 21.

themselves, that *Salomon* putteth no difference between the soule of men and of beasts, and that hee doth not affirme, that one of them is more or lesse mortall or immortall then the other. *I considered in mine heart (saith the Wise man) the state of the children of men that God had purged them: yet to see to, they are in themselves as beasts. For the condition of the children of men, and the condition of beasts are euen as one condition vnto them. As the one dieth, so dieth the other: for they haue all one breath, and there is no excellency of man above the beast: for all is vanity. All goe to one place, and all was of the dust, and all shall returne to the dust, who knoweth whether the spirit of man ascend upward, and the spirit of the beast descend downward to the earth? But they are greatly deceiued that thinke to defend their impiety by this saying of Salomon. For it is most certaine, that his meaning is not to conclude that it is so indeed, as he speaketh in that place: as it appeareth manifestly by his final resolution in the same Booke made of the matter he hath in hand; wherein he concludeth touching the body of man, that dust returneth to the earth as it was, and that the spirit returneth to God that gaue it.* Now wee man well thinke, that this excellent man, or rather the Spirit of God which spake by him, would not contradict himselfe, especially in the very same Booke. Wherefore we must rest in the conclusion he maketh therein, in which he giueth vs the meaning of all his former speach. And as for the place alleadged by vs, which, as Epicures and Atheists thinke, maketh for them, hee would giue vs to vnderstand thereby, what a man may iudge of the life and soule both of men and beasts, and of the difference betweenethem, according to that we see and perceiue by our corporall senses, and that may be comprehended by the minde and reason of man, if we haue no other testimony that looketh beyond this life, in which these dogs and hogs, and all carnall and brutish men stay themselves. For if there remained no more of man after his death then there doth of a beast, both the one and the other would come to one passe. Nay, the life of man should bee so farre from happinesse, that it would bee a great great deale more miserable then that of beasts. So that it should seeme to bee better for men to passe away the time merrily, and to liue like beasts, according to the Philosophy of Epicures. And although they should take this course, yet in the end all would be but vanity, according to *Salomons* theame, which he handleth in his Booke of the Preacher. There fore being to set the conclusion of his booke, he saith, *Remember now thy Creator in the daies of thy youth, whiles the euill daies come not, nor the yeares approach, wherein thou shalt say I haue no pleasure in them.* Now if there were no difference betweene the soule of men and the soule of beasts, both which the Prophet calleth by the name of Spirit, taking spirit for soule, what profit should men reape by this instruction and exhortation? For what greater benefit could he look for, who from his youth had giuen ouer himself to the seruice of God, and had alwaies remembred him, then he that forgate him and turned himselfe away from him? Thus yee see how Epicures and Atheists feare not to prophane the holy Scriptures, by snatching at some places of them very maliciously, to the end to set some colour vpon their damnable opinion against the immortality of the soule. But wee see what a goodly bulwarke they are able to make, euen all one with the rest of the arguments, which wee haue already heard of the same matter. And although they alleadge heere in defence of their cause, *Lucian* and *Lucretius*, two other Patriarcks and Patrons beside *Pliny*, whom they accompt as principall pillars of their impiety, yet wee can heare from them no other arguments

Ecclef. 12. 7.

Chap. 12. 1.

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arguments worthy to be so much as once thought vpon, besides those which wee haue already handled. But we may obserue the like iudgement of God vpon them, that was vpon *Pliny* the great searcher of Nature. For *Lucian*, according as *Suidas* testifieth, was torne in pieces and eaten of dogs: and *Lucretius* being madde and frantike slew himselfe. For hauing abused so vilely that good wit and skill, which God had giuen him, did hee not worthily deserue to loose it vtterly, and to haue lesse of it then brut beasts? Hee became so brutish, that hee would not acknowledge, that any either God or man had brought so great a benefit to the whole race of mankinde, or that was for this cause more worthy of greater praise then *Epicurus* was, because by his Philosophy and doctrine hee abolished all diuine providence, and so consequently, all Diuinity and immortality of the soule, all hope of an other life, all Religion and conscience, all difference betweene vertue and vice, betweene honest and dishonest things, and reduced all nature both Diuine and Humane, into meere brutishnes. This beastly fellow thus admiring *Epicurus* concludeth, that men cannot but be wretched and miserable all their life time, so long as they haue any opinion of all these things, because they will hold them in continuall feare, and so consequently in perpetuall torment: but being dispossessed of all such thoughts, and so of all feare of God, it will follow thereupon, that they shall haue no more conscience to resist or gainsay them, whatsoeuer they thinke, speake, or doe. And so their conscience shall not torment them with any feare and terror, especially of any iudgement of God, but will suffer them to be in quiet, and not hinder in any respect their carnall pleasures and brutish affections.

The iudgement of God vpon *Lucian* and *Lucretius* two Arch Atheists. *Euseb. Hier. Crin. de Po. Lat.*

The doctrine of *Epicurus* commended by *Lucretius*.

Now when they are come to this point, they accompt themselves happy. For then they all of them, not only as Kings and Princes, but euen as it were gods, feare no other power aboue themselves, and hauing no body to hinder their pleasure, but that they may freely follow their one hearts lusts. So that the last and best conclusion of all this Philosophy will be this, that men cannot be happy except they become very beasts, and being spoiled of all things wherein they excell them, waxe altogether brutish and retaine nothing at all of mans nature, but onely the outward shape of man. Therefore we may iudge by the examples of these personages of so great skill, and so highly esteemed among men, what man can do by his naturall light, if it be not guided by God but vtterly forsaken of him: seeing those selfe same men who haue beene such great inquisitors and admirers of nature, haue fallen into execrable beastlinesse, and such horrible blasphemies, as in a manner to say, that God or Nature had brought men into the world, onely to make them more miserable and more wretched then all other creatures: so that they can finde no better happinesse and felicity for themselves, then during their life to become like to beasts, or plants, or some other insensible creatures: or else after their death to be brought to nothing, as they were before their conception & birth. Is it possible for a man to thinke of a stranger thing, more against God, more vnworthy mankinde, or more iniurious to all nature? For the Atheists themselves that reiect God, do yet confesse if they be Philosophers, that nature doth nothing without cause: or if they confesse it not, they haue testimonies enow in nature to conuince them of it. And yet if their doctrine were true, God and nature haue done worse in the creation and production of men, then to doe something without cause. For this were a cause most vnworthy of God and of nature, to create and bring forth men into the world onely for this cause and to this end, that they should be more miserable and more wretched then all other creatures: and to make mankinde onely to beholde in him the perfection of all misery and unhappinesse, as though God and Nature tooke pleasure in beholding such cruell pastime, as is the view of mans miseries in such a cursed estate. Wherefore seeing al the doctrine & Philosophy of these dogs bringeth with it so many, so strange, so beastlike, & so horrible absurdities, euen once to thinke of them, being so vnbecoming God, all mankind & whole nature, & so contrary to al the testimonies, which the whole world affordeth vnto vs in the behalfe of Gods eternall providence over all his creatures, I thinke there is no body, except he bee as brutish as the Authours and Teachers of such kinde of Philosophy and doctrine, but he can easily iudge, that it is altogether impossible to be true, or to haue any foundation and ground in reason, seeing it confoundeth and overthroweth all reason and all nature. Which causeth me to be so much the more abashed, & that there are men found euen among Christians, yea a great number, who rather follow the false opinion of these masties, and giue greater credit to the sottish and vaine arguments which they propound, both against God and all diuinity, and against all nature and truth, then to the true sentence of so many ver-

Epicurus thinke themselves kings and gods.

The blasphemy of Atheists.

The absurdities that follow the opinion of the Atheists.

tuous, learned, and holy men, as haue bin in the world from the beginning, and to the common and publike testimony of all mankind, and of all people and nations. But if God hath not spared the very heathen, who so shamefully abused that knowledge, which he gaue them of his works in nature, & of the testimonies of his diuine nature and providence manifested vnto them therein, but punished them with such a horrible iudgement, as to deliuer them vp into a reprobate sense, & into a worse estate then is that of brute beasts: we are not to marvel if he deale so & more hardly at this day with them that deserue a great deale more than they did, because he hath manifested himselfe more cleerly without all comparison to these men, if they would see and know him: yea we ought to thinke it more strange if he dealt otherwise. For the more meanes he affordeth vnto men to know him, the greater iudgement they deserue when they abuse the same, and labour to blind themselves by their owne ingratitude & peruerse malice. As for vs, we cannot (God be thanked) doubt in any sort of the immortality of the soule, seeing we see on our side the aduantage, euery way in defence thereof, namely, multitude, authority, nature and reason, and which is most of all, the testimony of God who alone is sufficient. I doubt not but that some, to whome God hath giuen more knowledge and greater graces then to vs, are able to alleadge other arguments & reasons for the confirmation of this matter, which we haue omitted. For truth is not vnprovided, but hath great abundance of all sorts. But we haue alleged the cheifest, taken out of the writings of learned men that haue written best of this matter, especially of them that in our time haue written most Christianly.

Of the force
of arguments
alleged be-
fore for the
immortality
of the soule.

The summe
of this whole
booke.

And although there are other reasons then those which we haue set downe, yet I thinke there are enow in our discourses to stop the mouthes of all Epicures and Atheists, at leastwise to conuince them if wee cannot confound them. For what can they alledge against them that is of any great shew or strength? It may easily be iudged by their best arguments discoursed vpon by vs. What will they haue more? Doe they expect or desire of vs that we should point with the finger at soules when they depart out of bodies that die? Then they should be no soules and inuisible spirits, but bodies that may be seene. And yet vnlesse they may behold them comming forth, as doe smoke from the fire, they will not beleue that they depart at all from the bodies, or that they haue any being at all. Surely I thinke that these men who would so faine haue soules to be mortall, and to be extinguished by death with their bodies, would not beleue that they were departed, and that they once liued, their bodies being dead, no not although they had seene them come forth visibly: but would perswade themselves that they were some illusions, and that their eies had some mist before them: so strong is a lying perswasion in a man, when hee will iudge of a thing not according to reason, but according to his affection. Now seeing wee are come to the end of our purpose, namely, to lay before our eies as it were a naturall historie of man, by the consideration of the matter of his body, of the aduersity of that matter, and of the forme that God hath giuen it, together with the profit and vse both of the one and the other: and also by a description of the parts, powers, vertues and faculties of his soule, thereby to be instructed at large in the nature and immortality thereof, by causing the soule to behold her selfe in the glasse of her marvellous actions, and all to this ende that wee should know our selues as it becommeth vs, there remaineth nothing now but that wee should draw out a generall instruction from these aduertisements and lessons, which God giueth vs in the admirable composition of our nature: to the end that hereafter we should become more fit for the contemplation of this diuinity, by the consideration of the wonderfull workes thereof in the heavens and in the earth, or which we desire (if God giue vs grace hereafter) to discourse. Therefore doe thou, *ACHITO B*, put an end to the cause of our present assembly and meeting, by some goodly discourse vpon all these matters of which we haue intréated.

of

Of the image of God in the soule of man, and of the image of the world in mans body : of the coniunction that is betweene God, the Angels, and men : of the sundrie degrees of Good that are therein : of those lessons and instructions, which we ought to receiue from the wonderfull composition and coniunction of the soule and body.

Chap. 100.

ACHITO B. If we could diligently consider of the naturall history of man, which we haue prosecuted hitherto, we should find in it a goodly glasse wherein we might behold God who is inuisible, making him after a sort visible vnto vs, and come to the knowledge of him by his workes, euen as the soule is made, as it were, visible to vs, shewing it selfe vnto vs by the body wherein it dwelleth, and by those workes which it effecteth in the same. Therefore first let vs set before our eies the whole frame of the world, as it were a great body : then all the parts of it, as the members thereof : and lastly, let vs consider God, as the soule of this great body, working in the same, and doing all his workes there according to that order which he hath set therein, euen as his soule hath his operation in the body of man, and in all the members thereof. Thus doing, as we know that there is a soule in the body, and another nature besides that which is corporall, which worketh in the same, as we perceiue by the effects of it : so by the workes done in this visible world, we may iudge that there is another nature that doth them, which being inuisible, is some other then this whole frame which we behold, and farre more excellent, filling the same, and being in all the parts of it, as the soule is in the body.

But whilest we propound to our selues this glasse to looke vpon, let vs beware we fall not into their fond dreames, who both thought and affirmed, that this world was the body of God ; and that he was the soule thereof : dwelling in it as the soule of man doth in his body. For if it were so, then should God be mortall and corruptible in regard of his body, so that still some part or other should perish, as we see that corporall things daily corrupt. On the other side, God should not be infinite and incomprehensible as hee is : for the world doth not comprehend and containe him, but he comprehendeth and containeth the whole world. VVherefore neither is the world God, nor God the world, but the creator of it, by whom it is and consisteth. And albeit we behold him not with our eies in his nature and diuine essence, yet we must not therefore conclude as Atheists doe, that hee is not at all, no more, nay much lesse, then the soule is, because those workes whereby he manifesteth himselfe in the world, are farre greater without comparison, then those which the soule worketh in mans body. Besides that, all the workes of the soule are the workes of God seeing it receiue from him that life and vertue that is in it. Forasmuch then as the soule is the image of God in man, as his body is the image of all this great world, in which God worketh as the soule doth in mans body : let vs consider diligently, how God hath distributed the powers, vertues and offices of the soule in the body, and in all the parts of it, as hee manifesteth his glorie, vertue and power in this visible world in all the parts of the same. For the first, there is agreement herein, that as one onely soule is in one body, and is sufficient for all the parts & members thereof : so there is but one God in the world, who is sufficient for all creatures. Again, if we cannot conceiue how the soule is lodged in the body, how it giueth life vnto it displaying all her vertues, and doing all her workes therein, but onely so farre forth as shee giueth vs instructions and testimonies thereof by those diuers effects which we see in euery part and member of the body : no maruaile then if we cannot behold with the eye, nor comprehend how GOD is euery where, filling heauen and earth, and how hee displaieth his power and vertue, working in all his creatures, guiding and governing them, and preserving them by his diuine providence and vertue. For if we cannot comprehend the creature, or the nature thereof how shall wee comprehend that of the Creator ? Iesus Christ said to Nicodemus, *If when I tell you earthly things, ye beleeue not, how should ye beleeue, if I tell you heavenly things ?* We may say the like heere, that if it be impossible for vs throughly to know the earth or the body or soule of man, or the nature and vertue thereof, how shall wee know the heauens and spirituall natures, or God and his workes ? For if it be beyond our reach to discern them in our selues no not the workes of our soule, how shall wee comprehend his workes in

The world compared to mans body, and God to his soule.

Against such as say that God is the soule of the world.

The image of God in mans soule.

Ioan 3. 12.

Of that coniunction which is betweene God and his creatures.

Of God, the first and greatest good.

Mal. 3. 6.

Of spirituall natures which are the second good.

The spirit of a man moveth not in place.

Of the body which is the third good.

the whole world? Notwithstanding, if we can well consider of that coniunction and agreement that is betweene God and his creatures, with the disposition of those sundry degrees which every one of them holdeth in this coniunction, even from the highest and most celestiall things, that approach neereſt to the nature of God, unto those things that are lowest and most terrestriall, then shall we see God as it were present before the eyes of our spirit, and by the contemplation of him wonderfully content all the parts of our soule. Therefore to prosecute this point, let vs note, that God created and fashioned in his Angels, images of himselfe that are altogether spirituall, (as indeede himselfe is all spirit) and not inclosed or shut vp in any bodies that are of an earthly and corruptible matter. Besides, it pleased him to make another kinde of his image in the nature of man, which should hold the second degree next to the Angelicall nature, in which hee represented himselfe more excellently then in any other visible nature and creature, namely, in a nature that came neereſt to his own, next to that of Angels, and in which the bodily & visible nature was ioyned unto a spirituall and invisible nature. Now for the better vnderstanding hereof, we will set downe a coniunction of three kinds of good things, which are in diuers degrees. The first is, God the Creator, who is the createſt of all, and the soueraigne good of all his creatures, and is a nature without any qualitie or accident whatsoever. For all that is in him, is substantiall and essentiall. This *good* is such a nature, as hath all his moving of himselfe, and receiveth it not from any other then from himselfe, but giueth moving to all creatures according to their nature and measure. And yet all the motions in God are without any change, either of time or place, or howsoever: so that he abideth still immovable and may alwaies say, *I am the Lord, I change not*, as it is in *Malachie*. For he is ever one. And seeing he is the Original of all moving, he must of necessitie be firme and stable: because otherwise he could not giue motion to others, as wee haue daily experience hereof in our selues. For if wee would moue one of our feet, the other must abide steddie and firme, and both the one and the other must alwaies haue some stay whereby to take their motion. Now because God cannot haue stay from any other, he hath it in himselfe, in that maner which hath beene declared already. For as he is alwaies one, so all things are present to him, yea he is every where, by reason that he is eternall and infinite without beginning, and without end, Iudge of all, and is iudged of none, gouernour of all, and gouerned by none. Secondly, we haue those spirituall natures & creatures, which are a great *Good*, but not the greatest and chiefest *Good*, which cannot be found but in the Creator. This second *Good* hath qualities, because all things in it are not substantiall. It hath also motion, but receiveth the same from the first *Good* of which it dependeth, and then it giueth the same to others. This motion is in time, but without place: & this *Good* both iudgeth & is iudged, gouerneth & is gouerned. The Angels & humane soules are this great *Good*; & these spirituall natures, which are spirits hauing all these things. But there is between them that difference before spoken off, namely, that Angels are spirits, which were created to liue an immortal life, and not to be ioyned to any earthly bodies: and that the spirits of men are created to dwell in bodies and to giue them life. Therefore I let passe angels for this time, & purpose to speak only of the spirit of man, which is not immutable as God is, but may receive change of qualities: as we see in that it being created good, became bad, & of euil, may also become good, by the grace of God. But no such thing can befall God. For he cannot but be good in the highest degree, and the soueraigne good of euery creature: because, goodnes is not accidentall to him, as it is to a creature, but substantiall & essentiall. And as God is the soueraigne mouer, who giueth motion to all creatures, in this great world: so the soule & spirit of man giueth moving to the whole body of man, who is the little world, and to all the members thereof: neither hath it this motion from any other creature beside it selfe, as the body receiveth the same from it, but onely of the Creator. Now although this motion be made in time, yet it is not made by any change of place. For what motion soeuer there is in the spirit, yet it abideth alwaies in his place, so long as it dwelleth in the body, which it gouerneth vnder God the great gouernor, by whom also it is iudged, as it selfe iudgeth the body, and all that is vnder the same. Lastly followeth the body, which is another *Good*, but not so great as the spirit. This hath not only quality but quantity also, whereas the spirit hath only quality without quantity. For to speak properly, no nature hath quantity, except it be corporall. Therefore the soule of a great man is not greater then the soule of a little man, in regard of corpulency, because it hath none as the body hath. So that when we say, that a man is of a great spirit, we meane it not in regard of bodily quantity, as when we speake of a great body: but we consider in him the experience of gifts agreeable

able to his nature, wherewith he is endued aboue others. And in taking it so, it will often come to passe, that the least bodies shall haue the greatest spirits, and the greatest bodies the least spirits. And by the same reason we consider in a litle infant, euen as soone as he hath received mouing in his mothers belly, the selfe same soule that is in all the ages that follow his infancy, vntill his old age, and in death it selfe. But according as those instruments whereby it worketh during life, are fit for their offices, and as after hard when they waxe olde, they faile of their naturall force and vertue: so the soule sheweth her powers and wonderfull effects in them and by them, continuing still one and the same in substance and nature, as these things haue beene at large declared vnto vs. And as for the motion of the body, it is made both in time and in place, and is gouerned and iudged, but it selfe neither gouerneth nor iudgeth.

Thus we may see, how these two good things, the spirit & the body, of which the one is greater then the other, are vnited and ioyned together in man, as if hee carried heauen and earth linked together. We may learne also how in this coniunction the spirit occupieth the middle betwixt God & the body, and agreeeth with them both. Wee see also the admirable works of the soule during this coniunction, all which are so many testimonies of the wonderfull works of God, & of his prouidence ouer all nature. Moreouer, we behold a very goodly disposition and excellent order in all the powers and faculties both of soule and body.

Let vs then make our profit of all these things, and of the instructions and lessons which God giueth vs in them, to leade vs to the principall ende for which man was created, namely, ^{The right end of our creation.} to know and to honour his Creator. Wherefore we ought chiefly to consider, that seeing

God hath placed the heart betweene the head and the belly, and the vitall vertue of the soule betweene the animal and the nutritiue vertue, and the will betweene the vnderstanding and the most sensuall part that is in vs, therefore the heart and will must alwaies looke vpward and not downward, to the end that they may ioynethemselues to the noblest and most diuine part, and not to the basest, most sensuall and earthly part. For they are in mans body, as if they were placed betweene heauen and earth: so that as man holdeth the middle place betweene Angels and other liuing creatures, by reason of that communication of nature which hee hath with them both: so fareth it with the heart and the will, betweene the head and the belly, and betweene reason with that part which is capable thereof, and the sensible part which is without reason. Wherefore if the will of man be ioyned with reason, which is celestiall and diuine, and followeth the same, it will become like vnto it, and shall be able easily to gouerne the sensuall part vnderneath it, to be mistresouer it, and to compell it to obey. But if the Will despise reason and the counsell thereof, and if instead of mounting vpward towards the noblest part, it descendeth to the sensuall part, and ioyneth it selfe thereunto, then shall the Will be made like to that, and shall serue it in place of commanding it. And by this meanes the Will shall become altogether brutish, whereas contrariwise it might make the sensuall & earthly part as it were celestiall and diuine, by drawing it with it selfe, if it would obey reason rather then the affections of the flesh, and if it would looke more towards heauen then towards the earth, as men commonly vse to doe. For as they are in the middest betweene Angels and beasts, if they looke more towards heauen, from whence their soules haue their Originall, then towards the earth out of which their bodies are taken, they should become celestiall and diuine, like to the Angels, and finally like to God, who hath created them according to his owne image. But if instead of beholding the heauens, vnto which their faces are lifted, they looke down to the earth as brute beasts doe, hauing more care of that then of heauen, they shall become altogether earthly and brutish like beasts. Therefore it standeth euery one in hand to bethinke him selfe seriously, which way he aimeth, whether he desireth to come, and whom he had rather resemble, either the Angels or beasts. Let vs then consider well of our nature, & of that order which God setteth downe therein, and follow the same, & beware that we do not peruert it. Let vs learne to acknowledge the image of God in vs, and to behold his great wisdom therein, as it were in a litle world. First, let vs know by our soule, which is a spirituall & no corporall nature, that God is a spirit & of a spirituall nature, which is not shut vp & inclosed in any place. For neither our spirit hath any biding in a place, as if it were inclosed and shut vp therein, notwithstanding that it remayneth in a place as it were in regard of that coniunction, which it hath with the body. Neuerthelesse, it is not so inclosed therein, but that it is able, not onely to raunge through heauen and earth, and throughout this whole visible world, but euen higher and farther, so that the whole world

Mans will must looke vp to the head, not downe to the belly.

Man is a middle creature betweene Angels and beasts.

A spirit is not shut vp in place.

is not of sufficient bignesse to containe the same, or to content and satisfie it, but that will goe beyond it. What then shall we thinke of God who hath created it? And how forgetfull shall man bee of himselfe, if whereas the whole world is not great enough for his spirit, he content himselfe with a little angle of the earth, and doe after a sort bury himselfe therein? Likewise let vs know and beleue that God is inuisible, seeing our soule is so, and cannot be seene with bodily eyes. For it is not painted with any colour, neither hath it any corporall figure, whereby it may bee seene and knowne, which is done onely by the actes and deeds of it.

Let vs not seeke then to know the essence and nature of God, by the eyes, but onely by the spirit. For he cannot be seene by them, but onely by the eyes of faith, neither can he be found or conceiued by corporall senses. Again, we ought not only to consider, but even to wonder how he hath ioyned our soule with the body, and distributed the vertue thereof into all the parts and members of the same: and how hee doth so excellently knit together and conioyne so many members, so distant one from another, even from the one ende vnto the other: all which receiue life and vertue from the soule according to their nature, and office, and are all gouerned by one and the same spirit. Let vs consider then how hee would haue that part of the soule, which is partaker of reason, to haue the principallitie and dominion ouer the part in which he hath placed the affections: to the ende that the chieftest should command, and the other obey, as himselfe hath the Lordship and soueraigntie ouer all his creatures, as they that must obey him.

Let vs not then suffer the spirit to bee brought into bondage by the perturbations of the affections, neither let vs suffer them to be so lifted vp against reason, as to bee able to turne the vertue of the soule against it. In like manner, let vs remember, how God worketh in our mindes, in such sort as that the knowledge of those things which we know first, is not abolished by the vnderstanding of other things, we learne after, but they are all kept together very surely in the chiefe part of the soule, and that in good order, by meanes of the memory, without confusion one with another, even as if they were written and engraue in a table, or in a pillar of brasse. VVherefore we should be very vngratefull and brutish, if any thing in the world cause vs to forget God, and if we haue not his benefits towards vs in perpetuall remembrance.

FINIS.

Πάντων ὁ Θεός.



THE
THIRD VOLVME
OF THE FRENCH
ACADEMIE:

CONTAINING A NOTABLE
description of the whole VVorld, and of all the
principall parts and contents thereof;

As namely, of Angels both good and euill; of the
Celestiall Spheeres, their order and number; of the fixed Stars
and Planets; their light, motion, and influence:

Of the foure Elements, and all things in them, or of them consisting: and first
of fire, airie, and watrie Meteors or impressions of Comets, Thunders,
Lightnings, Raines, Snow, Haile, Rainebowes, Windes, Dewes, Frosts,
Earthquakes, &c. ingendred aboue, in, and vnder the mid-
dle or cloudy region of the Aire.

And likewise, of Fowles, Fishes, Beasts, Serpents, Trees with their fruits
and gumme; Shrubs, Herbes, Spices, Drugs, Minerals, pre-
cious Stones, and other particulars most worthy of all
men to be known and considered.

*Written in French by that famous and learned Gentleman Peter de la Prima-
daye Esquire, Lord of the same place, and of Barree: and Eng-
lished by R. Dalman.*



LONDON
Printed for THOMAS ADAMS,
1618.

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
FRENCH
ACADEMIE:

CONTAINING A NOTABLE
Description of the whole World, and of all the
principal parts and contents thereof;

And namely, of Angels both good and evil; of the
Celestiall Spheres, their order and number; of the fixed Stars
and Planets; their light, motion, and influence;

Of the four Elements, and all things in them, or of them consisting: and first
of Fire, and water, Meteors or impositions of Comets, Thunder,
Lightning, Raines, Snow, Hail, Rain-bowes, Winds, &c.
Earthquakes, &c. in general, and in particular;
the or cloudy region of the Air.

And likewise of Fowles, Fishes, Beasts, Serpents, Trees with their fruits
and graine, Shrubs, Herbes, Spices, Drugs, Minerals, pre-
cious Stones, and other particulars most worthy of all
taken to be known and considered.

The whole is French by the famous and learned Gentleman Peter de la Prima-
dieu, Esquire, Esq. of the same place, and of barret: and last
English by R. Doleman.



LONDON
Printed for Thomas Adams.
1618

TO THE RIGHT VVOR- SHIPFUL SIR VVILLIAM

MOVNSON Knight.



Our employments (Right Worshipful) in sundry her Maie-
ties forraine seruices both by Sea and Land, and also (for
your farther experience, and satisfaction) in diuers other no-
ble enterprises, being accompanied with a sharpe and iudici-
ous obseruation of things memorable, and the perusing of
many excellent and rare Writers ; must of necessitie haue
made you not onely expert in matters of warre and estate,
but also most singularly well read in God his great booke of

Nature, I meane the admirable frame of this Vniuers, or whole world. Where-
in the infinite varieties and sorts of creatures, like so many visible words, doe pro-
claime and publish vnto man the eternity, infinitie, omnipotencie, wisdom, ius-
tice, bountie, and other essentiall attributes of his dread and soueraigne creator.

Wherefore I doe here present vnto your worship the discourse ensuing, not as
a Teacher to instruct you in things vnkowne, but as a faithfull remembrancer
to recall matters to your minde, which are there already both by speculation and
experience most soundly imprinted.

It may please you then to accept of this mine homely translation, not so
much for mine owne sake, who am able to deserue lesse then nothing ; as for the
Authors worthinesse, being a Gentleman (as appeareth out of this, and other parts
his learned *Academie*) most rarely qualified : and likewise for the excellency of
this present worke of his, both in regard of the method, the matter, and the
scope. For the method is most exact, and agreeable to rules of Art, proceeding
from generalls to particulars, and from the whole to the parts. The matter or sub-
iect is most noble : so that if (according to *Aristotle*) all arts and sciences doe re-
ceiue their perfection from the dignity of the obiect ; then certes of all others
(Theology excepted) this science is the most excellent, hauing so spacious, so
beautifull, and so fruitfull a field to manure, as the whole world, and all things
therein contained. Neither is the scope any whit lesse charitable and christian,
tending partly to the information of mens vnderstandings, and the refor-
mation of their errors ; but most especially ayming at the glory of the creator,
vnto whom onely is due all submission and honour. Finally, considering the au-
thors manner of handling this discourse, and the variety of choise writers both
ancient and of our times, which he alledgeth for confirmation of sundry truths,
and for other purposes, purging by the fire of his exquisite iudgement the drosse
of their opinions from the pure mettall, and in all places adorning their gold and
siluer with the most orient and inualuable pearles of holy Scripture ; I deemed
it in all respects most worthy to shroud it selfe vnder your Worships patronage.
London this 28. of March. 1601.

Your Wor. most ready to be disposed of,

Richard Dolman.

To the Reader.

Mount on this Worlds maiestike theater;
Survey the Spheres and euer-burning lamps;
Pierce through the Aire, Fire, Earth, and Water;
Admire Iehouahs hosts and royall camps
Rang'd in battallions and seemely troupes,
At sight whereof the proudest Atheist drowpes.

Surmount the Spheres, and view those Ghostly wights
Inhabiting a world supercelestiall:
Then stoupe, and trembling, see those gastly sprites
Plung'd aye in deepest fire gulfes infernall:
And frighted thence, looke all the world around,
What other Natures-wonders may be found.

R. D.

Sonnet.

CE que Dieu fit, & fait d'admirable en son monde,
Ce qu'on en peut auoir de plaisirs & de biens,
Et d'enseignemens beaux, diuins, & terriens,
Barree icy l'instruit par celeste faconde.
Mais quel saint trucheman, ô Nimphe-Angloise blonde:
T'apprentces hauts discours, qui rauissent les tiens?
C'est mon gentil Dolman, ieune laurier des miens:
Le qui de des neuf seurs, qui en langues abonde.
O toy heureuse donc d'auoir ce traducteur!
Comme ta sœur Francoise heureuse est de l'Authenr.
Mais plus heureuse encor quand par estudes saintes
Des grands œures de Dieu en ce liure depeintes,
Si bien cognoistres Dieu, qu'au mieux d'ame & de cœur,
En crainte, amour, & foy, le seruies sans feintes.

L'attens le temps,

Pierre Castet.



THE FORESPEACH OF THE SPEAKERS IN THE discourses following.

Of Heauen and Earth.

A S E R, felicity.

A M A N A, truth.

A R A M, highnes.

A C H I T O B, brother of goodnes.

A S E R.



*I*t is time (Companions) that we quit our selues of the promise, which we made one to another in the entrance of our discourses concerning man, to recreate our mindes sometimes (if God thereto gaue grace) in the faire and spacious fields of the ^{*} Vniuers, by a diligēt search and attentive consideration of all nature: to the end thereby the better to acknowledge the soveraigne author thereof, and so induce vs the more to honour him, who is the foundation, whereupon we began at first to build, and still desire to raise up our A-

cademie. For seeing the knowledge of God tending to his seruice, is the principall butte of our being and of all our actions: and that his infinite essence cannot make it selfe to be comprehended worthily, and according to his greatnes by the febleness of mans understanding: it behooueth vs carefully to meditate upon his works, for so much as in them the great Architect of the world hath imprinted certaine marks of his glory, sufficient to giue vs so much knowledge of his high Maiessty, and of that wherein hee requirerth vs to honor him, as our condition can beare, and according as is altogether necessary for the health and repose of our soules. Now we consider of the worke of God principally in two things (yea, and to them we may easily referre all the discourse concerning this matter:) to wit, in the creation, conducting, and government of his creatures, and in the mysterie of Redemption, which it hath pleased him to vouchsafe on mankind. As then in the proceſſe of our Academie, where we haue amply entreated of the litle world, which is Man, we haue begun to instruct our selues concerning the chiefest of his works: so now I desire that we may prosecute this goodly matter of the creation and being of the great world, if you (companions) will answer mee with the same affection: And if we may obtaine so much fauour of our God, that being well instructed in his schoole of wisdom, and guided by his holy spirit, wee may dare to speake (and what may wee not dare in seeking his glorie) of the incomprehensible secret of his worke for the health of man; wee will accomplish our workes and rest our selues in this point.

A M A N A. For as much as the world is a shadow of the brightnesse of God, and like a great booke of Nature and naturall Theologie, and that all creatures contained in the Vniuers, are like so many preachers and generall witnessers of the glory of the Creator, as all the learned teach: we must diligently settle our vnderstanding to the contemplation of this shadow of the diuine brightnesse, and our eyes to the reading of this booke of Nature, and our eares to heare these naturall preachers, which teach vs to acknowledge God and his providence aboue all things else, to the end to glorifie him as his bounty doth bind vs. Wee know also the great reasons which innite vs to this naturall feare of all things, and namely

* Or whole world.

The forespeach.

the impiety of our age, as we have declared in the forespeach of the second Tome of our worker, shewing that the world is of itself sufficient to vanquish all Atheisme, there being nothing in the Vniuers either so great or small, but from step to step doth direct man to acknowledgment of a divinity. Which will appeare more manifest unto us, if we entreat of the so great variety of creatures. Boldly then (companions) let us prosecute our purpose. If the enterprise be difficult, and too high for us to attaine to the summe thereof, yet to approach to things excellent, is alwaies very laudable.

A R A M. Many blame discourses which are made, of heauen, for that they be feeble and very slender being compared to the beauty, and importance of the thing it selfe. And indeed I must confesse, that all that can be spoken of the world accordeth therewith as it is in it selfe no more then the portraiture of the Romane common wealth upon the shield of Aeneas, could meely represent the greatnes and maiesty of the acts & power of this Empire. But howsoeuer it be, we haue in the doctrine of the spheres most excellent principles and grounds, which prepare ment to the knowledge of nature, and the author thereof, yea which aduance them (if they can apply this study to his proper end) in the understanding of the secrets, wisdom and providence of God, so far as the mind of man can pierce therein. Let us then (companions) direct our sight straight towards the place, which we must apprehend, to be blessed to witte, towards heauen, and let us especially regard God in his works, as the onely limit whereto wee shall and must once attaine.

A C H I T O B. The orderly motions of the heauens, the goodly workmanship of so many starry panti-
 ons disposed one aboue the other, without any intermixture in their course, the accord, agreement, pow-
 er, vertue and beauty of the elements, the situation, stabilitie and largenes of the earth in midst of the
 waters, which continually threaten it, and yet drowne it not, and so many diuers natures, and creatures,
 which are, which liue, which haue sense and understanding, in this whole great vniuers, & serue each one
 his place, all these things (I say) are like so many interpreters, to teach us God, as their onely efficient cause
 and to manifest him unto us in them and by them, as their small cause. Therefore pursuing our first intent
 sufficiently declared in the beginning of our Academicke discourse, and according to the proceesse of the
 talke by us obserued in our description of the naturall history of the Microcosme (or little world) let us
 here make (companions) as it were another historie of the Macrocosme (or great world) first
 entreating of the creation of the world: then of the diuision of the same, afterwards of the orders of the
 spheres, of their substance, natures, and motions, of the influences and effects of their planets, consequent-
 ly of the elements: and lastly of every essence and creature therein contained: not by a particular descrip-
 tion of their kinds, which would amount to a worke almost infinite, but onely of the principall of each sort,
 and so much as we shall hold sufficient to induce euery one of us, and of those which will deigne to heare
 us, to consider, and highly to praise the wisdom of the father and moderator of all these things, in the cre-
 ation, conduction, gouernance, and end of them: and by the union of their parts, with the whole, and
 among themselves, we haue enough to refer the euent of our purpose to their beginning and
 principall scope, which is, to know God and his providence, to the end to glo-
 rise him. Declare then unto us (**A S E R**) that which you
 haue learned of the creation of heauen
 and earth.



THE FIRST DAIES VVORKE

of the third Tome of the French

Academy.

Of Heauen and Earth.

Of the creation of Heauen and Earth. Chap. I.

ASER.



Fall men guided by reason (as *Plato* very well said) have a custom to invoke on God in the beginning of their work, whether it be great, or little; how much more convenient is it, that desiring to dispute of the Vniuers (if we retain any iudgement at all) we should call God to our aide? It is very difficult to speak as is requisite of the celestiall bodies, and of so many diuers motions as they haue, & yet not one hinder another: but it is a much more high and intricate matter to finde out the workeman, and father of all this great world. And when we shall haue found him, it is altogether impossible vulgarly to expresse the cause & reason of his works. For though (as it is) the glory and infinite wisdom of God shineth in this admirable construction of heauen and earth: yet our capacity is too too small, to comprise so great and profound effects, so much it wanteth that the tongue may be able to make a full and entire declaration thereof. And we cannot hold disputation, or argument vpon that, which doth not offer it selfe vnto our sense, and proper reason, as is the creation of the world. For therein haue we that wonderfull Architect (whom *Hermes* called the great and infinite sphere intellectuall, whose center is all that, which is, throughout the world, created) who performing his worke, and giuing motion to all the celestiall bodies, doth himselfe continue stable. Now that which moouing, is not it selfe mooued, surpasseth all discourses & speculations humane and philosophicall, & appertaineth to a diuine knowledge, the which we ought to impetrate through prayers by Reuelation of the holy Spirit, even in such sort as all things naturall are inuented, and comprehended by reason and demonstration, and all morall are obtained by arte and vse.

Then of the soueraigne, & true God, with his eternall Word, and holy Spirit, which three are one essence, one God in Trinity of persons, whose name is (*I will be, that I will be*) or (*I am that I am*) Almighty, Eternall, Creator & gouernor of every soule & body, in contemplation of whom consisteth the onely good, the true felicity, and blessednes of man, whom he himselfe hath created to attaine therunto, a liuing creature reasonable by the gift of vnderstanding & free wil. Who being iust, permits not his creature made according to his own image to remain unpunished, hauing sinned; & being merciful, hath not left him without grace, who hath giue both to the good & euill an essence, with the stones, a life vegetatiue & full of seede with the plants, a life sensual with the beasts, & a life intellectuall with the Angels; from whom proceedeth all gouernance, all goodlines, & all order; by who all that is naturall euen from the

highest of heauen, to the center of the earth, doth subsist; of whom are the seedes of formes, the formes of seedes. the mouings of seedes and of formes: who (being good) hath not left regardlesse not onely the sphericall and elementary world; or else the Angels and man, but euen the entralls of the most small and contemptible amongst creatures, neither the lightest feather of the birds, nor the least flower of the herbe, nor leafe of the tree, engraving in each of all these things (the workes of his omnipotency) certaine signes of his glory, and maiestie; by the covenant and accord of euery of their parts, and as it were by I wot not what manner of peace: Of him (I say) father, and moderator of all that which is, which liueth, which hath sense, and vnderstandeth, let vs request (Companions) that with the light of his wisdom he will illuminate our vnderstandings, and by his holy spirit direct and gouerne our words, meely to discourse of according as mans power is able, the workes of his al-mighty hand in heauen and in earth, according as our intent is.

The beginning of euery thing whatsoever, is of such waight and importance, that on the knowledge of the same dependeth all the science thereof: for it is impossible that a man can bee skilfull in any thing, if hee bee ignorant in the principles, and first causes of the subiect which he desireth to know: contrariwise having well knowne them, the vnderstanding of the effects which thereupon ensue, of the vertues and qualities which thereby redound, of the actions which thereof proceede, of the degrees which therein are established, of the bounds and limits whereto these first causes tend to obtaine their perfection, declareth it selfe, as of it owne accord, without great difficulty and much paine. This was the cause why many sages in old time despising the care of temporal affaires, addicted themselves altogether to search out the cause of all nature: so that the most excellent of them would boldly discourse of the originall and making of the world. But the saying of *Plato* remaining euer true, that it is as hard to finde out the maker, and father of this *All*, as to speake properly of him beeing found out: it so falleth out, that the most part of them, who haue entreated of so lofty a matter, haue erred, straying by diuers by waies; yea euen all those whom the Sonne of Iustice, hath not fully illuminated with his supream brightnesse. Thereupon it proceeded that the Philosophers haue beene diuided into diuers and contrary opinions, about this question (whether the world hath bin from euerlasting, or whether it hath beene of late, whether of necessity, or else by the free will, and motion of God.) *Aristotle* with all the troupe of those, who beleue nothing but that which they can inuent and comprise by naturall reasons and syllogismes taken from sensible things, which guide them to a certaine demonstration, not being able thereby to vnderstand, how and wherfore heauen and earth haue beene created, affirme that they were neuer made, but that they haue beene from eternitie. But *Plato* followed of a great number of the most cleere sighted wise men, hath confessed the generation of the world which hee teacheth to bee ordered, and disposed by compleate and perfect numbers: vnder the vaile of which, and the obscure notes of hidden sense, it seemeth that hee would hide the close mysteries of the creation of the vsiuers to those which were not yet instructed in such secrets, which only may bee comprehended by a pure and celestially cogitation diuinely infused. For let vs know that there is no certainty at all of this doctrine, except for those to whom the minde, by a speciall and supernatural grace is sharpe, being fashioned and formed by meditation of the immutable substance of God himselfe, and by a secret operation of the holy Ghost, to beleue that it is the Eternall who by his word hath made all nature. For so the Soueraigne Creator talketh with man, and establisheth a certaine testimony of his truth in the heart of him, when he hath made him proper and meet to heare him with the best and most excellent part of his vnderstanding, in regard whereof he is said to be made according to his owne image.

Diuers opinions of the Philosophers in this argument of the being of the world.

How the creation of the world may be beleued.

But although these things may bee knowne, beeing not farre remote from our interior, or exterior senses, yea so that they may bee called present, and whereof no doubt is to bee made, especially beeing supported by authority of good witnesses, yet those things which surpasse the ordinary puissance of the minde, because by our owne iudgement wee cannot credite them, must bee considered, and beleued, according to that covenant of verities, which they annouce vnto vs, who haue known them, by our vnderstanding, peaceful, and duely purged: so that we may adde faith to such holy personages, as God hath made capable of his light, & which instruct vs not in the things which they haue imagined, but in such as they haue heard & receiued fro diuine oracles. It is then of their authority, that he must make a buckler, whoeuer will meely debate of God, and of his workes, and

and of his providence in the gouernance of them. And when the wings of Nature faile vs in solosty a contemplation, we must take to those of diuine grace; and when the naturall light sadeth and is ready to die, to require an infused and supernaturall illumination. The world is greatest of all things visible, and God of all things inuisible. That the world is, we perceiue; but that God is, we beleue. Now that he hath made the world; wee can better beleue of nobody then of God himselfe. But where haue wee heard that? In this word, whereto we must giue credite concerning those things whereof it is expedient that we should not bee ignorant, and which we of our selues are not able to vnderstand. Now hee hath spoken first by his Prophets, then by himselfe in the person of our Redeemer, and lastly, by the Apostles and Disciples. Wee heare him speaking aloud, where *Moses* Gen. 1. the father of diuines, and master of Philosphers saith (*In the beginning God created the heauen and the earth.*) The Prophet was not there present, but the wisedome of God, by which all things were made, and which by an incomprehensible vertue conueieth it selfe into holy minds, and doth direct them, and declare all his workes, without any noyse at all by his spirit; which can doe all, beholdeth all, encourageth all, and passeth through all purified spirits of vnderstanding, and abideth in his elect. And the blessed Angelles, who alwaies behold the face of their father, speake to them also, and announce the secrets of the eternall Maiestie, to all them (I say) in such sort as it pleaseth the Omnipotent to make them worthy. One of these was *Moses*, who teacheth vs that God Almighty made this great Vniuers. A witnesse so excellent and worthy, that by him wee must beleue in God, whom wee perceiue, as it were through the same wisedome and spirit, which revealed vnto him the creation of the world: who prophecied almost two thousand yeeres before of the high mysteries of Christian faith: confirming also this whole doctrine, by miracles, prodigies, oracles, and prophecies, wherewithall his writings abound. And therefore hauing confidence in his testimony, we call God, Creator of all things, therby inferring, that he is author, principall, & first cause of all essences, which cause by manner of speech ought to be full of all things, if this Maxime of the Peripateticks be true. (That none can giue away of that which he hath not.) And therefore the Poet the honor of our age very learnedly saith

Ere time, forme, substance, place, to be themselves attained;

All God in all things was, and God in all remained.

For there is nothing produced by nature, or formed, by arte, but first it hath abiding in that which performeth it. So euery creature is engendred by vertue of that seede, wherein it was at first, by power, included: so each worke liueth in the minde of the workeman before he puts it in practise. So had the world perfect being, in the thought of God before it was builded, and the very Idea thereof was contained in it, by which this great architect, when it pleased him, performed his outward worke: as *Saint Augustine* very learnedly discourseth in a long treatise vpon this text of Scripture (*All things were made by the Word, and in it was life, &c.*) And thereby wee learne, that God Almighty, the vnite from which all number proceedeth, and whereto all multitude referreth it selfe, did increase himselfe in himselfe, before he communicated his vnite with creatures, engendring one eternitie, and by an alone vniue action neuer disturbed, his linage full of vnderstanding, the very image of the Father, his Word, the perfect patterne of the world, and his loue and power the holy Ghost, which alieth the vnderstanding with the thought, three persons in one essence and substance. Afterward this Godhead, though in it selfe it was soueraigne good, not hauing neede of any strange thing, yet would hee according to his owne bounty in him consisting, produce the outward worke of the world, whereinto spreading himselfe, by a kinde of processe of well ordered degrees, and disposing through admirable workmanship the harmonickall formes of the heauens: the Angels and men by him created to be made partakers of felicitie, contemplating these maruailes, were ranshed and carried away with meditation of spirituall things, and by the beauty of his works, and ornaments of his creatures haue learned to acknowledge the father of this Vniuers. Who moreouer, performed not so great a worke in such manner as mortall men accustome to labour, who cannot doe any businesse themselves, if they haue not stoffe and tooles fit for it, nay and then cannot doe it according to their desire. But God created all of nothing, without helpe, without counsell, by himselfe, by his word, by the power of his holy spirit, in such time and manner as he hath pleased, of his owne franke and free will. Therefore it is written (*He spake, and it was done, he commanded and the world was created.* Also (*The Lord hath done what soeuer hee pleased in heauen, and in earth, and in all the depths.*) And againe

(O eternall Lord, behold thou hast made heauen, and earth by thy great power, and by thy stretched out arme: nothing is impossible to thee.) Briefely holy writings are filled with texts to this purpose, which giue vs certaine testimony, that the works of God are not subiect to any other cause, then to his onely omnipotent will, and that thereby, the word being spoken, those things which were not, haue beene created, as well the substance, as the fashion of them: and also the world Creation doth properly import so much, according to the stile of holy writers. Behold then summarily that which we learne of the originall of the world, we will consequently consider, as neere as may be, of this notable and excellent doctrine, and of certaine arguments, which some vse to the contrary. Wherefore *A M A N A*, if you thinke good, you shall frame the subiect of your discourse, vpon the time, wherein this Vniuers began to be builded.

Of Time, which tooke beginning with the world. Chap. 2.

Hierom. in
prolog. Gale-
at.
Augustine in
his exposition
vpon Genes.

A M A N A, The matter which wee entreate of, hath alwayes beene accounted of the Sages, to bee of such depth, and profundity, that it was ordered amongst the ancient Hebrewes, that any, who had not attained to ripe age, and good yeeres, might not meddle with the creation. Of this prohibition doth Saint *Hierome* make mention. And therefore Saint *Augustine* vpon Genesis, searching out the deepe secrets hidden vnder the vaile of simple words therein contained, speaketh to the Reader in this manner. [Comprehend this if thou canst; if not, leaue it to them, which are more learned. But make profite of the Scripture, which abandoneth not thy weaknesse, but, like a mother steppeth foot by foote an easie pace with thee. For it speaketh in such sort, that in height it scorneth the proude, in depth it astonisheth those which are attentiu to it. It feedeth the great with truth, and nourisheth the small ones with milde and familiar discourse.] And in truth in each part of *Moses* writings, the treasures of all Philosophy are by him discovered, like as if they were closely hidden in some field, chiefly in this place which we have intended to entreate of touching the creation. For of deliberate purpose he argueth in Philosophy of the originall of all things, of God, of the degree, number, & order of the parts of this great world. We neuerthelesse hauing confidence in this saying of the Psalmist, That the word of GOD doth illuminate and giue vnderstanding to the simple, and that it serueth for a light to our pathes, we may be bold to touch so lofty a point.

Psal. 119.

Why God
made the
world in the
time that
Moses declar-
eth.

But before we proceed to consider of the precious treasures, and learned doctrine where- with the sacred sayings of the propbet touching the creation are replenished: it wil be good that wee discourse a little of the principall arguments, whereupon many, better Philosophers then good Christians, haue objected against this doctrine of framing of the world. And I will willingly begin with this olde question of the Epicure, which the Atheists of our time haue renewed, to witte: Why in the time that *Moses* recordeth, it pleased the eternall God to create heauen & earth, which he had not made before? If they, which say thus, would thereby infer, that the world hath beene eternall, without any beginning, and for that cause it seemeth to them that God made it not, they are too farre wide of the truth, and sicke of the mortall disease of impiety. For besides the manifold tellings, and propheticall testimonies, which make the creation of heauen and earth vndoubtable: euen the world it selfe, by his motion, and well ordered changing, and the gorgeous shew of all things visible therein contained, not speaking one word, doe after a sort cry out, that it was made, and that it could be no otherwise formed, then by God, who is ineffable, and inuisibly glorious. For it is not to be supposed, that a thing of most exquisite order and reason, should haue bin made by chance; and that a deede most soueraigne could haue any other father then soueraigne: nor so goodlie a worke any other architect then one essentially, goodly. And therefore all the schooles of those Philosophers, which haue had any whit of diuine sense, affirme with one consent, that there is nothing which more prooueth that God hath made the world, & that it is gouerned by his care and providence, then the only beholding of the whole world, and consideration of the beauty and order thereof. But see heere what imagination not grounded on sense putteth into the mouths of many. What did God (say they) before he created the world? why said he til then? or why said he not a little longer? In these and such like doubts they inwrap themselves; making no difference between the condition

condition of God, and our owne, betweene his eternall essence, and that of those things, which haue once had a beginning. But with a discreete, and pleasant answer Saint *Augustine* resolue those, which demand what God did before the fabrication of the world. Hee was busie (saith he) cutting downe wood in the Forrest, to burne the rash and curious, who remember not what they themselves did yesterday, and yet dare inquire what God hath done of eternitie. But that I may speake to the most subtil, let the best learned among them tell me, what they intend by this worde (before) whereof they inquire? If they meane the passing away of time, they deceiue themselves, because time tooke beginning with the world. And if by the word they imagine something concerning eternitie, they abuse themselves also, for therein is neither before, nor after. For eternitie is an entire being at once altogether, without any proceeding. Whereby it is euident that their question is nothing. Time therefore cannot accorde with eternitie, nor bee eternall, seeing eternall hath no proceffe. It is therefore a foolish question, why before time was, God created not the temporall world, as if there had beene some succeeding seasons, before any succession did consist: for one cannot with any reason imagine any time before the stablishing of the vniuers. Yet *Aristotle*, whom the atheists will rather beleue then the word of truth, prooueth no other thing, when he enforceth himselfe to declare the eternitie of the world, then that time was neuer without the world, nor the world without time, which the Sages say, march in equall pace with the place. Wherefore as there is nothing beside place, appertaining to place; so there is nothing beside time, belonging to time. And for those which aske why the creator made not his world latter: I againe request them that setting a part the worke of the vniuers, they would assigne mee their before, and after, and then I will render them a reason why God created not the world sooner, or later: It is most certaine that they shall be constrained to confesse, that before the order and entercourse of the Spheres, there was neuer any before or after, which are the conditions of time. And therefore their rash demaund deserueth no other answer, except we recount vnto them the pleasant saying of *Democritus*, which is not vnfit for our purpose in this place (*No man regards that which is before his fete, and yet wee see many sound the secrets of heauen, and curiously seeke after the mysteries of God.*) There are others also who disputing more subtilly of these matters, agree very well that the world was made, but they will not allow that it had a beginning of time, but of his own creation, so that it hath alwaies had a being in some sort, which they cannot vnderstand. Those found their opinion vpon this pretext to defend that God should not do any action new, or of chaunce, for feare least men should beleue, that that came suddenly into his minde, which before he had not determined, to make the world, and that hee, who is immutable in all things, should create it, through a new-sprong thought. Now as they make doubt, concerning the time, which they would not haue begun with the vniuers: let me aske them also, why the world was set in that place where it resteth, rather then any other where? For if they suppose infinite spaces of time, before the generation of the vniuers, in which it seemeth not that God could rest from worke: they may aswell beleue many spaces of place out of the worlde: wherein if any could affirme that the Omnipotent hath not beene idle, they should bee forced to dreame with the Epicures of innumerable worlds. But if they answer me that the thoughts of men are vaine, by which they suppose of infinite places, sith there is no place out of the world: I may tell them also, that they are ill grounded in the consideration of time, sith there was neuer any before the world. And therefore as it is no consequence, that God framed the vniuers, rather by aduenture, then by diuine reason, tiot in any other place, but in that wherein it is; though mans capacitie cannot comprise the same diuine reason, by which it was so made: So is it no consequence, that we should denie that it happened to God by chance, or by a new imagination when he created the world, rather in one certaine time, then before, seeing that the times precedent how long soeuer we may imagine them, should bee equally past away, comparing them with eternitie, by an infinite space at once: and there should bee no difference why an auncient time should be preferred, before a latter. Wherefore we must all beleue, that the world was made with the time, and that time tooke beginning with the world, and that notwithstanding, in making it, God chaunged not his eternall counsell, nor his immutable will: but according to his inscrutable providence and bountie innate, hee would when he pleased, compose the large frame of the vniuers, full of his image. And here the definition which *Aristotle* maketh of *Time*, serueth to our purpose, to wit, that it is the measure of motion. For if immutable eternitie is easily discerned from *Time*, who perceiveth

Time began
with the
world.

Of those
which take
from the
world the be-
ginning of
time.

Of the will of
God in the
worke of the
Creation.

not, that time had neuer beene, if some creature had not beene made, who might change the created species by moouing? For that which giueth time his course, is the chaunging of things, when they giue place one to another, and one succeed another, because they cannot consist all at once together. Let vs conclude (therefore) seeing that the holy and most true writings expresse that: (*In the beginning God created heauen and earth*) (we may assure our selues there was nothing before then, & that doubtles the world was not made in time but with it. For that which is done in time, is done both before, and after some time: after (I say) that which is past, & before that which is to come. Now before the world, there was no creature, by the changeable motion of which, time might haue proceeding. Wherefore the world and time haue the same beginning, by the will of almightie God, and according as is declared vnto vs in his word: against which, there is no other reason of *Sophists*, which can conclude any reasonable apparence, as you *ARAM* may amply declare, in the processe of our discourse.

Of the nullitie of reasons, framed concerning the nature of the world, against the creation thereof. Chap. 3.

ARAM. **T**His sentence of *Simonides*, the ancient Poet, is well worthie to bee celebrated by the mouth of euery Christian man, (*God alone hath the glorie, to bee supernaturall.*) For what other cause can we inuent of his workes, but his onely free-will? But what rashnes rendreth man so audacious, as to enquire the cause of Gods will, seeing it is, and by good right must be the cause of all things, which subsist? For if it had had any cause, then must that cause haue preceded, and the will of God attended thereupon, which were vnlawful to be imagined. Whetfore when it is asked, why did God so? we must answere, because it was his will. If proceeding farther, any enquire, why it was his will? they demand after a thing greater, and higher then the will of God, which cannot bee found. Yet neuerthelesse haue we sufficient in his word wherewith to satisfie our mindes, in meditation of his secrets with all reuerence. For they, which haue declared them vnto vs, penetrating into most hidden mysteries, by the light of the holy spirit, haue sufficiently reuealed them vnto vs, with most splendant cleerenesse. But the way of truth is shut vp to the wise of the world, and cannot be attained but by the directions of it selfe. So that (which is greatly to bee deplored) it often commeth to passe, which this *Iambicke* relateth, (*That the vnderstanding of things giuen by God, in long tract of time, is confounded by mens opinions, retaining very little diuinitie, and truth, by reason that it agreeth not with those things, which fall within the compasse of our sense.*) The Philosophers therefore, attributing too much faith to themselues, haue blinded themselues through their vaine discourses, and haue become guides to the blinde: so that falling into the ditch, they haue drawne many after them, by false arguments, and apparant reasons, whereof our subiect shall here be to insert the most principall.

Of the demonstration of Aristotle.

Reasons of Philosophers against the creation of the world.

They then, who esteeme that nothing is stable, or can be stable, in such sort reasoning, and arguing by sensible things, prooue it by the same demonstration that *Aristotle* hath deliuered, yea and as he hath obserued in his whole discourse, and naturall progression (considering that all his consequences proceede from certaine maximes, which hee supposed to bee perfect true) and amongst the most powerfull inuentions, by which they pretend to overthrow the creation, and framing of the world, these Peripateticall reason of the nature of the world, are produced. First, they beholde the heauens altogether differing from contrarietie: whereupon they conclude, that it is not corruptible, and by consequence not made. They finde moreover, that those things which haue a beginning, doe get vnto themselues a new place: now heauen not being able to get it selfe a new place, they conclude that it could not bee created at any time. They consider also that all things which are mooued, passe into a new place, or are mooued round about something, which remaineth firme (as all the spheres are about their center) to the end that all disorder might be brought to some vniformitie. Likewise they suppose euery new thing to be reduced into the olde: so that all generation and corruption is made according to the old substance, and all motion is gouerned by the firme and stable earth, or the vnmoouable center, by which principles they could not perceiue how the newnes of the world could any way come to passe. And forasmuch as the generation of one thing is the corruption of another, and that nothing which should bee corrupted might preceede the world, thereupon they ground that it is eternal without a beginning. Proceeding farther, they suppose that euery thing which is produced, had a fore

being

in the matter thereof. Therefore (they holde) that of necessitie the matter must be eternall. But the most principall and substantiall argument, which they bring, and most generally received, is. That of nothing, nothing is created; whereupon they conclude, that the world could not be made, because nothing did proceede it.

Now we may easily answer these reasons, & trie whether they conclude, or not: but first let vs suppose (as it is most certaine) that there be three sorts of works & 3. kinds of workers. For there is the Artificer, who presupposeth the nature, to wit, the stuffe, fashion, and all the compound. There is the natural agent, which requireth before hand, the effect of God, to wit, the subject, or the matter. And there is God the soveraigne worker, who hath no neede of any other thing, because he is perfect, retaining in himselfe al maner of vertue. Which three kindes of workers do fitly accord by a certaine analogie and proportion, but doe much differ in comparison one with the other: and at the bounds and limits of the one worker, cannot be concluded the power of the other. For it were an error to proceede from art to nature, as if one should say: The arte doth first require the compound, the Goldsmith gold, the Founder mettall, the Carpenter wood, and the Mason stones and cement: therefore the naturall agent doth also require the compound. And likewise the Philosophers deceiue themselves, when they imagine that the soveraigne Creatour hath neede of a subject, or matter to worke on, as is requisite for the naturall agent. Also they abuse themselves to teach, that forasmuch as herein there passeth a certaine proportion from one contrarie to another, it therefore followeth, that God & nature doe proceede by one & the selfe same way. But where (I pray) have they learned to invent such conclusions, when themselves teach, that art is distinguished from nature, & that natural things appertaine to one kind of doctrine, & the eternal, and free from motion belong to another? For the artificer giveth the artificiall forme, & requireth the natural, and the naturall agent fashioneth the substantial, and requireth the material, which is the worke of the soveraigne. But if God should require any thing before hand to worke with, he should also require a former God which must have produced it, and by that reason there should be I wot not what former thing before the first. What are then these shewes of arguments? They conclude & accord badly, when because of the passion of a new place, which demandeth that which is newly performed, they would thereby exclude the world from generation, because it getteth not a place. But what absurditie shal they finde it, if granting them that it hath obtained a place, I say it is the same wherein at this present it remaineth? For it subsisteth about the center, or above that of the earth, or of the whole vniuers, or of the sphere intellectuall, whose center (as *Hermes* saith) is all that which is every where created. In that which they farther inferre, that every new thing must be reduced to an olde, we grant it them. But that olde, is the diuine cogitation, wherein all things are contained, before they be displayed in their proper formes: which being created by it selfe, it alone doth gouerne and preserue them afterwarde. What they moreover adioyne, that all naturall transmutation is made of one matter transposed into another, wee consent to them. But this is not requisite in the primitiue production, free from all lawes of nature, whereto by right the prince thereof is not obliged. And wee agree also that every thing: which is produced, must first be included in some other power, before it be effected: but we say that naturall things remained first in the matter; and the world and diuersitie of substances, were comprised in the Ideas, or exemplaries resident euerlastingly in God. And so doe the Platonists mainetaine, who mounting much higher then the Peripateticks, agree with that which *Saint Iohn* saith. *That all things were made by the word, and that in it was life:* which brought forth all things, and that in it the world before was by power comprised. Wherefore these be no dreames (as *Aristotle* calleth them) but the Ideas of *Plato*: but those are sighted like the bat, who see not the things most manifest in nature, thereby to acknowledge the author of nature. And to the end that we loose the strongest knot of their arguments, to wit, *That of nothing nothing is created:* I would desire them to expound me their sentence, because it is doubtfull, and ambiguous: for if the sense bee thus, that of nothing, by arte, or nature nothing is made, because they require the matter whereupon to worke: wee willingly accord. But what is this to purpose concerning the supreme and almighty architect, whome nature doth follow after, as farre as arte doth nature, as all Philosophers confesse: For according as the naturall agent, bounded and subject to motion, time, and succession, is lesse and more disable in essence, so is it lesse in performance then hee, who is free, and at libertie from all lawes of nature. But if they meane, that of nothing (to wit) after it hath no being, nothing is created: then haue they left it to this present to discusse.

Three sorts of
workes and
three kinds of
workers.

Answers to
the argu-
ments of Phi-
losophers.

Iohn 1.

Nullitie of
the arguments
Nothing of
nothing can
bee made.

cusse, and to all posteritie for ever. Wherefore we have a spacious field, to deny them that which is neither prooued, nor euident in it selfe. If they inferre, that this nothing reiecteth all manner of causes: then we consent to them in this point. But in the creation, or generation of the world, we presuppose (as truth requireth) a working and soueraigne cause, who in the infinite vertue of it selfe, containeth the matter, subiect and fashion, to bestow the meanes, the disposing qualities, and all that, which is requisite to reduce, and bring to perfection any businesse. Behold then, how all these arguments conclude nothing against the doctrine of the worlds creation, no more these other reasons deriued from the motions, & their bounds, which the Peripateticks doe farther induce against the same, as pursuing this matter (ACHITOBY) we may heare of you.

Of the Reasons taken from motion, and the moouing Intelligences, against the Genesis of the world, and of the nullitie of them, Chapter 4.

Nullity of the
argument of
material gene-
rations in re-
spect of the di-
uine peece of
worke.

ACHITOBY.

Other vaine
arguments of
Philosophers.

All motion
tends to a rest

Prou. 8.
Ecclesi. 24. 12.

THE Peripateticks, whereof now adaies many may be found, persevering in their naturall speculations, and considering that motion consisteth in that which is mooued, or ingendred: or else in the subiect of transmutation, and because no substance did precede the primitive production of the world, thereupon they conclude, that it was neuer created. But it is no maruell if they be greatly abused, seeing they would neuer swarue from their sense, and sensible things: whereof no pure and sincere truth can be gathered, because that by them, or by the reasons on them founded, wee cannot attaine to the knowledge of diuine mysteries, which are intellectuall, far remote from any substance, moouing succession, or other sensiblenesse. And therefore they much deceiue themselves, when they, in such sort, argue of these grosse, and materiall generations, comparing them with the diuine master peece of worke, which surpasseth all meanes of nature. They maintaine that all direct (or forward) motion cannot be perpetuall, because it requireth infinite space which nature is not able to endure: but circular motion, because it passeth nothing infinite, may be perpetuall. Now in eternall things, the consequence is good from the power to the being. One may then (say they) thereby assure himselfe of the eternitie of the world. But see a goodly reason to presuppose that to be perpetuall and infinite, which they pretend to prooue. *Anerrois* proceedeth farther, and saith, that it is impossible for the world to haue had any other disposition, then such as at this present it hath, & that being exempt from all contrariety, it followeth, that in no wise it is corruptible, & therefore was not engendred. But who reuealed vnto him that which he supposeth of the state of the world? With what measure pretendeth hee to meat out the puissance of the soueraigne workeman? By what authoritie dares he limit out the power of the infinite, so, that he may not destroy, and build vp at his good pleasure? I say then that the passing away of heauen hath another kinde of bound and limit then the earth, and the very rest it selfe, whereto (as with one minde all Philosophers teach) all motion doth tend. But forasmuch as motion begetteth time, and time it selfe is the measure of motion, thereby it commeth, that forging their arguments vpon one part of time, they misse and faile in reason, when they dispute thus: If the world was not before it tooke beginning, seeing this (before) is an appendix of time, then it followeth that time should precede motion, which is his cause, and progenitor. Againe, they say [In euery instant and moment assigned, is the beginning of time to come, and the ende of time past: then time hath bene before this first instant, and consequently motion and the world.] But the cause of these errors proceedeth from the misvnderstanding of wordes, when they would barre that this word (before) should signifie any thing else then some part of time. For aswell in the diuine as prophane writings of all authors, who can speake fitly and properly, we may finde that this particule (before) signifieth more then a part of time, for sometimes it denoteth the extreme: as is laid in the Proverbs, [The Lord hath possessed me in the beginning of his way, before hee created any thing, I haue had principality from euerlasting, and before the earth.] And in Ecclesiasticus, [He created me from the beginning, and before the world.] *Onid* himselfe in his Metamorphosis vseth this manner of speech, [Before the Sea, the Earth, and Heauen which couereth all things,] though that being of a fine and subtile spirit, he was not ignorant, that time slideth away by reason of the turning of heauen. Moreover this word (*Ante*) signifieth among the La-
tins

tions, the highest degree, wherof is deriued (*Antistes*) he which is principall, & cheefe among others. Sith therefore this particle (before) hath diuers significations, why will our Peripateticke reſtraine it to denote any other thing, but onely a portion of time. Would they not grant me this, that by a certaine order the matter was before the forme, and yet preceded it not in time? So is it that God was before the world, by a certaine order of eternitie. What they farther inferre [That the instant is the end of time paſt, and the beginning of time to come.] We anſwere them, that as the point is to things continued, ſo is the instant to things ſucceeding. Now the point is ſometimes the extreme of one part of a line, & the beginning of another part: & ſometimes alſo it is the beginning of the whole line, and not the end of any part precedent. So the instant & moment wherein the world had being, was the beginning of the time to enſue, & not the end of any paſt. They adde another argument againſt this doctrine. [That (ſay they) which paſſeth on both ſomething both before, & after it.] But he proceede farther, and grant them more, to wit, that all that which paſſeth on returneth to the ſame point, from whence it began to paſſe. For the water returneth to the ſea from whence it had an originall. The bodie returneth to the earth from whence it was borrowed. The ſoule, and other intellectuall things created of God (I except that which the Scripture teacheth vs of the reprobate) returne to himſelfe, of whome they were engendred. And all eſſences produced from the diuine thought, make a full circle beginning in God, & finiſhing in God himſelfe. So muſt time returne into the ſame eternitie, whereout it proceeded, and which ſhall remaine (this ſame ceaſing) in ſuch ſort as it conſiſted before it. And therefore wee anſwere thoſe who demaund how the creatour coulde precede the fabrication of the world, that hee proceeded it by an eternal enduring. Wherefore they conclude iuſt nothing againſt the Creation of that which then was, and is after the generation of things. Others which reaſon vpon the point, which we haue deliuered concerning the opinion of *Auerrois*, that the world is not corruptible, and therefore not engendred, argue thus. [That which is diſſolued into another thing, is diuided: but conſidering that beſide the world, there is nothing, into which it can be diſſolued, it muſt therefore endure eternally.] To which we may anſwere them, that the world is diſſolued according to his parts to the end that it may remaine in a better eſtate. But now wee diſpute not of the diſſolution, but onely of the originall thereof. And it may ſeeme nothing contrarie to Chriſtian religion, that the worke of God may alwaies haue a being: but farre otherwiſe then as wee ſee it, and which ſhall be then, when wee, moſt bleſſed, ſhall inhabite the new heavens and new earth, in life euerlaſting. And herein doe wee concur with ſundrie great Philoſophers, who eſteeme, that it is ill done to ſuppoſe, that thoſe things which immediately proceede from the bleſſed God, can periſh. And therefore wee affirme that the ſoule is immortal, becauſe it was produced, and inſpired by God: and that the bodie it ſelfe ſhall obtaine eternitie, when afterwarde in the reſurrection it ſhall bee reuelled with the nature of the ſoule: which ſubiect wee haue amply diſcourſed vpon in the ſecond part of our Academia. But it is ill concluded, to take away all beginning from things, by reaſon of the perpetuall enduring of the ſame. For (as we haue declared) it were to argue by naturall generations, of the diuine maſter peece of worke, which ſurpaſſeth all ſenſible conſideration. And ſith wee are in this talke of the enduring of the world, wee may further note, that thoſe, who haue thereupon imagined to take away the originall thereof, haue taught, that the ſpirits moouing the ſpheres, ſhould obtaine felicitie in the eternal recourſe of the heavens: which point *Ariſtote* enforceth himſelfe to demonſtrate, in his moſt lofty part of Philoſophie, where repeating diuers conſiderations more lofty then in any other place, he ſharply contendeth for this eternitie of the world. And *Iohn Leſcot* ſeemeth to grant him more then he requireth, when hee ſaith, that the ſpirits are bleſſed, not onely moouing the ſpheres, but for ſo much as by ſuch reuolution, ſeruing God, they communicate perfection to things here beneath. To which, agreeeth that which *Plotin*, entreating of heaven, and of the ſoule of the world, ſaith, [It is an abſurd thing, & diſcordant, to ſuppoſe that that ſoule, which did for a time containe the heaven, ſhould not alwaies do the ſame, as it by violence it had contained it.] And therupon he concludeth that the world ſhould endure for ever, becauſe the principall part of the ſoule therof, cannot be diſſolued, nor the nature therof empaire. *Ariſtote* alſo amongſt his other conſiderations inſerteth this, [That the prince of this worldly palace being eternal, not receiuing any viciffitude, or changing, it is moſt likely that his palace ſhould alſo be eternal, & that his miniſters, or celeftiall ſpirits, being altogether addicted to perpetual motion, ſhould neuer take reſt. But that we may vntie this knot, we wil ſay that it is an error of compariſon, to argue of that which hath his beginning immediately from God, in reſpect

Of the point
and instant.

All things re-
turne to God.

How the
world is diſ-
ſolued.

The opinion
of diuers, that
the celeftiall
ſpirits moue
the ſpheres.

Of the sundry
endes of all
things.

respect of the creator, and of that, which is below, in regard of things above, and of the immediate ende of every thing in comparison of his last ende. For the immediate ende of unreasonable creatures, is to live, and feede themselves; but their finall ende is to serve man's use; which according to the minde of sundry wise men, is the ende of all things here below. And the immediate ende of man is to governe his house, and familie, or the commonwealth to contemplate, trafficke, and such like businesses; but his latestt ende is to attaine to God, or to felicitie, be it, as one would say, through a Stoicall vertue, or by a Peripateticke contemplation, or by Academicke purifying, or (which is most certaine true) through faith, and grace according as our religion doth import. And also wee affirme that the immediate ende of the spirits separated from God, and of the corruptible matter, is to governe the heavens, and men, and such other things, as have bin committed to their charge. But their last ende is their onely contemplation of that first essence, from which they deriue their felicitie (as *Aristotle* himselfe testifieth in his *Ethickes*.) Suppose then that they cease to mooue, & from their immediate ende, yet shall they neuer cease to be blessed: no more then man shall be lesse happie, when he shall cease to governe the commonwealth, or to performe his other temporall businesses. And certainly it is marvellous that any can thinke, that the Angels, and celestiaall spirits should obtaine their happines, by moouing the heavens continually about, seeing that all moouings (as the Philosophers teach) do tend to a resting. But none can say that the spirits shall not cease: because they still labour; but when they have accomplished, and performed their worke, and deliuered such a fauour to terrestriall things, as they were charged with. And for the soule, whereof *Plotin* makes mention, one may likewise affirme that it shall not cease to giue life to the Vniuers, when it shall cease to mooue. For (as wee haue already heard) we maintaine not the annihilating of the elements, of the world, or the parts thereof; but rather the resting after the motion: in such sort as all nature must bee, in the end, after sundrie revolutions reduced to the rest of the Sabbath, vnkowne to many learned men. Let all those then, who trouble themselves without meane, or measure to search out the end of the worldly frame, or contend about the original thereof, here fixe their foote, least running without ceasing in their fantasies after this perpetuall moouing, they neuer rest, and least by no light, they can beholde their repose, being alwaies troubled with a continuall course. Now then *ASER*, I leaue to you to prosecute the confutation of diuers other arguments, vpon this matter of the Creation.

Machina-
tions.

Of many other deuises, which they inuent, who pretend to overthrow the doctrine of the Creation of the world performed by the Creator thereof. Chap. 5.

Reasons a-
gainst the do-
ctrine of the
creation of
the world.

Cic. 1. of the
nature of the
gods.

A S E R. Besides that, which we haue hitherto heard, concerning the reasons and arguments, whereupon many depend, who deny that the world had a beginning, I finde that such are willingly induced to thinke, that by reason of this newe creation, or generation of the Vniuers, there might seeme to arise some new deuise in the Creator, because of the newnesse of the worke, and by consequence an alteration of his minde or will: which cannot happen to the most perfect, and immutable, neither within himselfe (for nothing can mooue it selfe) nor outwardly without himselfe (for then that should consist and encrease which was without him by the empaireing and wearing away of the most infinite.) These are the termes, which *Aristotle*, *Auerrois*, *Moses* of Egypt, and their disciples vse, alledging many other considerations, which *Cicero* in the person of the Epicure, enueighing against *Plato*, in his fluent and eloquent speech hath collected in the discourse of an oration. [With what eyes (saith he) could your *Plato* behold the Art, and composition of so great a worke, by the which he saith the world was builded, and composed by God? What inventions of buildings? What iron Workes? what lifting leauers? what engines? what ministers had he in so great a businesse? How is it that the arie, fire, earth, and water could obey to the workemaster? whence issued the fivie formes, whereof all the rest are formed, falling out fitly to compose the soule, and produce the sense?] And a little after he proceedeth: [I would faine aske these fellows, why vpon a sodaine these builders of the world started vp, who had beene a sleepe by the space of innumerable ages? For although there was then no world, yet were there certaine ages, although they were not such as are made

of a number of daies, and nights by course of yeares (for I confesse that those could not come to passe without the turning of the world: but there was of infinite time a kinde of eternity, which no terme, nor circuit of time did measure. Neuerthelesse none can diuine of what space it hath beene, because it falleth not into humane sense, that there could be any time then, when time was not. Then in such an vnlimited space, why should the providence be idle? why should hee sic labour? and what cause was there, why God like the Shiriffe of a citie should desire to adorne the world with signes, and lights? If it were to them that God might the better dwell at his ease, he had then an infinite time before dwelt in darknes as if in an hole, or by-corner. But if we think that he hath thus beautified heaven, and earth, because he delighted in the diuersitie thereof, what may this pleasure of God be, whereof he was so long time before deprived? May it be for loue towards man, as you might inferre, that God made all these things? But hath this loue been for wisemen, or for fooles? if for wise, then to small purpose (God wot) hath this so exceeding great compiling of things beene made. If for the foolish, first there was no occasion why God should seeke to deserue any thing of the euill; then what hath he gotten when every one being a flat foole is most miserable, in that he is not wise? For what can we name that is worse then folly?] hitherto *Cicero*. *Alicino*s speaking like him doth farther adde: That sith there is nothing beside the world which may do it violence, it can suffer neither malady, nor consumption, nor any dissolution at all. Forasmuch then as it most perpetually endure, it followeth also that it hath beene without beginning. *Anicen* according with him, saith [He which negotiateth by the power of another, may instantly produce that, which before he could not: for he must attend the pleasure of such as work with him: but the first that worketh by his proper power, needs not attend, but worke continually.] Behold then, how the seruants of the world contend for the dignity of their prince, endeavouring to make him eternall, as if voluntarily subiecting themselves to a continuall reuolution, they would defeat themselves for euer retaining to any rest, wherein consisteth true felicity. But we must fight for the soueraigne Creatour, which is our peace, and true Sabbath: defending like good and valiant warriors his eternal rest whereto all reuolution of the world doth refer it selfe, and presently it will appeare (he himselfe aiding vs) how weake those engins are which our aduersaries haue planted against his worke, and against the wall of truth.

First we will consent to *Aristotle*, and to the defenders of his doctrine, that there came to God, by the framing of the vniuers, a new imagination; but full of reason, and without any alteration in his nature, or will, and moreover the same new minde was properly reall, and all one with his eternall will, towards the generation of the world, to performance wherof, he also proceeded according to his good pleasure. But I wonder at so many instances, as they intend to found vpon this new thought, seeing we behold, how assidually many new things are produced, whereof returneth a new thought either towards God, framing, or governing, or at least (as they say) so, as may be towards their wished and desired end. I demand then why should they the new thought of creating the world, make more against the maiesty of God, & not the inuentio of the new parts thereof, every moment arising? *Argazel Sarafyn* holds it not vnmeet, that the most perfect agent, hauing all condition thereto concurring, deferred neuerthelesse to produce his worke in effect, so long as he pleased, and that then he performed it, without any motion in him of him in nouelty. And there is no Philosopher which proueth the contrary, by any demonstration, concerning this newnes, which they presuppose in God, but do full oftentimes contradict themselves. And so is it that *Aristotle* in his book of the world, after hauing in the beginning declared God, Prince, gouernor & creator of this Vniuers, doth afterwards deny it, proceeding by reasons deriued fro sense. Fortherby he endeouoreth, to demonstrate the eternity of the world, & amongst other arguments he vseth this same. [It is most certen, that the agent either of deliberate porpose, or by nature, if he be good, putteth the good in practise, as much as in him possible lieth, if there be nothing to hinder him.] Certenly we confesse that the good is naturally addicted to community. But we hold that although the agent, by his labor & industry, endeouoreth with all his power to get the good, & obtaine it, yet neuertheles in the distributio thereof, he bestoweth it in such maner & sort, as he pleaseth. Why should we not the affirme, that the supreme Creatour, through his immutable and omnipotent will, hauing from euerlasting the good for his object, to the end to put it in practise, doth according to his good pleasure proceed to the performance thereof? But if any passing farther, will argue that the good doth naturally become common: hereto, mounting much higher then Philosophy doth require.

Answer to the
arguments of
the Philoso-
phers.

John. 1.

Proverb. 8.

we answer, That for ever God, who is the soueraigne good, doth encrease himselfe in his son, and spirit coeternall, by which son, and through which holy spirit, one sole essence, and substance, he produced of eternity, and continually the exemplaries, and Ideas of all things by an eternall measure alwaies present, being the worke and possession altogether. Wee tell thee then, O Epicure, that God remained not in sloth, and idlenes before the creation of the world, he that by the testimony of Iesus Christ, doth alwaies worke, wherof none knoweth but the Creator, saue onely the sonne, and he to whom the sonne shall have reuealed him. And he which is most blessed in himselfe slept not, O Cicero, no more then hauing no need of any thing beside himselfe, he framed not this worldly tabernacle for his owne vse, with so great beautifullnes, but rather for man: not foolish, or wicked, but iust, and wise, or at least, that in this terrestriall habitation he might learne wisdom, and goodnes, to bee made at length a worthy citizen of the celestiaall palace. This is the delight, and pleasure which his sapience receiued in the compasse of the earth, and in the sonnes of men (as the wisemari saith.) But neither Aristotle nor Auerrois, nor Cicero, nor the Epicures, and Atheists of our time, haue attained to such supreme Philosophy, as to vnderstand this language of the holy Ghost, Excellent well did that thrise worthy Mercury, the prince, and most auncient of all Philosophers acknowledge, as the whole worke of his Pymander doth testifie, & himselfe also when he saith, that God, whom some call Nature, mixing himselfe with man, performed a wonder, surpassing the reason of all wonder: wherein beholding his owne image, he smiled vpon him through great loue, and gratifying him as his owne sonne, gaue him all his worke to serue him: to the end to reduce to himselfe all things by him, with whom he was mixed, but himselfe before any thing else, because that being purified, and acknowledging his diuine race, he might be made most worthy of God. The eternall omnipotent then had no need of tooles to frame the world with: he, I say, that by his onely commandement performeth all things. Neither had he need of helpe to produce formes, who is himselfe the Archetype, and giuer of all formes, and replenished with all secundyty. Neither is it a strange thing, that the elements should obey him, which by his word onely haue bene settled in their places. Neither dwelthe in an hole, or a corner, nor in darkenes, whom heauen, and earth cannot containe nor comprehend, and who is all light; but within the ample temple of this immense, and intellectuall sphere, whose center is all that which euery where subsisteth. There he inhabiteth those euerlasting ages, which no thought, except himselfe, can comprise. It is no maruel therefore, if humane reason be so often deceiued in the search of that which is inclosed in the closets, and cabinets of the soueraigne worke master, and reuealed but to very few. And for the saying of Alcionis, that there is nothing beside the world; whereinto the world can be dissolued: I answer him, that we teach not that it must be confuted, & brought to nothing, though it hath had a beginning of enduring. But say it is so? God shall haue no need of any thing, for this businesse, no more then he had neede of a subiect, to make and compose his worke of: by reason that his creation, or dissolution is free, and deliuered from the lawes of naturall generation, and corruption, as we haue heretofore already declared. Neither had he need of helpe, O Anicen, who through his proper power, and according to his owne good pleasure, performeth of his owne liberality all things not by nature, and necessity, as those imagine, to whom the eternall power of God, and his loue, for which he created the world, are hidden, as in the processe of our discourse, we may more amply declare. But first let vs heare of AMANA, concerning those things, which haue caused the Philosophers to erre from the truth.

Concerning those causes which haue made the Philosophers to erre
from the knowledge of truth, and of their ignorance concerning
God and his workes. Chap. 6.

AMANA. **W**E may by our precedent discourse easily vnderstand what the strongest engines, which the Philosophers haue planted (but in vaine) against the wals of supernall verity, in this point concerning the creation, and we neede not thinke it strange that they be deceiued, for it is a doctrine, not vsurped by humane arrogancy, but infused into the hearts of the small ones & humble, through illumination by the holy spirit, which mocketh such as thinke themselves wise, & scorne all others; leading them in the dark-

nesse of their blinded presumption: as contrariwise the same spirit directeth, & conducteth those, whom he replenisheth with his owne vertue, to contemplate in most cleere brightnes the excellent mysteries of God, and nature. But to the end that we may partly proceed to the discovery of their ignorance, who do arrogantly assume vnto themselves the name of wisdom, abusing even to this day many vnskilfull in the knowledge of piety, by their graue and ornat writings, being in shew and apparance like somewhat that saouureth, as it were solide and entire, true and profitable: though being profoundly examined, one may finde therein all cleane contrary, and a maruellous repugnancy not only generally between them all, but euen in the particular writings of each of them. I would willingly aske to be resolved of them in this point, how is it that they know the most blessed God (for now I speake to such as are not very far off from religion, and godlines, for as for Atheists, and such as beleeue not God, we will deale with them apart in the sequele of our discourse,) I doubt not but they will answer me, that they haue knowledge of God, by the motions and other sensible things, which lead them by the hand to all such things as may be knowne by vs. For these be their common sayings. [All our knowledge proceedeth of sense. And the experience of true discoursing is, that it agree with that which is perceived by sense: that beeing best knowne, which best agreeth with sense.] But I would entreat them to tell me if sensible things haue an agreemēt of one & the selfesame name, or of a name common to many, with the soueraign God: It is most certen that they are not of one signification, or name (to the end that we may follow their own institutions, by which they teach that God, and things created, do not agree in a selfe same proportion of substance, or essence.) And if one nominate all kinds, he shall name them (saith *Aristotle*) by many sondry names. But if God & his works are diuers in reason; then is it no marvell if the Philosophers proceeding by things here below decciue themselves in the knowledge of God. For how can they imagine of his high Maiesly by the motions, & these things scible, seeing the Eternall is altogether exempt frō sense and motion? Doth not *Aristotle* affirme, and after him *Auerrois* the Arabian, that God is altogether different from the manner of creatures? That is the first mouer, not being moued? Is it not to deprive themselves of the true knowledge of God by sensible things, whē they separate him frō the maner of creatures? Let vs not think it strange then, if those, who admit nothing, but that which they can inuent and comprise by naturall reasons and syllogismes deriued from sensible things, enforce themselves to take from the Omnipotent many things, which are to them hidden, and vknownne, beeing onely receiued by an holy intellect, and by a pure and celestial thought diuinely infused: as are these verities following. [That God hath created the world: that of a free, and liberall will, hee framed and ordained it, when & according as it pleased him: that it belongeth to man, the master peece of worke of his power, to consider what this great God produced according to nature, and what according to his bounty innate: How he dealt in his workes; briefly all the secrets of so wondrous a workeman.] But to returne to our purpose, I wonder how these Philosophers will on one side distinguish God altogether from the creatures, and on another side will measure his almightines and power by that which they consider of things here below. I would entreat them to heare (and yet they haue no occasion heerein to doe it, for they know it well enough already, I speake therefore to his schollers) that which *Saint Dennis* first instructed in their doctrine, and afterward lightened with the beames of the holy Ghost hath said of the Eternall God (saith he) is every thing in excellency. For every good thing which wee behold in these domesticall things, we must dedicate and appropriate the same to GOD in the most excellent sort that we can. For every thing which appeareth faire in the worke, should flourish much fairer in the worker. And that which is in it selfe worthy of the simplest, and meanest commendation, is in him found to be the best, and most excellent of all, for good in a better is euer most good. Good is wisdom in a citizen, better in a President, and most good in a king. Good is fortitude in a souldier, better in a captaine, but most good in a Prince. The like is to be thought concerning clemency, liberalitie, and other vertues, and ornaments. Sith then fecunditie, puillance, vigor, piety, beautie, magnificence, and such other properties doe shine in things here below, much more must they in the diuine thought shoote out their beames in soueraigne brightness. For in the creatures all these vertues, like borrowed colours, doe point out the soule of the world, but in the celestiall prince, they flame out in raies of his infinite essence, which vniteth all things, being appropriated & dedicated vnto it. See then how we must speak, & beleeue concerning the Soueraigne, and how to measure his workes by his omnipotency.

That by
meanes of sen
sible things
one cannot
attaine to the
knowledge of
God.

Dennis in his
Hierarchy.

The good in
a better is e
uer most ex
cellent.

All things en-
force them-
selues to re-
present the
image of God

Proper facul-
ties to be con-
sidered in
God.

and power. But forasmuch as the Philosophers doe confesse that God is the first, and best of all things, and all other things are vnder him, and subiect to him, and that they praise, and commend in them, fertility, liberality, generation, and such other vertues, & faculties, which from time to time do here make manifest their effects: wherefore should they not acknowledge them in the fouveraigne good God, who saith in Esay, [If I giue fruitfulness to others, shall I be barren] They may tell me that they separate from God, not onely all that which feeleth his owne imperfection, but all that also, which wanteth of perfection: & therof it ariseth that they take from him all fertility, concerning things that are without him, least any new thing, or alteration might be attributed to the euermoving, and immutable: and likewise the liberty of contingence, least as if imperfect, he might seeme to negotiate vnder hope of reward: and yet they deny him not the liberty, by which he worketh as is conuenient for him. Certainly these be subtil, and sharpe allegations, and yet of small force. For let me aske them, if all schooles teach not, that the things of this world enforce themselues to their power, to represent the image of God? The Platonists in euery discourse, doe acknowledge it as well as the Theologians. Yea the Peripatetickes themselues agree in this point, as their master teacheth in the second treatise of the soule, in such words. [It is the most natural deed of all living things, so far forth as they be perfect, not impotent, to make another thing like to it selfe: as the beast a beast, the plant a plant, because they participate of the diuine, and eternall essence, so much as they can. For all essences desire it, and all things which follow their course according to nature, worke for the loue of it: but they cannot immitate it continually and with perpetuall proportion, because no corruptible thing attaineth to bee one and the same in number.] These be very obscure sayings, but yet by them wee may learne that all creatures tend according to their faculty, to agree with the semblance of God; and by how much more each member of this worldly body is more perfect, by so much more doth it enforce it selfe, as if in emulation, to imitate the creator of it. It is true that *Auerrois* doth interpret this text of *Aristotle*, concerning heauen. But how should the heauen be this Eternall, whom all things should enforce themselues to follow, considering that it of it selfe is eternall, in fauor of whom, the elements, heauen it selfe, & euery creature doth worke? Doth not the doctrine of *Aristotle* resound in each point, that God is the end of all things, in desire of who they are moued as to the thing loved & desired. But leauing this Arabian *Auerrois*, who studieth all his works to deface, & marre many other sentences of his master, that he may defend that which he imagineth; let vs conclude, that according as the Philosophers confesse, the elements in their being, the plants in their life, & fruitfulness, the liuing creatures in a better life, and in their condition such as it is, imitate in emulation the diuine power & perfection; and that men endued with the singular gift of libertie, & free will doth in the same imitate God, and beareth in a better estate and condition, then any other thing, his image, and semblance. By such consideration (say I) is also prooued the freedome and liberty of God, alwaies tending to good, according to his good pleasure, because hee containeth within himselfe that which he conferreth vpon others. And briefly to answer all their reasons heretofore alleadged, let vs hold, that the fouveraigne perfection, which is in God, wanteth not in the lowest degree, nor for the cause thereof, nor yet that his simple vinity is distributed into a multitude, because that in it selfe, by infinite power, it containeth all things. Neither doth the intellectuall soule degenerate, although (as they teach) it exerciseth the power to feele, to strengthen, to cause encreasing, and to moue according to his estate. For (that we may mount to higher considerations) God perceiueth with such his senses, as the holy Scriptures attribute vnto him: He moueth all other things, himselfe remaining stable, he giueth them strength, and feedeth them with the foode of his wisdom. But he performeth all these things by a meanes, by a perfection and power, which is vknowne to humane spirits, except they be illustrated with his light. And there is in him a fertility without travel, which is the fountaine of all other things, through which hee produceth alwaies within himselfe, but outwardly he doth it at the pleasure of his will. Which because it is the rule of contingence, it is not possible nor fit for vs to search out the cause of the first beginning. For when wee are thereto arriued, *Aristotle* himselfe doth charge to stay: for God hath no need of any precedent disposition; nor of helpe; neither did feare resistance, nor was hindered by space, hee, who in commanding created all things. But the causes of things here below, the instruments and subiect framed by his word, require a precedent disposition, haue need of an application, attaine succession of time, and seeke such helps, as are requisite for such a one, as negotiateth by power limited. And therefore (as we haue already said) when they

they deduce their reasons from these conditional & naturall workers, to him, which is free & deliuered from all these things, they fall into diuers errors. But if by the works, which they contemplate in this Vniuers, they do enforce themselves to attaine to the knowledge of the Soueraigne Architect, then let them attribute vnto him all these things after a conuenient and perfect manner: separating from him all that denoteth feeblenes, and impotency in the worker. And then they shall see that the supreme things of the Architype, accord by a sweet and melodious consonancy to those which are more base and meane; all which are comprised in the creator, as in a modell and patterne, and contemplated by vs here below, as in a shadow or trace. But this shadow and much more the trace, doth want much of him, whom they represent. And yet by them, as by a token, or priuie note, wee attaine to some obscure knowledge of the creator: although his works doe agree with him neither in different proportion or signification, nor yet in all and through all in the same reason, but onely by a certaine resemblance they represent vnto vs the perfect fashion of supernall things, by their most grosse and base nature euerie one in their degree. But this is sufficient concerning this subiect: now speake we of the authority of such witnesses, as make the creation of the world vndoubtable, which we refer to you A R A M, to declare vnto vs.

Of the authority of such witnesses, as make the creation and newnes of the world vndoubted. Chap. 7.

A R A M. **A**S we haue seene, how weak and feeble, the arguments of Philosophers, against the creation and newnesse of the world are: so is it expedient also, that beeing ready for the combat, we march in battle against them, armed with true and strong reasons: and vnder the authority of very good, and approued witnesses, to the end to make vndoubted to all, that, which we haue already declared concerning the creation of the Vniuers. And first wee will recite those, who being worthy of credite, haue taught it vs. Wee haue already seene how that the opinion of *Plato* (concerning this generatiō of the world (accordeth with the doctrine of *Moses*, *Mercurius Trismegistus* in his *Pimandre* deliuereth in few words the same sacred mysteries, rendring the composition of this Vniuers, and of the gouernours thereof, and of all things created, to be vndoubtable. And by the baser elements he aduertiseth vs of the pure workmanship of nature, vnited neuerthelesse with the thought of the Creator. Which elements he affirmeth to be for this purpose, established by the will of God onely, and yet in farre worse condition, then before they were in the worker. *Empedocles* of Agrigentum, and *Heraclitus* of Ephesus affirme not once, but oftentimes the world to be engendred, and corruptible. *Democritus* teacheth, that it hath had a beginning, that it one day must perish, and neuer againe be renewed. *Hesiod* and *Orpheus* the Poets sing that it hath been created. *Thales* one of the seven Sages affirmeth, that this round frame is the worke of God. *Pythagoras* and *Heraclitus* his expounder, confesse God creatour, and father of all things. To which accord *Anicen Arabian*, *Algazel Sarrafin*, *Philono* lesse excellent in doctrine, then in Greeke eloquence, & *Alcinoüs* the Platonist, who saith, (It is necessary for the vniuersall world to be the perfectly beautilous worke of God) And many such other authors the most commended for learning, whom it would be too long & tedious to rehearse, affirme the same. But leauing the testimonies of strangers, let vs come to such as haue receiued frō diuine oracles, by supernaturall illumination, that which they haue taught vnto vs. We haue heard that which *Moses* teacheth vs concerning the generation of the world, now let vs consider how his doctrine, or rather the doctrine of the holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of so excellent a prophet, is confirmed vnto vs by miracles, prodiges, oracles, & prophecies: and lastly by the consent of euery part of his writings; as also by the graue authority of those who in their interpretations of them doe confirme & approoue them. Concerning his miracles they are all most manifest to such as haue read his bookes. The rod is turned into a serpent, & againe returned into the former shape: It deuoureth the magician's rods, shewing that the forceries of vnclane spirits, and all their puissance & force is consumed by the power of God, which wrought & dealt in *Aaron* & in *Moses*. He brings forth infinite little beasts and of sundry sorts, which picke both man and beast: he draweth water out of the stone, giueth quails frō heauen, bringeth thunder, a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, and also the darke night, & doth all this by the word of the liuing Lord

Many witnesses of the worlds creation.

Heraclitus.

A certaine approbation of the doctrine of Moses.

Of miracles. Exod. 4. 7. 8. 9. 10. &c.

who

Prodigies.

Oracles.

Authors
which con-
firme Moses
writings.
Prophecies.

What authors
are worthy of
beleefe.

Eusebius in
his Ecclesiasti-
call history.

who one while terrifieth, and another while comforteth his people. Hee sendeth slaughter among the Egyptians, sudden losse and ruine to the wicked, fire among the proud, and leprosie to her that murmured; and preserveth for a long time a great number from sickness, and their garments from waxing old, and wearing. Moreover he feedeth them with heavenly foode, and giveth them victory over all their enemies. Such things and many such like things doth the soveraigne architect of this Vniuers performe by his prophet; to the end to approoue his doctrine, and to teach vs his truth thereby. To this end also by the word of *Moses* he appeaseth monsters, causeth the thunder to cease, healeth such as were empoisoned: to the end that to much the more through such prodigies, his law, the wisdom of life and doctrine, by which he instructed his people, might be celebrated. And concerning Oracles, they haue not bin deliuered vnto vs from a Delphick *Apollo*, from a *Iupiter*, from a *Pallas*, or any fained sapience, or else from some new found god head: but they haue bin given vs from the mouth of the living Lord, whose voice the innumerable multitudes of *Israell* did sometimes heare. But if some (as there are many amongst vs) will not beleue *Moses* alone, relating all these things, nor his people which haue written of them as he himselfe did, yet let them at least giue credit to the many graue and Sage Authors, who affirme the for a very truth as to *Berosus* the Chaldee, to *Manetho* the Egyptiā, *Hierom* the Phenician, king *Darius*, *Mendesian Ptolomy*, *Monander* of Ephesus, *Nicolas Damascenus*, *Abiden* the Historiographer *Ephesus*, *Theodore*, *Chorilus* and *Ezekiell* the Poets, *Demetris* the Historian. *Hecate* of Abdera the Philosopher, and aboue forty other learned, recorded for testimony by *Iosephus Aristobulus*, *Tertullian* and *Eusebius*, who all agree in recitation of the forsaide wonders. Let vs proceede and come to the prophecies. Of them *Ptolomy* in his booke of fruits saith, (*Those onely who are inspired by God, prophecies of particular things.*) (If then *Moses* in his doctrine, and all the other Prophets which haue followed him, haue prophecied of so many particular actions to the king of Egypt, to the Tribes, to many princes & kings, as wel concerning themselves as also concerning their cities, and people, who will doubt that they haue beene instructed by the spirit of God? Who can accuse them of falshood? who will make doubt of their doctrine? If one read the text of *Moses*, all points therein are so replenished with prophecies, & future euents, that there is nothing left out there concerning that which belongeth to the mysteries of diuine and Philosophicall matters, nor of the *Messias* then to come, nor yet of all whatsoever should afterward come to passe, as is euident to those who haue the eyes of their minds illuminated, and who vnderstand the bookes of the law, to see cleane through a great many vailles, vnder which (as was most meet) the prophet did hide so many profound mysteries. What man then of sound iudgment that making small or no account of such and so great sacraments: will rather then to beleue in them: haue recourse to the monuments of certain Philosophers, not approoued by so many witnesses, & whose writings fauor no whit of diuine matters? Wee may very well receiue their instructions so farre as they differ not from the doctrine of holy writ: but we must altogether reiect that which relying vpon their owne authority, or their owne inuention supported by their reasons, and indeed not in many places ought woorth, (which) they induce besides that which is containd in the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets. For if we will shew reuerence to authors, to which I pray you, should we shew more, either to *Aristotle*, *Auerrois*, *Epicures*, and such like, who only doe shine with a small light of humane doctrine, or else to *Moses*, to the Prophets, to *Salomon* the wisest of all his time, to the Evangelists, and to the Apostles, every of which in sapience, in wisdom, in manners, in prophecies, in oracles, and in all kinde of holinesse do shine, and flame like burning torches? Who affirme in an vnused stile that which they speake concerning diuine things, prouing them with perill of their liues, and confirming them by prodigies: and speaking of things naturall, humane, and base, aboue all common capacity of men, and penetrating into most deepe secrets, by illumination of the holy spirit, doe with most bright clerenes manifest them to all those which haue eyes to see, and eares to heare. And therefore *Eusebius* hath excellently written to this purpose, speaking thus, (you shall finde out the errors of the Ethnicke Philosophers, not by mee; but by the contradiction, and marvellous repugnancy among themselves: and when I compare them among themselves, or with other common men, certainly I cannot denie but they haue beene woorthy personages, but when I conferre them with the Philosophers and Theologians of the Hebrewes, and compare their doctrine, with the doctrine of those, frivolous and vaine do all their enuentions seeme to mee.) Moreover, know wee not that by the one all thinges haue beene deliuered humanely, and by the others diuinely.

And

And that those who would taste of the first draughts of wisdom, have beene constrained to learne of the Hebrewes? And therefore *Porphyrus* in his booke of Abstinence, adorneth with sundry praises the religious, or prophets among that people, calling them Philosophers, and assigning them the chiefest degree above all other Prophets and Magi, who have made profession of holinesse. And *Orpheus* in his booke which he hath written of the holy word, after hee chased away all contempters of the diuine ordinances and mysteries, confesseth that he learned out of the tables of *Moses*, that which hee song of God, knowe onely but to his Prophet. But above all the foresaide testimonies, worthy to be beleueed, to them (that which surpasseth all admiration) the doctrine of the celestially and diuine messenger Iesus Christ, the true messias, annointed with diuine graces, above any other prophet doth accord. Who allowing and approouing the doctrine of *Moses*, openeth and reuealeth many secrets, which he received of God his father, and announceth the perfection of true religion: wherewith his apostles haue so filled the whole world that euen to this day, all the wise men in euery part of the world do embrace and reuerence so excellent doctrine, as that, wherein it shineth, so much diuinity and celestially brightnesse, that without comparison it surpasseth all humane doctrine. Let vs receiue it then, euen all of vs that desire wisdom, because that neuer any more excellent did euer yet appeare to mortall men, neither shall euer appeare hereafter. And let vs not make a stay in that that *Socrates* knoweth something, or that *Anaxagoras* seeth the light in darkenesse, or that *Democritus* draweth vertue out of pits, or that *Empedocles* enlargeth the path of his spirit, or that *Archylaus*, and *Carnades* attaine to some new kind of knowledge, or that *Aristotle* proueth that which flieth from sense. But let vs giue full faith to the authoritie of so many irreproachable witnesses, who make the generation of the world vndoubtable to vs, & let vs proceed to the reasons which further confirme it vnto vs, and which, *ACHITOES*, we desire to heare of you.

Consent of
the doctrine
of Iesus
Christ with
that of Mo-
ses.

*Of the reasons making for the Creation and newnesse of the
world. Chapter 3.*

ACHITOES. Amongst those other arguments, which wee haue heard some Philosophers obiect against the creation of the world, one hath beene the disconueniencie of the newnesse thereof with eternall God, not being able to perceiue how and which way it might come to passe: for by reason of the consideration of such a like question, to wit, [which of the egge without the birde was first engendred; seeing that the egge without the birde, nor the bird without the egge could not subsist:] they haue imagined that this world was eternall, and that the beginning of euery thing engendred, was the end likewise thereof, through a perpetual course, & proceeding. But let me aske these doctors, whence cometh this newnes which we behold euery day in all things of this world? For there is nothing which suffereth not vicissitude, and changing. *Anaxagoras* saith, that this proceedeth from new revolutions, which notwithstanding are auncient by an euermore succession: & that there is the stay where the oldnesse, and newnes is conserued, For which cause also some haue affirmed, that heauen is some part new, some part old. But for as much as these Philosophers do teach, that revolutions are made by those disposing spirits, which are called the seruants of the creator, or of the first moouer, doth not thereupon follow, that there is no stay in the heauens, but that they moue anew to accomplish that which the first moouer, doth propose in a certaine time to be performed, and who remaining stable doth giue motion to all the rest? Wherefore we may say that the beginning of newnesse cannot bee from heauen, nor through the spirits, but by the first moouer, who at his good pleasure commandeth & all things are made, and afterwards renued by a secret order within himselfe not constrained by any necessitie. For so it is that God proceedeth to his worke, and so prosecuteth it, without being otherwise bound to base things: which *Aristotle* himselfe accordeth to, when he declareth that he is blessed, without any good that is strange, or not of himselfe. And farther, I would willingly know with what kind of measure they would mete out the Vniuers who beare such fauour to the eternity of the world? If by time (it be measured) then is not eternall, for those reasons which we haue deliuered heretofore in the discourse concerning the time of the Creation. If by eternity (it selfe) then let them remember that that is a possession altogether separated from time, and from motion, as hath beene to vs sufficiently declared. How then can this world be eternall which is equall in age to Time, and altogether

Reasons for
the newnes of
the world.

That the
world cannot
be eternall.

subiect to Motion? But if any one yet would hold that it is eternal, let him tel me whether it endureth by the selfe same eternitie which is in the blessed God, or by some other? If it be by another sort of eternitie, then should there be diuers eternities of gouernours, & of kinds, which should fauour of the nature of the infinite: and also many infinitenesses should bee contained in this world which is so small. If they will say, that the world subsisteth of the same eternitie by which God is, certainly such are not worthy of any answer, but rather to be mocked at, who thinke the spheres, & their moouers to be measured with God: for eternall enduring differeth not from God. But that which is changeable according to Nature, and operation cannot be measured with the same compasse, as he who is altogether vnchangeable. They wil tell me that the eternity of the world differeth from that of the first agent, because the one being altogether diuine is a possession at once altogether, and the other is successiue. But I answer them that if it be successiue, it hath certaine portions; now such portions cannot be infinite, and therefore such eternity hath a beginning, & successiue ending. Now if it be limited and bounded with these termes, how can it bee that it may agree with the eternall, who is not closed, or limited by any ending? Besides, by what reason may this be called eternall, to which alwaies something is added by a continuall succession? For one can adde nothing to the infinite, neither doth it encrease at all. And therefore I aske them againe that if their eternitie subsisteth, what do become of the new reuolutions? Shall we say they are conioyned with the former, or else that they begin a new infiniteness? If they graunt the first, then will they be more in number then infinite. *Auerrois* saith, that this is no more disagreeable to successions, then to numbers, that infinite tens bee infinitely repeated, which amount to so much as innumerable hundreths, without making any more encrease in one part then in another. But good God who can heare these things with a quiet eare? By an impossible supposition which he deuifeth in numbers, and which neuer cometh to passe, he would resolue the inconueniences which depend vpon infinitreuolutions, which hee saith did precede all eternity. And for the other point, to thinke that the new reuolutions should begin a new infinitenes, we haue alreadie answered that saying, that many infinitenesses cannot be imagined in this world. But here leauing the successions and numbers, I would farther request these defenders of the eternity of this round frame to tell me, whether the moouing spirits know the reuolutions, or not? If they know them not, certainly men doe them much iniury to thinke, that they are ignorant in their motions, which many Astronomers know. If they know them all (being) infinite, how is it that by a finite vnderstanding, which is in all creatures, they may cōprehend things (that are) infinite? Again, sith that generation is bounded and limited by the vndinidable, and the last generation of any creature whatsoever by the last creature, what generation shall wee say to be limited to the first? If they say there is no former, how is it then that there can be a latter? I wonder also at those ancient Sages of the world, and the moderne likewise which follow them, when they declare all things to be mooued, and ordained in God as in the last wished, and desired end; and yet doubt to confesse that he is the ordainer, considering also that they call him the first moouer. But if he hath ordained all things, it followeth likewise that he must know them. For concerning that which some inferre, that God hath only disposed the vppermost and highest things, and that the second causes engendred the lowest: I demaund of them, how it is that those here below are correspondent to those which are most high, cōsidering there are diuers ordainers? Doth not *Aristotle* say, [*That there is but one onely prince, for feare least things should be euilly disposed & gouerned?*] Again, if all things depend of a desired & finishing cause, so that in fauour thereof they become great: how is it that they haue a being of themselves, seeing they seeke to be perfect in another? Why haue those any need of a preseruer: which haue no need of a creator? Indeed the son is preserued without the father, but without him he is not engendred. For what occasion thē doe these Philosophers give a keeper to the members of the Vniuers, & do take cleane away frō it any parents? What lies doe they bring vnto vs that accuse others to be sellers of lies? For in one place they miscōster & deny that, which in another place the truth constraineth them to confesse. *Auerrois* in many places of his writings, denieth that God created the world; and yet, interpreting the treatise of *heaven*, he calleth him Creator. So likewise *Aristotle* proceeding by sensible things mocketh at *Plato*, that at euery word confesseth the world to be created: and in the booke which he intituleth *Of the World*, he auoucheth God to be Creator of the Vniuers. And in his *Metaphysics* he teacheth that he is Prince of the world. And how is it that the Prince is entred into an house which he neither hath builded, nor obtained by right of inheritance, nor bought

Reason taken
from genera-
tions.

Another of
the moderati-
on and govern-
ment of
things.

How the Phi-
losophers
cont ray them
selves.

with

Reasons for the creation of the world

657

with any summe of money? This is as he affirmeth that the supreme thought vnderstandeth not the particular matters, for feare least he should ouer labour, or, else wearie himselfe. And yet in the treatise of good, and bad fortune, hee often repeateth, that hee hath excellent good fortune that is guided by God. But how doth hee guide and direct that which hee vnderstandeth not? And how doth hee render condigne recompence, and reward for thinges well or ill done (as it is saide in the same Treatise) if he doth not consider and examine the workes of euery one? Againe wee reade in the Meteors, that God hath placed the pure fire vnder the globe of the Moone: and yet how hath he disposed and ordained that, which he neither made, nor hath knowledge of? Surely it would be a tedious matter to bring out all the contrarieties & repugnances of the writings of Philosophers, which do plainly confound themselves. But out of much I haue selected this little, to the end that those who boast rather of the name of Peripateticks, or Auerroists, then of good Theologians, and Christians, may behold, that al their teachings are not solid, nor firme. Let vs insert among our reasons, which confound their doctrine, the iudgement of Saint *Augustine*, of *Macrobius*, and of many other learned men, who hold that the eternitie of the world cannot subsist, and haue place with so small memory of things done, as we haue in our histories, as well holy as prophane, neither yet with the inuention of arts and many other thinges celebrated by *Eusebius*, *Pamphilus*, *Clemens*, *Alexandrinus*, *Berosus* the Chaldee, *Aristotle*, *Auerrois*, *Theophrastus*, *Epigenes*, *Crisodemus*, *Philosophanes*, *Egeus*, *Archimachus*, *Damasthenes*, *Aulus Gellius*, and a great number of others of diuers languages, and most plentifully by *Pliny* in his booke of the naturall history, where he confesseth to haue collected part of his writings out of the said authors, with whom also, in that which they testifie of the inuention of things, the holy letters are of great authoritie, in that they do agree with them herein in many points. For although there be some difference concerning the names of those which haue inuanted them, as the forenamed authors do not alwaies agree among themselves: yet the inuention found in time, is wholly confirmed by the same reason, & all that which disagreeeth, is come either by reason of the languages, not being alike, or because that Historiographers, chiefly the Greekes, haue attributed that to their nation, which properly appertained not them. Now if the world had beene from the beginning, yea euen before the beginning, as many would haue it: why then in the successiue course of innumerable ages, was not that policie and kinde of liuing inuented, which we vse at this present? Why not the vse of letters, by which onely, memory is made eternall? Why not the experience of many things? For none of all this is found to be, but within and since five thousand five hundred yeeres, so long as the Scripture teacheth vs that the world hath beene created, being from the creation therof to the natiuity of Iesus Christ (according to the common computation) three thousand nine hundred sixtie seven yeeres, what did the inhabitants of the world before his time so brieue and short being compared with eternitie, and to which the histories do refer the inuentions and vse of all things? Lived men then without policy, and without lawes? without bread, without wine, without tillage of the earth? were they without the exercise of merchandise, without the studie of good letters, of discipline, of warfare, of navigation, of building, of weauing, of sowing, of dressing wooll: all which things haue their inuention famous but within a few yeeres, and in diuers seasons? wherewith lived they before? wheredwelt they? how were they clothed? what did they being altogether ignorant of arts? Certainly it is meere mockerie, that those who teach that the world is eternall, do themselves assigne the inuentions of lawes, of arts, and of mens liuing, considering that both the one and the other could not consist both at one instant. Behold (companions) that which seemed good to me to note concerning the reasons making for the creation, the historie whereof will put vs altogether out of doubt in that which toucheth the principall arguments of the Philosophers against it, if we doe amply entreate of their errors, when they maintaine that God worketh of necessitie, and not of free and franke will which will serue vs to morrow for a subject to begin the daies discourse.

The eternitie of the world cannot agree with histories and inuention of things.

The end of the first daies worke.

THE

That God wrought not The Second dayes worke.

*Concerning the errors of these Philosophers, which say that God
doth his outward worke of necessity.*

Chapter 9.

ASER.



I thinke (companions) we were yesterday sufficiently entangled in the discourse of the creatiō of the world, about that which concerneth the doubt, that remaineth in many. But ere wee doe farther enter into the cabinets of God and nature, it would not be vnfruitfull if wee yet haue an other pull with the Philosophers about this question. Whether of necessity or of free choice, and franke will God was prouoked to worke? For they supposed that the condition of

If the worke
of God be of
necessitie, or
voluntary.

necessitie was fitter and more conuenient then was the matter of contingency, & therefore they appropriate it to God. Wherin they thinke verily to want no reasons for their purpose, & that these make specially for them. [That God worketh by his proper substance, and not by any borrowed vertue; That the effectes of the world, are of necessity, because they seeme in no wise to proceed of a contingent cause; that by the same reason is to be considered the invariable, and necessarie order of things, to the end that the vniuers bee not confounded or troubled.] Moreouer the Philosophers supposed that it was a very vnfit thing, for the diuine vnderstanding to worke of necessity, and the diuine will to worke freely, considering that it is no lesse perfect then the diuine thought. Now though that wee (concerning these considerations) might take out of the quiver of reasonable discourse arrowes enow against these Sages of world, yet for that this point doth particularly touch the diuinity, it may suffice to say with *Plato*, that one cannot picke out so great a mystery by reasons, but seeke to learn the same by oracles. For it is sufficient to know that the great law-giver recordeth that [God spake, and it was done] & that with him agreeth the kingly prophet, saying, [he commanded, & it was established] to conclude, that all the scriptures teach vs the same doctrine.

Genes. 1.
Psalms. 33.

Liberty profitable
for all
things.

But here let vs declare, that that which seemeth thus to disturbe the Philosophers, is nothing at all: For they presuppose a necessarie disposition to bee more perfect then the contingent cause: which they haue left to prooue, to those that should come afterwards. Now I beseech you, do we not more esteeme a Prince, who directeth euery thing according to his owne good pleasure, then if vrged by nature, or any other prouocation constraining him, he should set his hand to any busines? Who will blame libertie, which (as the Prouerbe saith) is hardly bought for gold? That I say, which they themselves thinke to haue bin graunted man for a most singular good? What perfection, what praise should bee attributed to most loftie thoughts, if they were ener forced to performe that which is good? What dignity might appertaine to a great king, if he did all things necessity constraining him, and nothing of a generous heart? And seeing by comon consent, we acknowledge God to be the Prince of the world, what glory and honor should be given him for his gouernement, for his wisdom, for his iustice, for his clemency, if of necessity, & constraint he were drawne on to maintain that, which is in his tuition? What grace, what seruice, and adoration should wee owe him? Why is it entred into nature, to sacrifice, as *Aristotle* saith? Why are we obliged (as *Anaxagoras* himselfe teacheth) to magnifie God the creator in prayers and sacrifices? If God doth all things of necessity, what profiteth all this? For what cause is it conuenient for vs to pray, if God be not appeased by prayer? To what end hath all mankind in euery age, in al places of euery nation beene addicted to a dore a diuinity? Surely we may therot gather that prayers are fit for men; and that it is naturally grafted in our minds that God is moued by them. So many reasons then may well conclude, that the author of Nature doth neuer negotiate of necessity. And for that that he worketh by a proper substance, that is not of eternity, except in the spiritual worke, from himselfe, wherof we haue spoken in the 3. of our discourse. But for the outward worke hee proceeded thereto, according to his owne wil, when it pleased him; not constrained by any causes (for hee is the onely and principall cause of all things)

Prayers are
fit for men.

things) nor for hope to get any good (for that he of himselfe is blessed, not having neede of any other good.) Furthermore also, the necessarie effects conclude not any necessity in the prince, or in the first cause, considering that the second causes, which *Plato* & the other Sages call his servants, doe worke by his comendement in determined order; so that the necessity that therein is, dependeth vpon his comendement, or vpon the order, from which he absolue them according to his own good pleasure. And therof came it that the fire burned not the childre in the Chaldean furnace: that the sun stayed his course by the space of a day at *Iosuahs* comendement: that it went backe ten lines or ten howers, in the time of *Ezechias*: That it was eclipsed at full moone, during the passion of Iesus Christ. The Peripatetickes, Atheists, and Epicures will laugh at this, and will say scoffingly: which of the Philosophers recounteth these things? These sellers of lyes, which teach the lawes, are madde (saith *Auerrois*.) But herein sixth question is made concerning diuine misteries, what haue we to doe with such contempters of all pietie? The sentence wherein we make stay, hath bene celebrated by those which could iudge. And men doe rather beleue one that affirmeth, then a thousand that denie: for negation concludeth nothing. And why should we care then though they deny altogether in words that, which many witnesses, yea and most wise, do assure to haue prooued in effect? The holy letters testifie it, whereto we rather giue credite, then to *Aristotle*, and al his schollers. And amongst a thousand most famous Philosophers & Christian Martyrs, which consent to this doctrine of truth, is Saint *Denis Areopagita*, so called of the *Areopagus* or streete of *Mars*, which was a court and assembly among the Athenians, first of nine persons elected by the chiefe Magistrates, and after ward encreased to the number of fiftie of the most principall, as well for learning, holinesse of life, and wisdom, as also for riches, to the end that pouerty might not induce them to corruption (as *Audrotion* in the second, and *Philotorns* in the third booke of the Athenian affaires do write.) This man then writing to *Policarpus*, reprehendeth *Apollonphanes* the Sophister in these very words, because hee would not admit of the eclipse of the Sunne which came to passe at the death of the *Messias*: [I know not with what spirit thou wert let to diuine, O *Apollonphanes*, when, with me, contemplating the eclipse, which was against the order of nature, at the time that Christ suffered, turning thy selfe towards mee, thou saidst (noble *Denis*, these are the changes, which come to passe sometime in diuine things.) If thou canst, conuince this of vnruth. For I was present with thee in consideration of so great a prodigy: with thee I beheld it, iudged of it, and thought it worthy of perpetuall admiration.] But if any will not yet beleue this most entire philosopher, let him hearken to that which the astronomers say. *Efenus* very skilfull, and learned in this science, taught by astronomicall numbers, that the sunne went vnder *Aries*, and the Moone vnder *Libra*, when the sunne failed at full moone, and at that time the Iewes according to their custome celebrated the feast of passeouer. Moreover *Phlegron* one most excellent in reckoning the Olympiads, in his thirteenth booke testifieth, that in the fourth yeere of the two hundred and second Olympiad there was an eclipse of the Sunne, much greater then all those that had euer before hapned, at which time was the passion of Iesus Christ. And for the going backe of the sunne in *Ezechias* reigne, as also that which we reade of the deluge of waters, with many other miracles contained in holy writ, the auncient memorials of the Persians, and Chaldeans do make notable mention thereof. And thence cometh it that the Persian priestes do celebrate the memorie of the triple *Mithras*, that is of the sunne (as *Denis* and *Strabo* witness) which at the foresaid time appeared to performe a triple course, or to stay three times, from his accustomed progesse into the west, retyring againe into the east by a new kinde of returne for ten howres, and then returning againe into the west. I leaue, for this point, the other witnesses Philosophers, Gentiles, Chaldes, Egyptians Phenicians, Greekes, the Sibelles, and many Historians brought for prooue of the supernatural effects of omnipotent God, by *Iosephus*, *Aristobulus*, *Tertullian*, and *Eusebius*, whereof each by their writings may sufficiently instruct. And if authority doe ought auaille in disputation, let then the deposition of so many Sages preuaile in this point, in a matter that *Aristotle* and his fautors deny in wordes onely. Most prudently certaine doth *Anicen* thinke that motion is neither necessary, nor violent, but in a meane betwixt both, in such sort, that it euer retereth at the pleasure of the Prince. And therefore it must bee graunted that the second causes are so alligated to the first cause, that they doe nothing but as the other commands them. And yet it so gouerneth those things which it hath created and ordayned, that it permitteth them to performe their ordinary proper motions. Now because that it seldome hapneth to the contrarie, and that

God is not
subiect to any
order of
nature.

Dan. 3.
Tol. 10
2. Kings. 10.

Areopagus of
the Athenians

Of the eclipse
of the sun at
the death of
Iesus Christ.

*The Ram.
*The balance

Recalling of
the sun in
Ezechias daies.

the

By the necessity of effects one must not conclude the necessity of the cause.

God hath produced all things by himselfe.

the order of their first institution perseuereth in many things, and that most commonly: therefore did *Aristotle* iudge that it was naturall, and necessarie. For as he saith in his treatise of natural hearing, [That is naturall which commeth to many, & oftentimes:] And so could he make no farther search by sensible things. But the operations of God, and the alliance of things here below, with the first cause may not be searched out by discourse of reasons, but must rather, as we have declared, be learnt in oracles. Thus is conuincied of nullitie, the progresse which is deduced from necessitie, appearing in the effects, to the necessitie of the cause: because that necessitie of the effects dependeth vpon the order established by the first cause. And the effects also are not needefull because they are all particular: for the worke of nature is not bounded by the vniuersall All, but by each particular which the Peripateticks themselves do rather nominate contingence, then necessarie. But because the most subtile Philosophers do yet debate, that they be eternall, and that most needefull is the coherence of the subiect, with the worker, in which the proper essentiall, or the quidditie, (as they terme it) is named of the subiect: we may render them an other reason for this pretended necessity: to wit, the correspondence of things with the exemplaries or eternall Ideas, celebrated by *Plato*, and defended by many sage and great personages, as hath already beene shopen. For his cannot consist, considering that the vniuersall is a simple essence, which produceth nothing by the second causes, nor by the spirits, nor by nature, but only by himselfe: and also the first cause of all things created, before ever any soule, or any heaven, or any other particular thing, whatsoever was produced. To returne therefore, from whence we strayed, the effect ensueth the ordinance, and immutable order of the supreme cause, if by the same it be not otherwise instituted. And whereas the Philosophers adde farther, that the will of God hath equall perfection with the thought, which operateth of necessitie: wee confesse that it taketh place, but it is in regard of the worke within himselfe, whereby hee engendreth eternally, the perfect image of himselfe, his word, the absolute Idea, and true patterne of all things. But we say, that he displayeth according to his good pleasure the outward effects, that from everlasting the diuine thought hath described in the word. Surely I wonder at the Sages of the world, who acknowledge that God is most simple, and of himselfe most perfect, all other strange thing set a part, and yet presently (as if they had forgot their doctrine) thinke that God hath a needfull bond with things heere below, as if hee could not subliste without them, nor yet be blessed. And how is he most simple, if hee hath a necessary bond with other things? How is he prince of all things, if he be obliged to the seruice of the most basest? What dignitie, or what condition hath hee of a soveraigne gouernour? Briefly to conclude this matter, let vs take away all necessity from the Lord in regard of this round frame: and let vs not doubt that the order of this Vniuers shall decay, or be destroyed; if it be so, that the creator doth dispose, and vary it at his good pleasure: for he doth know euer to direct in order, that which he hath once made, and ordayned. For none neede to feare the spoile of the worke, when the workmaster sets his hand thereto, by whose handling it is rather made perfect, then any whit marred. But yet before, we take any other subiect, we must first heare of *AMANA*, the reasons which declare that God proceeded of free-will to his worke.

Of the reasons which conclude, that God proceeded of free and franke deliberation to the worke of the world. Chap. 10.

AMANA. Although that by our precedent discourse wee may easily iudge, (such as mainetaine that God of eternitie did by necessity his outward worke) worthy rather to be despised then refuted, being against the doctrine of diuine oracles: yet we will runne over a few points, by which they themselves shall be pearced with their owne darts. I would therefore first, desire them to tell me from whence come the monsters in nature? They may say, that this proceedeth either by defect, or super-abundance of matter: or else because that the qualities answer not in due proportion; or through corruption of the containing part, and such other considerations, which are subdiuided by Physitions into their species. But let mee aske them, if that the naturall causes worke necessarily, why doe they not performe euery thing duly, seeing nature (as they say) wanteth nothing in necessariethings? How then doe naturall causes worke of necessitie, when they faile? They may answer, that I would thereupon conclude, that they worke by contingence, which if I said, what might follow thereon? But to leaue all superfluous debate, let them remember

remember, that it is an olde sentence vsed in the schooles, that a thing is said to be necessary in two sorts: the one absolutely necessary, and the other conditionally necessary. Wherefore we attribute the first to God alone, and the other to his creatures: so as we call them necessary according to the order appointed by the supreme creator. Which if the Philosophers deny, we will vrge them with the worke it selfe of these causes. For it is certaine, that if they be faultie, and produce monsters, it commeth to passe, because that order which is deliuered them by nature (as they say) or rather of the soueraigne creator (as truth is) doth faile them. Now if they faile of the order, it then followeth, that it was not simply necessary for them, but given by the first cause, through vertue whereof, the rest subordained vnder it do work: from which if the first withdraw it selfe, they do not only faile, but become nothing at all. And if they may seeme to performe any thing of necessitie; this commeth vnto them by reason of the law, which hath been given them by the Prince of Nature: who giuing lawes to others, is no whit for that thereto himselfe obliged. They may reply, that if our doctrine might stand, there should be no certaintie of science, considering that it should consist of things, which otherwise might be: whereto *Aristotle* doth make deniall. But wee answer, that if hee intendeth that those things which are knowne should bee necessary according to the order of the vniuers: the like may enlue in those things, which may happen contrary to the order, according to the disposition of the eternall will. Now if they finde too great difficultie herein for their capacite, what need we care? Let them selues (if they thinke good) vnloose the knot. For fire may well be without burning, as indeed it hath bin, as we haue heard in the former speech. And likewise euery effect may be separated from the cause, which hath produced it: yet neuerthelesse the bond remayning, by a certaine correspondencie, betweene the worker and the subiect (that wee may vse schoole termes.) But proceeding farther, I would faine learne of these Peripatetickes, whence it is, that things haue a necessarie couenant. They will say that it is by nature, as they prooue by experience. But what is this their nature? Nothing truly, but the author of the Vniuers, which is the true spirit not erring: seeing that (as they teach) the worke of nature, is the worke of the intelligence not erring, and by the ordinance whereof, all things haue a due course. For there is nothing but serueth this supreme worker. [*He stretcheth out (saith the prophet) the heauens like a curtaine. He looketh on the earth, and trembleth, he toucheth the mountaines, and they smoke.*] But these naturalists may say (what haue we to dowith prophets, seeing we hold that none can haue perfect knowledge, but in those things, which are proued by demonstration? And from whence fetcheth demonstration his original? Is it not from those principles, whose termes being known we accord to them, or proue them by experience? Now if we beleue demonstrations, by principles, and experiences, it then followeth that there bee some things more certaine then demonstrations. Oh execrable vice growne olde amongst our people, that hauing had this happines to be enrolled in the number of Christians, yet receiue nothing for truth, and certaintie, if it be not prooued by such demonstrations as *Aristotle* hath declared, and wherewith (for all that) he is but little aided in his discourse concerning nature. For herein he proceedeth alwaies by those maximes that he taketh to be confessed: so that the demonstration whereto his disciples giue beleefe, is nothing else but a consequence drawne from the place of authoritie, or from the foundation by him supposed. Wherefore let vs rather beleue the holy scripture, which instructeth vs, that many things, and especially diuine, are known through the beames of supernaturall illumination and by the couenant of the holy word without vnderstanding touched by the truth. Let Epicures and Atheists then maintaine how they list from *Aristotle*. That to knowe, is to vnderstand by demonstration. For vs it is sufficient to hold our instructions from the prophets taught by the diuine oracle: who by miracles, and prodigies, and great sacraments, approoue (as we haue already heard) that which they teach. And if we say that knowledge is an vnderstanding by any thing, wee may take our selues to bee wise in beleeuing the doctrine of the holy Ghost, not any whit accounting of the Peripateticks, who haue onely kindled the light of their contemplation by the moouing formes of the vniuers, and haue not bene able, with a pure cogitation, to contemplate him, who possesseth the highest degree of dignitie amongst all essences, as their soueraigne prince, and gouernour: hauing in the rest, rather giuen an artificiall shew, and base manner of proceeding, then any science. And this is that which priuily their Master confesseth, when he entreateth of the last Analyticks, or Resolutions, saying, that Science is of demonstration, and demonstration of the quiddities; as he nameth it, and by the proper differences of things to vs vnknowne. For

A thing is said to be necessary two waies.

Dan. 7.
The effect may be separated from the cause.

What truly nature is.

Psalm. 104.

Vanity of the demonstrations of Philosophers.

What it is to know.

That the
worke of the
Vniuers is
freely and
willingly.

Whether the
world be an
animal.

Of the course
and straight
passage of
the Ocean.

Of Nilus and
Tanaïs.

thereupon it followeth, that the principles of demonstration are vnkowne, and that from them one may bring, no whit, or very little demonstration. But resuming our principall point of the free, and franke will of God in his worke, begun in time, wee will argue more lively thus. [Seeing that the parts of this vniuers, are so disposed, that without any contrarietie, or contradiction, they might have beene otherwise ordered, it followeth, that they are contingent, and not ordained of necessitie, but of free will.] *Anerrois* saith: [We confesse not that the parts of the world could be altered, because the world is an animal.] But I answer, in what place of *Aristotle* learnt he this manner of disputing? Hee will that this authority should be for a principle of demonstration. Moreover from whence draweth he the consequence? Let him tell me, if the world be an animal, whether is it sensible or insensible? If it be void of sense, then is it no animal. If it be sensitive: doth it see then? doth it heare, doth it smell, doth it taste, doth it eate? But say we confesse the world to be an animal (as it seemeth that *Plato*, and many other Sages would affirme) surely it is no animal, contained vnder the kinde of animals. For all things in this frame are diuided by all philosophers into a former diuision, before you come to the animal. But let vs confesse that it may be called an animal by some kinde of answerableness and likenes: Wherefore then could not the disposition of the partes thereof be otherwise ordained? Why should it be disagreeable for man, to haue onely one eye in his forehead, as it is reported of some? Why could it not be made, to the other creatures, the vpper iaw mouing, and the vndermost firme, as the crocodile alone hath? Why hath not sundry beasts two knees, like the camell? Surely these, and such like things haue bin so disposed by the soueraigne creator, that without any contradiction, or contrarietie, might haue bin otherwise ordained, if wee presuppose not the condition of the nature specified, such as the creator himself, hath according to his wil perfixed. But let vs farther proceede concerning the animal the world. By what necessitie hath sea bin in such fort disposed, that the ocean should passe through the narrow straights of Abila and Calpe (high mountaines, which antiquitie called Hercules pillars?) What need is there that from thence it should spread it selfe in length and bredth? That then it should stretch it selfe into the Tuscan, or Tirrhene sea? afterwards gathering it selfe into the Adriaticke gulph, then enlarging it selfe into the Siriacke sea, so running about by the Egean (which for the beaustious number of isles therein contained, is named the Archipelagus, or princeesse of seas) & from thence shrinking betweene most narrow passages the Helespont is made? And againe the Proponticke where it dilateth it selfe, and where againe it is straightened, is called the Thracian Bosphorus? Then this Ocean being once againe widened, there is made the sea Euxine, that is to say the host, since the manners of the barbarous nations haue beene polished, and made ciuill, for it was first called *Axenes*, that is the inhumane host, because of the cruell, and fiercenature of the dwellers there about: And againe mixing it selfe with the lake of Meotis, that it named of the Cimmerian Bosphorus? what need is there also why Nilus passing by the Ethiopians, and Arabians into Egypt: and Tanaïs passing through the one and the other Scythia, and running almost into the midst of the lake of Meotis, should distinguish and separate the three parts of the world? And by what other needfull ordinance is one part of the earth laid low in vallies, another stretched out into plaines: this part raised vp in hillocks, that lifted vp the lofty mountaines; and that the foulds and ever-running fountaines and streames doe flow in their seasons? Of what necessitie also are some beasts of the earth fruitfull, others barren? these drie, and those moist? Might not we easily (without any contrariety or repugnancy) imagine all the circoite of the earth to be plaine, soft, and bearing fruit? And if God can performe that which we cannot thinke, as all the Sages who haue beleueed in him do affirme, why can he not do that which we may imagine? Which if he can easily performe, these things then are not of necessitie, no otherwise then of eternitie, disposed in such sort as wee see them, but according, and how, and when it hath pleased the soueraigne creator of them. Now ynough is said of these things: we must further proceed in the consideration of Gods works, wherein will greatly aide vs, the vnderstanding of one onely principall and prime cause of the Vniuers; that wee may afterwards comprehend the marvellous effects thereof. And therein (*ARAM*) let be the subiect of thy discourse.

Of one onely principall, and first cause of the Vniuers. Chap. II.

A R A M. Those, who haue bin commonly called the of Sages the world, haue so much differed in their doctrine, even in the search which they haue made of nature, following the course of their speculations, that amongst them who haue beene nourished in one family, and learned vnder one master, there are great contrarieties, either in doctrine, in manners, in religion, or in the end to which all these things tende. Which is chiefly happened vnto them, by hauing setled the building of the world vpon badde and discordant foundations, affying in their owne powers and inuentions too feeble for so waighty a charge, as by rehearsing some points of their principles, we may easily vnderstand. *Thales Milesius* supposed, that the water was the beginning of all things: because the members of every liuing creature, seemed to be nourished by water, which as it is placed in the middle of the world, so doth the watry humour abide in the center of the bodies of animals; from whence it ministreth nourishment to all the rest of the members. But his auditor *Anaximander* was of aduise, that I wot not what infinitesimall, called the boundlesse matter, was the principall subiect, and first of essences, and because that by nature such matter hath neither forme nor quantitie, hee thought that this was the substance of perpetuall generation: in such sort that infinite worlds were already past, and hereafter infinitely to arise. *Anaximenes* his disciple attributed the causes of all things to the infinite aire. And his hearers *Anaxagoras* and *Diogenes*, disagreeing together, one of them would perswade, that the infinite matter woulen with diuers parcels of all sorts and kindes, according to the condition thereof: had beene beginning to it selfe. And the other, that the aire indued also with diuine reason was the matter of things. *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Diodorus* affirme, that before all things, there were certen Atomes, or litle indiuidable bodies, some smooth, other sharpe, some round, others partly made of angles, partly turned and pointed, and some crooked, to be perceiued by reason onely, solide, without any vacuity, not ingenerated, immortal, eternall, incorruptible, which mooueth them in an infinitenes, and through an infinitenes that is emptines, which bodies are in number infinite with these two qualities, forme and greatnesse, and that by a chance of aduenture, without constraint of any nature, heauen and earth of them were compoled. *Hipparchus Metapontine*, and *Heracitus* the Ephesian said, that fire was the vnick beginning, because it is the subtile maintainer and sustainer of all bodies, and whereof at first, the heauens were made. And because it is a brightness that mooueth all things by his light, they teach, that in abasing it selfe it was mixed with all things, in such sort that all things were thereof engendred by the meanes of discord and loue. *Empedocles* for feare of failing, said, that all the foure elements had beene the onely beginning: but that the earth was the matter & first subiect of all, containing the formes and figures of things; which neither the water, aire nor fire could doe. The Poets, following his opinion, attributed the originall of things to *Etherian Iupiter*, *Terrene Pluto*, *Aerian Iuno*, and to *Mestis* the beginning of the water, who (they said) nourished with her teares the riuers of the earth. *Pythagoras* mounting higher, then many deeme, esteemed that numbers, and their subiect (that is, the measures and apt proportions, called harmonies and consonancies) were the originall of things; not those numbers which merchants vse, but the formall and naturall, the knowledge of which lies onely hidden in such, as haue learned Philosophy & Theology by numbers. *Almeon* followeth *Pythagoras*, saying that the vnity was the effectiue beginning, but the two, or binarie, not finite, was the subiect, and materiall beginning of all multitude. *Epicurus* in his Philosophy pursuing the steps of *Democritus*, teacheth the beginnings of things to be corporall, solide, not created, perceiued by vnderstanding onely, eternall, that could not bee corrupted, nor destroyed, nor changed in any sort. To which prime causes, beside the forme and greatnes which his master assigned them, hee also attributeth waight. *Socrates* & *Plato* set three principals, God, the matter, & the Idea. *Aristotle* affirmed for the first, *Entelechie*, or the kind, the matter & priuation; although he had otherwise taught the equiuocatiōs, as is priuation, not to be numbred among the principles. *Zenon* appointeth for the first, God, & the matter; so that he is the actiue, & it the passiue, & the foure elements meanes bewecne. But on this part we may note, that amongst all those, which haue taught that the matter was the principall subiect, we haue one alone, who telleth vs,

Diuers opi-
tions of Philo-
sophers tou-
ching the be-
ginning of
the world.

whether it hath bin created by the blessed God, or whether this nature pliable, and deprived of all beauty together with God hath made the world: or else if, void of all fashion, it hath been coeternall wise and companion of *Demogorgon*, father of the Gods (as Poets faine) or if like a *Pallas*, it hath been borne of *Iupiters* braine. Certainly our minde can find no repose when we finde a nature deprived of all power and all forme, without the maker and Creator thereof. Now who, or what he hath been, we haue none of these Philosophers, that can relate vnto vs. Very well see we that they agree very ill together, in the doctrine of the principles and foundations of the world, which doubtles happened vnto them, because they did stray very far off from the vnity, master of all verity, in whom they should all haue met, and yet euery one went a seuerall way, following the inventions of their naturall speculations, temerariouly presuming by their owne proper powers to manifest that, which God would rather haue kept close, and hidden; to wit, the nature of celestiaall things. And thence cometh it that their teachings founded on the confused multitude, were dissolved and vanished, after (I say) that they were so seuered from the vnity, which giueth to all essences the power to be, and harmoniously to accord.

How all those
that haue had
the true know-
ledge of God
doe agree in
the doctrine
of one onely
originall of
the Vniuers,

But they, who confesse one God creatour of all things, and acknowledge him for the true source and fountaine, from which all the waters of eternall sapience do flowe, all vnited in profession of pietie, religion, and doctrine, Hebrewes, Chaldees, Greeks and Latins, doe all together giue praise to this God alone, father of the Vniuers, planting the foundations of this mundaine habitation with an harmonious concord. For *Moses*, *Iob*, *Dauid*, *Salomon*, *Esay*, and all the other prophets, Euangelists, Apostles and disciples of Iesus Christ, & all those whom he hath made worthy to entreat of diuine mysteries: all with one voice do teath vs, one onely and prime cause of all formes, and that alone, to be the maker of the matter, and moderatresse of all nature. To which doctrine agree all the ancient, and moderne doctors of the Christian church, hauing the rule of holy letters so fixed and bounded, that they doe not crosse themselves in any point, because they haue settled the foundations of all things in the onely and true author of all wisdom. And vpon the same principles innumerable persons of great erudition, and laudable life, diuersly dispersed into contrary climates, according to the course of times and different languages, haue enterprised diuers workes of a diuine consonancie, & all to one end, to cause acknowledgement of God, creator of heauen and earth. Which coulde in no wise haue beene done, if all these excellent men had not beene illuminated with one selfesame diuine vnderstanding (as the Platonists call it) or with one selfesame holy spirit (as our doctors teach) which maketh all such as dwell in the house of God to be of one minde, and endueth all of them with one heart, and one soule, and therefore also all the ancient Prophets, and blessed Ambassadors of Iesus Christ, being replenished with his spirit, despising the vaine babble of Philosophers schooles, and all contentious disputations, haue proposed their teachings, with such and so great constancy, though they had to deale with Princes, and people learned and vnlearned, that they haue confirmed them for truth, by sanctity and splendor of life, and by many myracles, yea with their owne blood. And our doctors (imitating this doctrine) lightned and illustrated with the same spirit, haue acknowledged God the only, and very beginning of all things, the free Creator & supreme fountaine from whom all verity, and vertue floweth. Amongst which doctors, foure Greeks and foure Latins shall sing in the litle quire of God like the bases, and fundaments of our Theology, according with the foure Disciples of our Lord, who deliuered the Euangelicall elements in Canticles sweetly distinguished, and yet in agreeable consonancy. For *S. Hierome* and *S. Chrysostome* shall vnloose the knottie heads of the holy letters: the one and the other *Gregory*, to wit, the Romane and Nazianzene, shall pursue the diuine sense, closed and couered vnder the barke of the Letter. *Damasceus* with *S. Ambrose* shall remaine in the graue sentences, and allegorical sense. And *S. Augustine* with *Basil* shall mount vp in the anagogicall song, to resound the supreme accents of the celestiaall harmony. And for the other celebrated persons, who preceded these men till the time of Saint *Hierome*, he in the booke of excellent men numbred an hundreth thirty seuen, who were knowne by their writings. To whom *Gennade* minister of *Marcellus*, addeth ninetie and one, who haue beene followed of many others till the time of *Peter* the Lumbard: who emulating *Damasceus* in reduciag and distinguishing into foure volumes the Theologicall doctrine, hath giuen faire matter for posteritie to dispute vpon. And since then haue encreased so many others of diuers professions, nations, and languages consenting with an admirable concord in confession of one father, author and principle (without any meanes) of the Vniuers,

Of the most
celebrated
Doctors of
the Church
Greekes and
Latins.

that this point leaueth no doubt, but constraineth euery one to acknowledge that al of the haue bene illuminated, and taught by the soueraigne doctor and supreme brightnes from which all truth and light doth issue. For likewise he alone the eternall God containeth the source of veritie vnable to be emptied, out of which it behooueth vs to exhaust so many, and often times; as we pretend to giue true instructions, and agreeable to the mystries of his omnipotency; because there is no knowledge of the separated substances, of the secrets of nature, and of God the author thereof, which hath not bene diuinely reuealed. For diuine things are not touched with our hands: and the worldly flie from our senses euery moment from whence it cometh; that that which Philosophers call wisdome & certaine science, whether concerning celestiall, or naturall things, is nothing els but error, or at least, a thicke obscuritie. But we know so much, as the pure bright, and cleare vnderstanding, placed in the point of mans soule, doth behold, by meanes of supernaturall light in the mirror of eternitie, wherein we contemplate God, the father and creator of this Vniuers. And when the Philosophers shall confesse him such, as nature teacheth, religion perswadeth, and reason proueth him, then may they concur with the truth, in that which they declare of the elements of the world, fire, aire, water, and earth, and of the nature of things, as hereafter we must discourse. But first we will beginne to enter into some consideration of the precious treasures and learned instructions, wherewith the sacred wordes of *Moses* (by vs heretofore heard) concerning the creation are fruitfully replenished, and namely, in the space of the fixe daies, which hee describeth for perfection of this great humane building; as I referre to you (*A C H I T O B*) to giue vsto vnderstand.

Of the space of the fixe daies mentioned in the historie of the creation of the World. Chap. 12.

A C H I T O B. IF we hold for certaine and vndoubted, the fabrication of the Vniuers, as we haue in all our precedent discourse sufficiently proued: then must wee confesse that it is new and made in time, according as holy writ teacheth vs, and all Mathematicians confirme, when by the Genesis of the world they prognosticate the euents that should succede. We haue already made mention of the time, since which, we hold the creation thereof: now must we consider the space of daies which are mentioned by *Moses* in recitation of this Master-piece of worke of the Almighty, wherein the Prophet hath concealed a mystrie of high, and difficult vnderstanding. For as *S. Augustine* saith, The fixe daies wherein God performed his works, and the seuenth wherein he ceased; in what sort and maner they are, is very difficult, or rather impossible for vs to thinke, much more to expresse. For the daies which we haue now, haue their euening and morning, the setting & rising of the Sun: and the three first daies whereof *Moses* speaketh, passed without the Sunne, which was created the fourth day. Hereof therefore grow profound and deepe questions, and principally this, [Whether all things haue been created together, or in the space of diuers daies?] It seemeth that *S. Augustine* made no doubt that all was not created in a moment: seeing hee saith, (speaking of the creation of the Angels, made the first day) that the second day, nor the third, nor all the rest, were any other then the first day: but that the same one was repeated, to make vp the number of fixe or seuen, for the works of God, and his repose. In another place he speaketh thus, [In the seuenth day, that is, the same day repeated seuen times.] There haue been also diuers ancient doctors that haue taught the like, satisfying themselves with this text of the Wiseman, saying, [Hee that liueth for ever, made all things together.] They also shewed these reasons, [All power finite and limited hath neede of time to worke in, but not the infinite, as that of the soueraigne Creator: and forasmuch, as by an intelligible and eternall word (which *Saint Basil* interpreteth, the moment of the will of God) all things had their beginning; there is no reason, why there should be any delay for the creation of the light after the darkenes, which was vpon the deepe (as the Prophet declareth) & whereof the euening & morning of the first day were made: or els of the heauen till the second day: the budding forth of the earth, till the third: the production of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, till the fourth: the gathering together of the waters, till the fift: and to sixt the forming of man.] For these reasons (I say) many great personages would conclude that heauen and earth, and all things therein contained, were created at one instant, charging those

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Li 2 de ciuit.
Dei cap. 6.

In the same
booke cap. 9.

In the same
booke cap. 3 f

Eccles. 18.
Whether all
things were
created toge-
ther, or in di-
uers daies.

Genes. 1.

How the distinction of Gods works must be understood.

Gen. 1. v. 1. 2.

Vers. 3. 4. 5.

S. August. de ciuit. Dei lib. 11. cap. 7.

Gal. 4.

which thought otherwise, to doe great wrong to the Almighty and soueraigne Creator (to whom all things are of eternitie presented) to suppose that hee should operate by tract of time, and succession of daies: he (I say) to whom eternitie is both the measure and possession together. They alledge also, that the Prophet repeating the creation which he seemed to haue distinguished by daies, said thus in the second of *Genesis*. [These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the heavens and the earth; and every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herbe of the field, before it grew:] Whereby (they say) doth evidently appeare that all things were created together. And for that the principall members of this mundane body, are said to haue beene ordained and engendred separatly, that that must be vnderstood to haue beene so expounded, according to the order, through which man (for whom all things haue beene made) is very properly induced as the last worke of God: according to the common saying of the Peripatetiks, [That that which is the first in intention, is the last in execution: but the meanes betweene keeping a like order, do succeed from the first to the last.] By such reason therefore the diuision of daies mentioned in *Genesis* must be referred, not to the time, but to the order, which is to be considered in the producement of things created. Thus much for their opinions. But others contend to the contrarie, and maintaine that God hath distinguished the creation of the world by certaine degrees and course of daies, according as *Moses* describeth them, to keepe vs the more attentue, and to constrain vs to abide in the consideration of his works. For it is most certaine that we passe lightly ouer the infinite glory of God, which shineth vnto vs here below, and the vanity of our vnderstanding doth willingly cary vs away. To correct which vice, his diuine bounty would temper his works to our capacitie. And they which hold this opinion haue noted, how the text before cited out of *Ecclesiasticus*, wherein this word (together) is read, is not properly so in the Greeke copie: But the Greeke word signifieth (likewise) or (in common,) and hath relation not to the time, but to the vniuersalnesse and community of creatures. Now to reconcile these diuers opinions, methinketh we may say, that for the matter, and rich seed of all the beauties and riches of the Vniuers, it hath beene created of God all in one moment; but that afterward hee gaue forme to it, taking out of them the works, which he did in the fixe daies. For thus the Prophet speaketh, [God in the beginning created the heauen and the earth. And the earth was without forme, and voide, and darkenesse was vpon the deepe, and the spirit of God moued vpon the waters.] Behold then the matter of this All, which had his being all at once: the Chaos, the Embryon, created of nothing, which was to take forme, figure, place, and abiding according to the order and disposition of all his parts, and which in the meane while was sustained by the secret power of God. Afterward when *Moses* addeth, [Then God said, Let there be light, and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God separated the light from the darkenes: and God called the light day, and the darkenesse he called night. So the euening and the morning were the first day.] In this (I say) and in all the rest which ensueth, concerning the works of God in the fivie other daies, is shewed vnto vs the forme that God gaue to the matter in the space of them: creating and forming all creatures celestial and terrestrial contained in the whole Vniuers. See then how wee may resolute this question, [Whether all things were created together, or in diuers daies?] and thus wee may reconcile their sundry opinions.

Let vs further note, how Saint *Augustine* accustomed to mount (as wee haue said) with the wings of contemplation vnto the Anagogicall sense, discoursing vpon this point, concerning the light, which was said to haue beene created the first day, with euening and morning, three daies before the Sunne; confesseth freely, that it is farre remote from our sense, what light this is, and by what alternate motion, the euening and morning were made: and he vseth this disiunctiue question [whether it were some corporall light (that is some light-some body) in the highest parts of the world farre from our sight: or else a light without bodie, in some place, whereat the Sunne was shortly after kindled: or else by the name of light, was signified the holy Citie of Angels and blessed spirits, whereof the Apostle saith, *Hierusalem which is above, is the eternall mother of vs all in the heauens.*] Therefore in another place also this great Doctor of the Church referreth the euening and morning, to the science and knowledge of Angelical thoughts, calling it morning, when by the view of things created knowne in themselves (where there is darkenesse, and most deepe night) these blessed spirits aduancethemselues in the loue of God. And if louing and contemplating him, they

they acknowledge all things in him (which knowledge is much more certaine, then if one should view them indirectly) then is it day. But it is evening, when the angel turneth himselfe from God to things created, regarding them not in him, but in themselves. And yet this evening cometh not to night, because these angelicall thoughts neuer preferre the workes before the workeman; neither haue them in greater estimation, for so should it be most profound night. Behold then, how deeply Saint *Augustine* doth discourse in this place concerning the evening and morning. But for the place before cited concerning the point of the light, hee referreth the same termes, evening and morning, to the condition of our soule. For he saith, that that, which it can know and vnderstand in comparison of the knowledge of God, is like an evening, and that yet when it is bent to praise and loue the Creator, then doth it returne to morning. And for the distinct daies, concerning the workes of God, he applyeth them likewise to the orderly and perfect knowledge of things produced: saying thus, [When the minde stayeth in the knowledge of it selfe, then is there one day: when in the acknowledgement of the firmament, which be-
twixt the water beneath and above, is called the heauen; then is the second day: if concerning the earth, the sea, and all things fructifying, which keepe themselves in the rootes of the earth, there is the third day: and when it stayeth in the acknowledgment of the lights, both the greater and lesser, and of the starres; there is the fourth day: if of the creatures which liue in the waters; there is the fifth day: if of terrene things, and man himselfe; there is the sixth day.] And thus doth this good father trauell to discover the great mysteries closed and concealed vnder the couert of *Moses* words, which in the relation of his historie he doth most vndoubtedly apply to the capacitie of the rude and common people, with whom he had to deale, deliuering to the wise and more learned enough wherewith to satisfie their mindes. But without farther disputing about this present matter, wee may note, that in the creation of the light, wherewith the world was to bee adorned, was the beginning of forme given to the matter of the world, and of the distinction of creatures. Yea in that the light did precede the Sunne and Moone, which were created but the fourth day; God would thereby testifie that in his only hand light is residant, and that hee can conferre it vpon vs without any other meanes. For we are so enclined, as nothing more, to alligat the power of God to those instruments and organes, wherewith he serueth himselfe; because that forasmuch as the Sunne and Moone doe minister light vnto vs, we will willingly assigne to them, according to our fantasie, such vertue that if the world were deprived of them, we might hope nothing but darkenesse. Wherefore the Lord in this order of the creation cauleth vs to see the contrary, and how it is in him, and by him, that the light subsisteth. Now of ydd (*A S E R*) we may heare of some excellent mysteries concealed vnder the number of the daies of this mundaine fabrication.

The distinction of the daies interred to the acknowledgement of the workes of God.

Of the mysteries hidden vnder the number of fixe in the creation of the Vniuers: and of the seuenth day of rest. Chap. 13.

A S E R. **T**Hat all things consisted in numbers, and that there was neede of the knowledge of them to conceiue the sacred misteries of God and nature; *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and all other Academicks haue laboriously taught. But they haue spoken so superstitiously & so obscurely concerning the myserie in these numbers, that it seemed, they would euen conceale them from those, who were deuored to the study of their doctrine. *Plato* speaketh thus in his *Epinomide*, [If wee take away number from the nature of men, we leaue them no whit prudent, nor capable of science: for the minde can comprehend and vse, of nothing without reason, and none can render a reason for any thing, that is ignorant of numbers.] The arts likewise, this set apart, would altogether perish.] Hee assureth vs also, that number, (to wit the vnitie which is God) is cause of all good, but of none ill. And he calleth mans soule a number, and reasonable measure, by which we measure all things, which may be vnderstood and put in practise by vs, to the end that in our works we may eschewe all error, folly and deformity. Now not onely the Philosophers, but also many great personages, Christians, both Greekes and Latins do testifie vnto vs by their writings, that there bee many mysteries in numbers: Amongst whom Saint *Augustine* speaketh thus, [The reason of numbers is not to be despised of vs, which how much it is to be esteemed in many

Of the profit of numbers.

Lib. 11. de ciuitate Dei ca. 20

texts

Wild. 11.

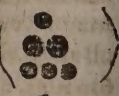
In God is the
number,
waight and
measure.

texts of Scripture is apparant to those, which marke it diligently. And it hath not beene spoken in vaine to the praise of God: [Thou hast ordered all things in number, waight, and measure.] Now hereupon we must note, that the number, waight and measure, where- by all things haue been numbred, poised and measured, subsist not properly in the things created; no more then the measure by which the cloth is parted into elles, or the weights, wherewith every thing is weighed: or the number, by which all things are counted, doe consist within the things measured, poised, or numbred: but are doubtlesse without them. So then we contemplate the number, waight and measure, by which God hath disposed all things, out of the creatures. And forasmuch as there is nothing, besides all things produced, but God, it is necessary, that in him should consist their number, waight and measure. In him then is the waight without waight, for by it the great worker is not poised, but remaineth stable, giuing all things the power to be mooued, and at last to repose themselves. And in truth, this frame of the whole world duely proportioned, and ballanced by waight, could not sustaine it selfe, if it were not poised by the Creator and Governor thereof; who likewise hath the measure by which he moderateth and disposeth all that is contained there- in, in well ordered iustice, according to the state and proper end of every of his works. And in him also are the numbers without number, because that all things which are in him, are the same onely God. And as he is the true vnitie, hee containeth in himselfe all number, giuing all things the power to be numbred. For all multitude ariseth from one, and no- thing can be one, making with any others a multitude, if by the participation of the highest one it doth not obtaine the state of vnitie. And to it also all things created (imitating the course of numbers, as the true patterne doth the originall, and the end of Gods workes) en- deauour to returne, in such sort as they first proceeded.

The number
of sixe full of
deepe myste-
ries.

Genes. 2.

We neede not doubt then, but that the consideration of numbers doth therewith im- port much doctrine. Wherefore particularly respecting the distinction of the works of the Vniuers in sixe daies (which is the subiect of our discourse) we will note how many haue acknowledged the number of sixe to be full of deepe mysteries. First therefore Mathema- ticians teach, that sixe is the first perfect number, because it is compounded of certain parts perfectly added together, as of one, two and three: for which cause it is called of the Py- thagorians (*Gamon*) or the Marrying number, because all the parts thereof set aside doe make it vp. Moreouer some parts of it multiplied together, to produce it: as sixe times one, threetimes two, twotimes three. In this consisteth the perfection of the number, which is accomplished by all his parts: and but few such haue beene found out by Arith- meticians. For within the number of an hundred they haue obserued but that of twenty eight, to which they haue attributed such propertie: because it consisteth of foureteene feuen, foure, two, and one: as within the number of tenne, there is but that of sixe which is accomplished by all his parts. Saint *Hierom* entreating of this number where he writeth vpon *Ezechiel* saith, that it containeth the sacrament of creatures. And in troeth there could not be inuented any number more proper for the making of the world, then this of sixe, which consisteth of a double proportion that it doth next containe in it selfe: (to wit) of foure with two, which numbers added together make sixe: which can hardly be found in other numbers, but such as are of the nature of sixe: as the double, trible, quadruple, or square thereof, and such like. So then sixe resulteth of that double proportion which makes the diapason in Musicke, which is the perfectest and most entite harmony of all the con- cords. For which it seemeth that *Pithagoras* would apply it to Natiuities and to Marriages, and then it doth consequently very properly fit the Creation of the world, wherein were ce- lebrated the true nuptials and coniunctions of all things. Likewise sixe, the first perfect number cannot but aptly agree to God, the soueraigne and most perfect Creator, or to his worke, wherein there is no defect: And therefore when hee had finished and accomplished his workes in sixe daies, *Moses* saith, [Thus the heauens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them.] But if we will farther proceed in the the consideration of this number of sixe: we shall see how by the triangled or three-square figure thereof, it doth properly ac- cord with the creation of the world. For the base or foundation is the number of three, the point a vnitie, & the number of two is the meane betweene both, as appeareth in this figure. Now every worke proceedeth from the three persons in the God- head to the vnitie, from which the outward works (performed in time) are vnse- parable: they tend also to an end, to which all things addresse themselves: and the passage to proceede thither, is the number of two, which we may properly attribute to the matter first created



created by God, to formethereof all his workes. For the first beginning of the production and order of creatures was the matter, which in respect of number representeth the nature of the binary, and seemeth to be reduced to the vnity, by the forme, which beareth the shape of the trenarie: so that on every side of the premised figure of the number of sixe, the ternary tendeth to the vnity by the binary. And by this consideration wee may make way to the most high contemplation of the number of seuen, attributed to the rest of the Lord. For we make no doubt, that when we shall bee all reduced to the vnity, as wee tooke our originall from it, then shall the rest of the Sabbath ensue, that is figured by the seventh day; wherein it is said, that God ceased from his workes: and which shutteth vp and closeth the course and circle of all daies. Now that this number of seuen hath bene much reuerenced by men of ancient times, we haue many witnesses. For the Iewes because of the Sabbath (as Saint Hierome writeth vpon *Esaie*) did honour it much. And *Aulus Gellius* and *Adacrobins*, vpon the dreame of *Scipio*, doe shew great mysteries out of this number of seuen, which they call full and perfect, and attribute great power to it, in the sea, and amongst men. And the Pithagorians (as saith *Chalcidius*) commended it for the best, most naturall, and most sufficient number. Moreouer, it is composed of three, which is the first vneuen number, that cannot bee divided by any numbers (for vnity is no number, though it giueth all numbers the power to be numbred) and of foure, which is a full euen number, and the first double number of all others. For this cause the number of seuen is oftentimes vsed for vniuersall and generall, and to signifie perfection. As it is written, [The iust shall fall seuen times a day, and shall rise againe] that is, how often, or how many times soeuer he falleth, he shall not perish. Againe, [I will praise seuen times a day] which in another place is thus spoken, [His praise is euer in my mouth.] And we may finde many places in holy Scriptures, wherein the number of seuen hath customably bene vsed for the vniuersallnesse of any thing whatsoever, and to demonstrate a perfection, and soe doth Saint *John* in the Apocalyps, writing to the seuen Churches, and speaking of the seuen Spirits, which are before the throne of God. For it is certaine, that he compriseth there all the vniuersall Church, and proposeth God in his Maiestie, accompanied with innumerable blessed Angels. But among all the great mysteries, which the auncients haue acknowledged to be concealed in the seventh day, by which the rest of the Lord is, recommended after his worke perfected and finished, this is the most notable, by which they teach vs that this Sabbath day signifieth the repose of those which rest in the Lord euen as the ioy of the house betokeneth the ioy of those which reioyce therein, although that not the house it selfe, but something else doe make them ioyfull: and like as (the effect being signified by the efficient cause) an epistle is called ioyfull, to declare the pleasure of those, whom it delighteth by reading thereof. Likewise when the Scripture recounteth, that God rested, we must not take it childishly, as if he (who by an intelligible and eternall worde spake, and it was made) had trauelled in his worke: but vnderstanding by this manner of speech, that God ceased from all worke, because he no more created any new kindes of creatures; we may conueniently referre his rest, to the rest of those, whom he himselfe causeth to remaine in eternall rest, after that he hath first drawne them to himselfe by faith in this life. Whereas also the Prophet hauing made mention in each of the sixe precedent daies of the creation, of euening and morning, doth mention no such matter of the seventh day: it seemeth he would signifie, that this Sabbath day was ordained to represent the great and last day of euermlasting rest, wherein there should be no more any such distinction of euening and morning, nor of day and night, as now is: but altogether light by which we shall contemplate God face to face in true and perfect felicity, such as eie hath neuer seene, eare neuer heard, nor euer hath entred into the heart of man. Which wee must doubtlesse beleue was figured to the Iewes by the rest of the Sabbath commanded in the Lawe: for these names (Rest, and Sabbath) in the Hebrew tongue full of mysteries, signifie both one thing. In which matter we may further note, how the sacred historie declareth, that man was created the sixt day, which was the euen of the Lords rest; for this agreeth well to the principall thing, which the Lord intendeth in his Lawe: to wit, to admonish man, that hee was not placed in the world; but to returne at length to him, who set him there: and to seeke his rest in him. Thus haue we sufficiently spoken of the subiect, which wee first entreated of: for else if we should fully prosecute the mysteries included in the historie of the creation of the world, wee should haue matter enough to make vp a very great volume. Wee will therefore procede to the particular consideration of the famous works contained in the

Of the number of seuen and his excellency.

Prou. 24.

Psal. 119.

Psal. 34.

Apoc. 1.

Of the true signification of the Sabbath day.

glorious

glorious frame of the world. And first we will speake of the diuision thereof, that we may afterward discourse with more ease concerning the parts thereof. Then (A M A N A) let vs heare you concerning this point.

Of the diuision of the vniuersall world. Chap. 14.

Euseb. 11. de
prepar. Euan-
gel. Plat. in
Phedro.
Of the three
worlds.

Exod. 25.
The figure of
the three
worlds in the
tabernacle of
Moses.

Apocal. 4.

Matth. 27.
Luke 23.
Psal. 18.
Genes. 3.

A M A N A. **T**He learned & venerable antiquity figureth, and maketh the vniuersall world (to be) one, and threefold, as signifying and representing (though very far off and much behinde) the omnipotent, triple one, most wise, and most good worker, by whom it hath bene created, formed and ordained. For there is the vppermost world of all, which Diuines name, the Angelicall, and philosophers call the intellectuall world: which (as Plato saith) was neuer yet sufficiently praised. Then is there the celestia world, or that of the spheres, which succeedeth and is next the first; and the third and last is the elementary world which we inhabite, vnder the concavity of the moone. Now as this is the world of darknes; so is the Angelicall world the world of light, and the world betwixt both is tempered with light and darknes. The elementary world is designed to vs by the flowing waters, and instable substance: the Angelicall by fire, because of the shining of the light, & elevation of the place: and the heauen of meane nature is called of the Hebrews by a name signifying the same to be composed of water and fire. In this low world life and death strue for mastery, by a kinde of vicissitude, change and rechange all things: but in the highest is eternall life and permanent operation: and in that of the spheres, is certain assurance of life, but there is changing of works and of places. The elementary is built of the perishing substance of bodies: the intellectual of a nature more diuine and excellent: and the meane is compounded of bodies (but incorruptible) and of a disposition convenient for the nature thereof. The third is mooued by the second, and the second is governed by the first; and this remaineth stable in his worke fit for his owne nature, vnder the holy of holies, the Lord God almighty, which was, which is, and which is to come. And it seemeth that our great Prophet, of whom wee haue learnt the creation of heauen and earth, hath evidently described these three worlds in the structure of his marvellous tabernacle. For he deuider it into 3. parts, whereof each doth liuely represent each world: so that the first being not covered with any rooffe or couering, was open and exposed to raine, snowes, windes, sun, heate and cold: (and which hath more reference to our elementary world) in this former part haunted not only men both cleane and polluted, temporall and ecclesiasticall, but also beastes of all sorts: and there was likewise, because of the ordinarie sacrifices and offerings, a perpetuall exchange of life and death. The two other partes of the tabernacle were closed on euery side, and defended from all outward iniury: euen as neither the celestia nor supercelestia world can receiue dammage. Moreouer these two were honoured with the title of holy: yet so, that the most secret was named the holy of holies, and the other simply the holy or sacred. So likewise the sphericall world is holy, because that it perseuering in the order, which was appointed it by the soueraigne creator, hath in it no fault or crime: but the Angelicall is euen the most holy and most diuine, wherein the blessed soules, incessantly resound this song [Thou art woorthy, O Lord, to receiue honour, and glorie, and power; for thou hast created all things; and for thy wils sake they are and haue bene created.] But moreouer, if wee consider how the last part of the tabernacle was common to men and beastes: how the second all shining with the splendor of the gold, was lighted with the candlelicke divided into seuen lampes (which, as many Greeke, Latine and Hebrew interpreters will haue, doe signifie the seuen planets,) and how in the third the most holy were the winged Cherubins: should wee not say that these three partes manifest vnto our sight three worlds? To wit, this which men and all kinde of creatures frequent: the celestia all where the planets shine, and giue light: and the supercelestia which is the dwelling and abode of the blessed Angels, the way to which hath bene opened by the crosse, and bloudshed of our Saviour Iesus Christ, true God & true man, as the vaile of the temple, by which the holy of holies, being a type of the angelicall world, was separated from the other partes thereof, renting and tearing at the death of our Saviour, was a certaine sacrament to vs? For thereby we had assurance, that from thencefoorth was free access granted man to the kingdome

dome of God (of God, I say, who flieth aboue the Cherubins) through the very same entrance, that from the beginning for the sinne of the first man, had beene barred vp by the lawes of iustice.

Thus haue we many notable things concerning the diuision of the vnuerfall world, which we may also call [One,] not onely because the three worlds doe proceede of one onely and selfe cause, and tend to the like end; or else because being duly tempered by numbers, they are ioyned together by an harmonious accord and affinity of nature, and by ordinary succession of degrees: but also because that that which is in all the three is likewise comprised in one of them, and that there is not one wherein all things, which are in the other three, do not remaine. It is most certaine, that that which remaineth in this low world, is in the vpper most of far better stufte: and that which is in those aboue, is seene also in this of farre worse condition, & as it were of a bastard and sophicall nature, for here heat is an elementary quality, in heauen it is an heating vertue; and the Angelicall thoughts, an Idea and exemplary forme. Or to shew this more cleerely; wee haue with vs in this base world the fire, which is an element: the sunne in heauen is a fire in the supercelestiall region the seraphicke, for burning intellect is another fire. But let vs note how much they differ: The element burneth; the celestiall fire quickneth, and the supercelestiall is imbraced by loue. There is also here below water; and so there is another water aboue beeing motresse and mistresse of this belowe, which is the moone, in the first circle of heauen, but the cherubin, or cleere-sighted spiritual substances, are the waters that flow aboue the heauen. And as touching the disagreeable condition among these 3. kinds of waters, the elementary humour quencheth vitall heat: that of heauen nourisheth it: & the supercelestiall hath an intellectuall apprehension of it. Furthermore in the first world, God the first vnitie ruleth ouer the nine hierarchies of Angels, like so many spheres, and remaining immoveable moueth them all vnto him: In the celestiall and meane world the imperial heauen commandeth likewise, as a captain doth his bands, the nine celestiall spheres, in such sort, that though they be moued by continual agitation, yet it remaineth stable by diuine power. So likewise is there in the elementary world, after the first matter being the foundation thereof nine spheres, or circular revolutions of corruptible formes: that is, three of things inanimate, which first are the elements, then their compounds, and thirdly the meanes betweene these two, truly mixed and compounded, but vnperfectly: and such as are the impressions which appeare in the aire. Then are there three revolutions of vegetable nature, distinguished likewise into three kinds, as of herbs, shrubs & wood of old growth. And lastly three other of the sensitiue soule, which are either imperfect (as the Zoophyta) or to speake English [creatures of a middle condition betweene things sensitiue & plants:] or very perfect; but such as are within the bounds of the fantasie not reasonable: & in the third place that which is found excellent in beasts, beeing capable of mans teaching; a mean thing betweene man & beast, as the Zoophyta partaketh of the plant & animal. But it may be we haue said more concerning these things then is requisite for our purpose: I will only therfore adde, that the mutual vicinity & communicatio of the worlds, which we haue here described, is also declared in holy writ. For it is written in the Psalmes, (In wisdom he made the heauens.) And Saint Paul saith of himselfe, that he was rauished into the third heauen, which afterwards he calleth Paradise. We reade also that the Angels of God are spirits, and his ministers a flame of burning fire. And thence without doubt it cometh, that oftentimes to diuine natures are attributed both celestiall and terrestriall surnames: when as sometimes they are figured by stars: sometimes by wheelles and beasts, and sometimes by elements, as we sometimes also appropriate diuine and celestiall names to terrestriell natures. For euen as the the three worlds being girt and buckled with the bands of concord doe by reciprocall libertie, interchange their natures; the like do they also by their appellations. And this is the principle from whence springeth & groweth the discipline of allegoricall sense. For it is certaine that the ancient fathers could not conueniently haue represented one thing by other figures, but that they had first learned the secret amity and affinity of all nature. Otherwise there could bee no reason, why they should represent this thing by this forme, and that by that, rather then otherwise. But hauing the knowledge of the vnuerfall world, and of euery part thereof, and being inspired with the same spirit, that not onely knoweth all things: but did also make all things: they haue oftentimes, and very fitly figured the natures of the one world, by that which they knew to bee correspondent thereto in the others. Wherefore the same knowledge, and the grace of the same spirit is requisite for those, who would vnderstand, and directly interpret

Why the tri-
ple is called
one.

Psal. 136.
2. Cor. 12.
Psal. 103. &
104.

Apocal. 2.
Ezech. 1. 3.
Apocal. 2.
Apocal. 21.

The original
of allegorical
sense.

such

Of a fourth
world.

Marke 16.

such significations and allegoricall meanings. Moreover, besides these worlds, which we have also distinguished, there is also another, a fourth, wherein may likewise be found all that which sublieth in the others. And this is (man) who for this cause as our doctors shew, is vnderstood in the Gospell by the name of every creature, then when Iesus Christ com- mandeth to preach to men the good newes, not to beasts nor Angels, being neuerthelesse enioyned to publish it to every creature. Likewise it is a common vse in schooles to teach, that man is a little world, and that within him the body is composed of the elements, the reasonable soule is celestiall, the vegetable power common to men and plants, the sense common to bruite beasts, the reason participated to Angels: and finally the image of God is therein seene and considered. But of him we have sufficiently intreated in the second part of our Academicall discourses, wherefore of this great vniuersall world must our ensuing talke be. And as we diuided it into three generall parts, so must we particularly discoure of them. First therefore let vs say something concerning the Angelicall and intellectuall world, and of the celestiall intelligences or Angels: (A & A M) shall bee subiect of your discourse.

Of the Angelicall, and intellectuall world. Chap. 15.

Psal. 55.

A & A M. **N**OW shall I haue great need to say with the kingly Prophet (Oh that I had wings like a doue:) wings, I say, of silver and shining golde, that I might fly vp into the supercelestiall region, where resteth true rest, true peace, and certaine tranquillitie, which this wretched and worldly corps cannot yeeld. Open mine eyes you supermundaine spirits (but rather thou, oh father of them) and I shall contemplate the wonder of your citie, wherein God attendeth for those that feare him; that which eye hath neuer seene, eare neuer heard, nor any heart worthily thought vpon. Well I wotte that many call disputations and searching out of the nature, and multitude of angels and their orders, vaine questions, and fit for idle imaginations; but surely they are secrets, which Saint Paul himselfe who had bene rapt vp about the third heauen, hath not onely taught, but hath also protested, that hee had there heard many things, which were not lawfull for him to reueale. And I am likewise of beleefe that the full reuelation of the angelicall, and intellectuall world is deferred till the last day: yet will we here speake soberly thereof, and as briefly as wee can, according to that which diuines haue written, without any waies offending pietie, or christian religion.

2. Cor 12.

Genes. 2.
That the an-
gels are God
his creatures

When the holy Scripture speaketh of the creation of the world, it is not evidently expressed in what order, and how the angels were created. But forasmuch as it is said that God created heauen and all things therein contained, it is most certaine, that therein are comprised the spirits celestiall, as well those that through obedience haue stood in their integrity, as those, who rebelling against God haue bene cast out vnto destruction. Neither is it hereto repugnant that Moses reciting the Genesis or creation of the world, maketh no expresse mention thereof. For wee see how that in silence passing ouer all things, which surmount our capacity; or else couering them vnder the mysticall sense of his words, for those whom God would fully illuminate with the brightnes of his holy spirit, he onely entreateth of those, which we behold with our eyes, yea and that too in familiar and vulgar sort, conforming himselfe to the rudenes of the people, with whom he had to deale. And for this cause hath the opinion of sundry great personages, and namely of Saint Augustine bene, that the angels haue bene signified either by the name of heauen, there where it is said. [In the beginning God made heauen and earth] or else by the name of the light, which he saith was created the first day. But howsoeuer, this is doubtlesse, that the angels are the worke of God. For the holy Scripture doth testifie it in infinite places, with a most cleere voice: and namely in the song of the three children which were in the furnace, who hauing saide (Blesse the Lord all his workes) in pursuite of the narration of them, the angels are also named. And the prophet saith, [You creatures of the heauen praise the Lord, you which are in the high places praise him. All his angels, and all his armies praise him. [Sith also they are the ministers of God appointed to doe that, which he commandeth them (as the apostle to the Hebrews saith) there is no doubt but they are his creatures. Moreover the holy Scriptures teach vs, that they are alwaies watching for our safety: that they are alwaies

Lib 2. de ciu.
Dei. cap 9.
& 10.

Dani. 3.

Psal. 138.

ready

ready to defend vs: that they direct our waies, and haue care of vs in all things. And therefore *Abraham* promised his seruant that the angell of God should bee his guide on the way. And so often and so many times as God would deliuer the people of Israel out of the handes of their enemies, he was serued by his angels to performe this deed as we read that the angell of the Lord slew in one night an hundreth foure score and five thousand men in the camp of the Assyrians, to deliuer Ierusalem from siege. But to stand no longer in so cleere a matter, I will onely adde this, that it is said, that the angels ministred to Iesus Christ after he was tempted in the desert: and that they assisted him in his anguish, at the time of his passions, and that they published his resurrection and his glorious comming.

But to determine of the number and order of Angels, were (me thinketh) aboue all humane power. For *Daniell* speaking of the Maiesty of the throne of God, saith, [Thousand thousands (of Angels) ministred vnto him, and tenne thousand thousands stood before him.] And *David* singeth [the chariots of God are twenty thousand thousand Angels.] Saint *Iohn* also maketh mention of tenne thousand times tenne thousand, and a thousand thousand that giue glory to God: and Iesus Christ himselfe witnesseth that there are many legions. In briebe all the Scripture reporteth of an infinite number of Angels seruing God, whom he employeth in the protection of his elect, and by whom hee bestoweth his benefits vpon men, and doth his other workes. And for their orders, although they be not noted in expresse text of Scripture, yet the different names whereby they are described haue offorded matter subiect to Saint *Denis* in his celestiall Hierarchie, to *Iamblicus* in his booke of myseries, and to many other moderne diuines to set downe nine orders & degrees of Angels to wit: The Seraphins, Cherubins, Thrones, Dominations, Vertues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels and Angels: all which are celestiall spirits, to whom the Scripture attributeth such and the like names, according to the ministry wherein God commandeth them to serue, so applying them to our infirmity. For they are called Angels, because God maketh them his messengers to man: and vertues, because that by them God declareth the power of his hand: and Principalities, Dominations, Powers, Signories, because that by them God exerciseth his empire throughout all the world: and his armies, because as souldiers are about their Prince and captaine: so are they present before God, to honor his maiesty and attend his good pleasure, to employ themselves about all things that he giueth them in charge; yea sometimes they are named Gods, because that by their ministerie, they doe as it were in a mirrour represent vnto vs the image of God. And we see that Saint *Michael* is called in *Daniel* the great Prince or Captaine: and Archangel in Saint *Iude*. And Saint *Paul* saith, that it shall be an Archangell who shall summon the world with a trumpet vnto iudgement. *Daniel* also declareth that the Angel of the Persians fought, and also the Angel of the Greekes against their enemies: as if he would shew, that God hath sometimes appointed his Angels to bee gouernours of Countries and Prouinces. And Iesus Christ telling how the Angels of infants doe alwaies behold the face of his father, declared thereby that there are certaine Angels who haue them in guard. Saint *Peter* also being miraculously come forth of prison, and knocking at the house wherein the faithfull were assembled, they that could not thinke that it was he, said that it was his Angel. Yet for all these considerations, I hold it a thing of too difficult enterprise for mortall man to constitute and appoint, which are the degrees of honour among the Angels, and particularly to distinguish one from another by any name or title, and to assigne to every one his place, his abode and office. We will therefore leaue these things for curious heads to dispute vpon. Yet will wee hold our selues ascertained of that, which the holy Scripture doth openly declare vnto vs, and which may best serue vs to our comfort, and for the confirmation of our faith: that is, That the Angels, Gods creatures, are disposers and ministers of his beneficence towards vs: and that such kind of beleefe is a certaine argument against Atheists, concerning the prouidence of God. And for the blessed estate of these celestiall Spirits, it is certaine, that forasmuch as they haue no whit swarued from the light wherein God created them, they remaine in blessednes and felicity) from which they shall neuer more fall. Now if we demaund what this (felicitie) is? Without doubt it is the vision and contemplation of the glory and maiestie of God, whose face (as wee said euen now) they alwaies behold, and to whom they giue praise without ceasing; sing- ing with a loud voice this song, as *Esay* declareth [Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts: all the earth is full of his glory.] For there is no good in the reasonable or intellectuall creature, through which it may become happy, but God only. Wherefore the cause of the felicity and happines of the angels, is for that they belong to God in such sort that their nature liueth in

Psal. 34.

Gen. 24.

Iudg. 2. 6. &

13.

2. King. 19.

Isay 37.

Matth. 4.

Luke 1. 2.

Matth. 28.

Luke 24.

Acts. 1.

Of the num-

ber, order,

names & offi-

ces of the an-

gels.

Daniel 7.

Psal. 68.

Apocal. 5.

Matth. 26.

Ephesians 1.

Collosians 1.

Luke 1.

Apocal. 19.

Dan. 12.

1 Thel. 4.

Dan. 10. & 12

Matth. 18.

Acts 12.

Of the blef-

sed estate of

the angels.

Isay. 6.

him, is wife by him, reioiceth eueralstingly in so great and ineffable a good, without death, without error, without impediment.

Against those
which deny
that there are
any ange.

Error of some
Philosophers.

How God
came to his
worke.

How althings
are in God.

I know well some men be so fantastickall, that they make it a doubt whether there be any angels or spirits. The Sadduces in times past held this opinion, that by the word angell was signified nothing else, but the motion that God inspireth into men, or the power, which he sheweth in his works. But there are so many testimonies of Scripture which contradict this madnes, and histories both ecclesiasticall and prophane are so replenished with wonderfull acts of inuisible spirits, as we daily see come to passe, that it is a wonder how such ignorance could be in former ages, and yet among many remaineth at this day. There haue also beene men of great authority, who discoursing according to the reasons of Philosophy, haue dared to affirme, that God the first father and author of all things did onely produce one intelligence or angell: because, say they, being alwaies of one manner, he cannot by any naturall reason produce diuers things. For this cause therefore they would limite the powerful production of God, to one onely intelligence: which beeing created of God, had recourse to the first thought, whereof it produced the second intelligence: and knowing it selfe, it engendered the soule or moouer of the first sphere, and this moouer knowing also his worke, it proceeded to produce another: and so successiely the cause being varied in substance and operation, diuers effects were produced. Which obscure opinion might haue some colour, if the first and almightie creator were restrained to produce but one effect onely: too absurde a thing to be imagined in the father & author of the vniuers: seeing that not a particular, but an vniuersall effect is answerable vnto him, to wit the world onely, & the entire estate of all things, as we haue heretofore sufficietly declared. And so it followeth, that this vniuers, like a body entire in it selfe, and diuers in the members thereof, was engendered by one onely father and creator, and liues by one onely vniuersall life. But wee will combate against these Philosophers, with more strong weapons, maintaining against them according to the truth, that the soueraigne maker came to his worke without being tied by any naturall law, but free and franke in euery work, as he pleaseth, being abundantly full of all vertue, and of all maner of bounty and essentiall good will, proceeded to his outward work: as these things haue bin declared vnto vs in our precedent discourse. But this by the way, albeit the maxime of the Peripateticks be, (though false) that the first cause worketh of necessity, and that it is alwaies of one sort, which is most true, yet doth it not therefore follow, that it should produce but one effect: seeing that of the sun, which is euer the same, and of the earth, which being stable changeth not, are produced diuers effects, without any variety comming to their nature, yea, and without any tilling of the ground. For herbs, flowers and roots of diuers kinds do grow therein, and many other essences are therein produced by power of the sunne. But if these Philosophers tell me that diuers effects appeare in these things, because that other particular causes doe worke therein together: they haue left the prooffe of this point to their children, to wit, whether this variety proceedeth from diuers causes, or else from the same sunne, fruitfull and full of vertue to engender diuers things. Then with how much greater reason may the first, true & eternall son do it, being abundantly full of all fruitfulness, light & life? For all things were & are in him, not as if they were seated in any local place, but are lodged in his thought, from whence producing them hee is called their father & creator. He only free from the laws of nature without any matter presupposed produceth all things, yea & the matter it selfe altogether full of fertility. But the 2. or naturall cause (as Philosophers speake) requireth the subiect & matter created by God, wherwith it worketh. And here doth that take place which the Prince of Peripateticks saith, [That in comon acceptation of the soule, it is conuenient, that it be made of nothing,] & therefore also our Diuines affirme that the angels can create no nature at all, & that they are creators of things, no more then Gardiners of fruits. And therefore all those, who haue receiued the light of the truth, confesse God alone to bee Father and Authour of all things contained in heaven and in earth: whether spirituall or corporall, visible, or inuisible natures. And let vs neuer thinke that in so great consonancy of the Vniuers, there are many Creatours: nor that there is any more then one onely king and prince, nor many things that consist of themselves. For so should there bee confusion and discordancy in this great world, and so consequently easie dissolution. Thus much haue wee thought conuenient to be knowne, concerning the intellectuall world wherein hauing spoken of the blessed estate of those angels, which are not fallen from God, my minde is, that we say somewhat concerning those who are fallen from their first estate, which

Of diuels and euill spirits.

675

we call commonly Diuels or euill spirits. We will heare you then (A C H I T O B) discourse of them.

Of diuels and euill spirits. Chap. 16.

A C H I T O B. I F we here discourse somewhat by numbers, wee shall make more easie way to that, which we would vnderstand concerning the diuels, yea concerning every creature. I say then every number after the vnity, attaineth to be a perfect and accomplished number within it selfe. Now the vnity alone totally simple, doth not passe from it selfe, but therein remaineth in indiuisible & solitary simplicity, because it is most fully content with it selfe, not hauing need of any thing, being full of his owne riches. But every number being by nature a multitude, doth by the benefit of the vnity become simple, because it is capable of simplicity. And although every number the more it departeth fro the vnity, the more it falleth into a great multitude, hauing in it selfe more disagreeablenes, more parts & compolition: yet is there no number how neere soeuer to the vnity, being a multitude and made of vnities, that is one by nature, but by composition. Now if we refer this to diuine matters after the maner of *Pythagoras* & *Plato*, we shal say thus: God alone, who proceedeth not from any thing, and from whom all things proceede is an entire, most simple and indiuisible essence, end which deriueth all that he possesseth from himselfe: and by what reason he subsisteth, by the same reason he is wise, he is willing, he is good, and he is iust. And wee cannot imagine any essence, wherof he may consist, but the same being which he is. But all other things are not the same essence, but are through him, and therefore an angell is not this vnity: for so should he be God: or else there should be sundry Gods, which may not bee imagined. For what should be one, but the vnity alone? It resteth then that the angell must be a number, which being so, on the other side it is one in multitude, as every number cometh of the vnity by composition, and every number is imperfect, because it is a multitude, that which is perfect being entirely one. So then the angell being a number, that is, a creature, he is not the same being it selfe, but he is onely an essence, to whom the being arriueth by communication, to the end that he may subsist: Neither is he vnderstanding it selfe, but so he vnderstandeth, as being by a spirituall nature capable of vnderstanding. Those things that betoken imperfection, are incident to the angell, as he is a multitude, or creature. But all that which is perfect & of accoplished forme in him, is by reason of the vnity, wherof it is composed, and which he receiveth, because that he is conioined with God (who is the simple vnity) from whom all being, all life, and all perfection is deriued to the creature. And therefore the Philosophers, as also the wise Hebrewes call the angels (separated intelligences:) because, say they, being separated from the most simple vnderstanding, they receive a certain composition in an essence & vertue, which perfecteth them of a Metaphysicall & supernaturall matter and forme. For this point also, Saint *Augustine* teacheth, that there is one onely simple good, and therefore immutable, which is God: and that by this good all things haue beene created good, but not simple, and therefore they are mutable. Which is manifest not onely in man, but even in some part of the Angels, as this Doctor of the Church excellently discourseth in the most part of his worke *De Cinitate Dei*. And these are those, of whom the scripture teacheth, that they haue not remained in the truth: but declining fro their first state haue ouerthrowen themselues, and haue bin made instruments of perdition to many.

But as we heard by our precedent speech some haue beene in this error to beleue, that the good Angels were nothing else, but good inspirations and motions which God gaue men; so there haue beene that thought, that the euill diuels were no other, but euill affections, through the suggestion of our flesh. Yea the impiety of our age hath passed farther: For there are many, which will not beleue that there is any God or deuill. And it is not long since, that certaine talke being moued betweene a Prelate of this kingdome, and certaine others (concerning the diuel) he blushed not to aske them if they had ever seen any one, who had sold him his spectacles, considering he must neede be very old, since (they say) that he came first into the world. Now such contempters of all religion, doe evidently shew their ignorance and beastlinesse. For there was neuer any I will not say Christian, but Eethrike, nor Pagan, endued with any naturall knowledge and faculty of teaching, but hath spoken of diuels and euill spirits, and haue by many writings left to posteritie infinite testimonies

An excellent
theologicall
consideration
by numbers.

Of the separated intelligences.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei lib. 11. cap. 10.

Cause of the fall of the angels & man.

John 2. 2. Peter 2. Jude.

Against those which denie that there be any diuils.

Creation, and
fall of the an-
gels and the
cause of the.

Iohn. 8.

Lib. 12. de ci-
uit Dei, cap. 1.
Sweet Chri-
stian doctrine
to acknow-
ledge all our
good of God,

Iohn 8.

2 Pet. 2.
Iudz

Ephes. 6.

1 Pet. 3.

Against those
that seeke
after diuels.

cerning their nature & marvellous effects. Yea & the doctrine of the Assyriâs, Arabians, Egyptians, and Grecians confirmeth that, which our most diuine theologie teacheth vs, concerning the euill angels chased from the seruice of God. And amongst other *Pherecides* the Syrian describeth the fall of the deuils, and saith that *Ophis* which signifieth the diuelish serpent, was Captaine of the rebellious armie. *Trismegistus* also the glory of the Egyptians hath touched the same fall. And *Homer* the most excellent Greeke Poet, and setter forth of mysteries, singeth in his verses the fall of the first rebell, vnder the name of *Ate* goddess of iniurie and wrong. The Theologie also of the Arabians in imitations of the Hebrew, confirmeth the same, yea the diuels themselves haue oftentimes confessed their own fall: as many writings testifie, and they know, who haue travelled in the searching out of ancients monuments. Wherefore this matter needeth not long disputing, and it is not our intent to satisfie the curious & fantastical of our age, to who nothing is pleasant, saue new doctrine. But pursuing the Christian truth, we say that since the angels haue bin created of God, and the diuels haue beene all created angels, there is no doubt, but they are his creatures, but not of the first condition, wherein they were at the beginning. For they were created good like the other angels and like man, but they haue made themselves euill by their rebellion, pride & sin (like as our first father fell from his native integrity by imitation of them) so that of angels they haue made themselves diuels. And therefore it is written of them, that they haue not persevered in the truth, that is, that they haue not for ever stucke to God, who is the only good of every reasonable or intellectuall creature, as Saint *Augustine* doth learnedly teach: adding moreover the cause of their fall, when he saith, that the creature which may attaine to the gift of blessednes, can not doe it of it selfe, because it is created of nothing; but it receiveth this benefite from him, by whom it hath been created. Therupon is concluded, that immutable good is no other thing but the true blessed God: and yet that all things which he hath created are very excellent good, because they proceed from him; but yet they are mutable, because they haue beene made not of him (that is of his owne substance, but of nothing. Because then the diuels haue beene created by God, we must vnderstand that they haue not that malice, which now we say is their naturall estate, from their first creation, but forasmuch as they haue deprauid themselves. For that which is damnable in them, they haue gotten it since they turned voluntarily from God. And therefore it is saide that *Sathan* speaketh of his own when he speaketh a lie; because he abode not in the truth: Whereby it appeareth that he was once in it. And in that he is called the father of lying all excuse is taken from him, so that he cannot impute to God that euill, wherof himselfe is cause. Wherefore as the diuels haue declined from their first estate, God hath not spared them, but hath bound them in the deepe with chaines of darkenes, to reserue them to the iudgement of the great day, who likewise persevering in their first malice and enuy, haue alwaies endeououred and shall continue to the end, to be instruments of perdition vnto men. And therefore all that, which the holy scripture teacheth vs concerning them, tendeth to this point, that we should stand vpon our guards, to resist their temptations, and not to be surprised by their ambushments, arming vs to this effect, with al the armor of God, as Saint *Paul* doth thereto exhort vs. For he that hath along time iudged them, holds them so with the bridle, that they cannot annoy those which are firme in faith to resist them, nor doe any thing without his will and leaue. But hee maketh them serue for a time measured and prefixed, for scourges as it pleaseth him, in the execution of his iudgements: giving them much power of error in prodigies and miracles, to abuse those which turne from the light of truth, to follow darkenesse and embracelying. And thence spring the Idolatries of the Pagans and inuocations of diuels, which haue caused so many euils to lay hold on man. For the purpose of the diuels hath alwaies beene to make themselves to be serued and honoured of men, to the end that being associated with them, they might likewise bee a most prouoking and effectual cause of the iudgement of God.

And yet how many doe see euen at this day, who make boasts to haue at their command such ministers of iniquitie, whom they thinke to disguise when they call them by the name of familiar spirits? I will not stand here to dispute whether there bee diuers kindes of diuels, or not, as many haue written: But I beleue the word of God, that all of them tend to this purpose, to be hurtfull to men. And though some coniger them by the names of God, and so keepe them bound and chained (as many bragge that they doe) yet are they euer watchfull, till at length they deceiue their masters. I will also beleue that they are not ignorant in ought, which either the reasonable or intellectuall nature can comprehend concerning

concerning corporall and temporall things: yea (as *S. Augustine* saith) by experience of certaine signes vnkowne to vs, they foresee very many things to ensue, more then men doe, and doe sometimes before hand tell the dispositions of them. They are so skilfull, that they said to Iesus Christ clothed with the infirmitie of our flesh. [What haue wee to doe with thee Iesus of Nazareth? art thou come hither to torment vs, before our time?] But (as the same doctor of the Church proceedeth) because they doe not contemplate the eternall causes of times in the wisdom of God, but onely coniecture of temporall things, by the temporall; and of mutable, by the mutable; they are oftentimes deceiued. For they cannot behold the euents of the eternall and immutable decrees of God, which flourish in his diuine wisdom, by such a direct insight as it hath beene giuen to the holy angels: and they see not the thing (if we may terme it so) to which are fastened all causes, and whereupon they turne; neither doe they know the fountaine out of which they spring: wherefore it cometh to passe, that as all things, which are not collected and concluded by their certaine principles; but by erring and estranged coniectures may deceiue; so the diuels are oftentimes beguiled in those signes, whereupon they relie; and tell lies even then, when they thinke themselves most assured to speake truth. But they alwaies tend to this point because of their malignant and enuious nature, to bring all hurt to men, which in the end they cannot auoide, when they forget themselves so farre, as that they wil (against the word of God) take counsell of the diuell: an offence surely worthy of all punishment. Moreover, I doubt not, but as the pure and superiour powers (whom according to the stile of holy writ, wee call the good Angels, which is a word among the Greeks signifying Messenger) doe not commonly suffer themselves to be entreated by euery one, but doe require and attend the cleannes of hart, the holines of life, & the comandement of God: so on the contrary the diuels or euill angels, to who these two names doe properly agree; this last according to doctrine of the Scriptures, and the other Dæmon) of a Greeke word, signifying (to know) they doe make themselves easie, and shew men a kinde of lying fauour, to the end that, drawing to themselves by their craft and subtilty those, who require and seeke their aide in their occasions, they may put God in obliuion, and abandon themselves to be possessed and governed by the diuell, who is their prince. For so in fine it cometh to all those, which serue themselves with these ministers of iniquity: To all Magicians, soothsayers, necromancers, forcerers, witches, and enchanters, with whom the word of God doth expressly charge vs in many places: to haue no communication; commanding also that they should be rooted out of the earth. And what wonders doe they by the aide & helpe of euill spirits; often performing that, which neither art, nor humane vnderstanding can permit to be done? Yet can we no otherwise name all their workes, then very coosenage and illusion: because they doe it, either in apparance onely, or to the hurt and dammage of those, which allow and suffer them. Such were those miracles, as we read in many authors to haue bin done amongst the idols of the gentiles, by the art of the diuels. Of whom *Saint Augustine* after a long discourse, addeth these words. [What shall we speake of these wonders, saue that wee must flee out of the middest of Babylon? For this propheticall comandement must thus be spiritually vnderstood of vs, to wit; that with the wings of faith, which worketh by charitie, we flee out of the city of this world, which doubtles is the dale of diuels, and of most wicked & impious men. For by how much greater wee see the power of euill spirits in these inferiour things, by so much the more must we most firmly cleaue to our mediator Iesus Christ, by whom wee mount vp from below.] And indeed it is by his grace that we may discerne the spirits whether they be of God, or not; yea that sathan cannot deceiue vs, though he were transformed into an angell of light. Otherwise let vs not doubt, that if we will harken to him, or to his ministers and spirits, whom the fooles of this age flatter with the name of familiar spirits, that he will easily glide into our soules, to lead vs at last in triumph to his kingdom of perdition, where we shall deerely buy the familiarity of so pernicious an enemy. Wherefore let vs rather haue alwaies in our heart, & in our mouth, that praier which our Sauer himselfe hath taught vs, [That he leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill.] And let vs leaue the magicians and forcerers; which run to their owne destruction, seeking after the spirits, who lead them to the eternall Gehenna, which is prepared for the diuell and his angels. But now sith it is time to put an end to our talke this day, hauing surueied the angelicall or intellectuall world, according to the capacity of our feeble spirit, we will to morrow entreate of the celestiall world, or of the spheres. Whereupon you (*A S E R*) shall begin to discourse.

The end of the second daies Worke.

M m m 3

The

Lib. 2. de ciuit
Dei. cap. 22.

Matth. 8.
Marke 1.
Luke 4.

ch. 11. W
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Leuit. 20.
Deut. 18.

Lib. 18. de ci.
ut Dei. ch. 18
1er. 51.

1 Iohn. 4.
2. Cor. 11.

Math. 6.
Luk. 11.
Math. 23.

The third daies worke

Of the celestiall or spherical world. Chap. 17.

A SER.



IF we begin our speech concerning the spherical, and of the elementary world, and entreate of them both according to the proper definition, wee shall doe very well, to the end that that which we entend to discourse of, may more easily be vnderstood. The world then, which yesterday we called the threefold one being contemplated with one view, is the perfect & entire composition of all things and the true image and admirable workmanhippe of the Godhead. The greatnesse whereof is incomprehensible, and yet limited: beeing also adorned with all bodies, and kindes of creatures which are in nature. And the description thereof is properly called Cosmography, which doth comprise in it the first part of Astronomie and Geography, that is, the order and reason, as well of heauen as of the earth: vnder which wee vnderstand all natures and essences in them contained. And for this cause it seemeth that God beeing Father and Authour of all things, is oftentimes called in the Scriptures, creatour of heauen and earth. And as the Greekes did first call the heauen (Cosmos) because of the surpassing beauty: so afterward the name of (Mundus) hath beene attributed thereto, because of the perfect and most pure hiew and neatnesse thereof. Againe, because the world is a solide body, that is full of celestiall or elementary substances; and because it is of a round and orbicular forme, performing a circular motion without intermission vpon his owne poles, and round about the earth (as about the center thereof) it is called a Sphere. For a sphere is a body containd vnder one round superficies, in the midst whereof is a point, from which all lines that are drawne to the circumference are equall. But as we consider the world in this sphere, so must wee also contemplate it into two distinct parts, which manifest themselves by continuall experience and natural reason: to wit, the elementary region, continually occupied in generation and corruption, in change and alteration of all things, as well liuing, as not liuing, and the celestiall part, being of inuariale substance and adorned with innumerable stars, as well fixed as wandring, which inuiron the said elementary region round about: so that the elements beeing diuersly intermingled, infused and proportioned are the materiall cause & nouriture of all things: and the heauenly part by the light thereof, by the motion and influence of the starres, is the formall cause of their figure, variety and speciall difference, and from it proceedeth their life. Now that we may entreate of this first part of the world, which we haue named in our first deuision of the Vniuers (the world of the spheres) we must note that this celestiall regio (which philosophers call the first essence, thereby meaning that it is of another, and more simple nature then the fower elements) is by them diuided into eight orbes and particular heauens, one ioyning to the other, and all concentricall, that is, hauing one common and selfe same center, to witte, that of all the world; and of these heauens the greatest doth inuiron, and by a spherical order enclose within it that which is next and lesse then it selfe, beeing each discerned by the proper and particular motion of those starres which they containe: all which motions doe varie one from another. And these eight orbes or spheres are, the heauen of fixed starres, which keepe an vchangeable distance betweene themselves, and for this cause it is called the firmament: then follow the seven planets, of which the sunne and moone are properly called *Luminaria* or great lights. And for *Saturne*, *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, & *Mercurie*, they are especially named planets, that is wandring in their motions. Whereupon we may note in regard of their names, that Astrologians to the end to make their doctrine to be more easily retained, & for certen good respect & secret reaso, making themselves like painters to instruct the ignorant, haue also named and represented these stars by personages

What the world is,

What a sphere is.
Diuision of the world.

Reason of the name of Planets.

of diuers habits and countenances: as likewise they haue disposed vnder diuers figures the twelue signes of the Zodiacke, which are certaine stars, appointing to one the fashion of a ramme, to another of a bull, to another of two twinnes, and so of the rest. So likewise they haue signified the images of heauen, which are out of the Zodiacke, one by a Bares, another by an eagle, another by an harpe; this by a dog, and that by a dragon, and so of the rest. To the sunne it selfe they haue assigned a proper forme and figure, as also to the moone. And we see that painters haue alwaies made the picture of stars with five beames, to denote their twinckling light, though all of them do not glister so, but are of round fashion, without points or corporall beames. But returne we to our matter concerning the heauens and celestiall spheres, and let vs speake of their order and situation.

The firmament, which is the eight heauen, as the highest and greatest of all the rest, and as the vttermost ornament and beawtie of all the world, doth enuiron round about the heauen of *Saturne*; that of *Saturne*, the heauen of *Iupiter*; that of *Iupiter*, the heauen of *Mars*, and that of *Mars*, the orbe of the Sunne, which possesseth the middle place among the seven planets: then the heauen of the Sunne compasseth round about the heauen of *Venus*; that of *Venus* the heauen of *Mercury*; and lastly that of *Mercury*, the heauen of the Moone, which is the least and lowest of all the rest, and placed next about the elementarie region. And this number and order of the heauens is commonly received of all Astronomers and Philosophers; and sheweth it selfe to bee such both by naturall reasons, and by Mathematicall obseruations. Moreover, for so much as by the Astronomers ring and other instruments fitting for the demonstration of this science, one may perceiue that these eight spheres are distinguished and separated one from the other, certaine reason doth ther-upon conclude, that beside these there is a ninth, which is called first the moouer, which is the guide of the heauens, and which by his owne power and violence doth carry away all the other with it, beeing no whit gouerned by any lower circle, but onely by that intelligence which mooueth it, or else by the commandement of God, to whome all motion is drawne, as to the first moouer, to the end that the whole harmony of heauen be not confused as *Aristotle* in the end of his *Organon* proueth. True it is also, that some moderne Philosophers doe place betweene the firmament and the first moouer a ninth sphere, which they call the Christalline heauen, for that some starres are not seene therein. And this is because that they cannot perceiue, how there might be made in the eight sphere, the motion called Trepidation or tottering of the fixed stars if there were not a ninth heauen enclosed within the first moouer. For it seemes not likely to them, that the firmament which is turned with three motions, should be ioyned to the first moouer which is carried with one only course. For this eight sphere hath one daily motion from the west to the east vpon the poles of the Zodiacke, which is the circle of the signes, vpon which (according to *Ptolemy*) in each hundred yeeres it runneth one degree, or else in sixty yeeres, as others hold; then hath it the foresaid motion of Trepidation. Whereupon they conclude that there is a ninth heauen, that hath onely a twofold motion, betwixt the starrie heauen and the first moouer, which is onely turned with one motion; to the end that in good order all things may be reduced to the first moouing. For as *Aristotle* in his profound Philosophie saith, it is necessary, that by most fit agreement and consent euery thing may be reduced to that, which is the cause thereof. But because *Ptolemy*, *Hermes*, *Aratus*, and other auncients, most exquisite beholders of the heauens and of their motions and aspects, are contented with the number of nine spheres, many therefore reiect the opinion of those which make tenne: because that nothing maketh for them but onely the motion of Trepidation, which, say they, may be well considered vnder the first moouer, but for the ninth sphere. Besides which, our diuines do yet declare to be a tenth heauen, which they call Emphyreall, vitall, flaming and diuine, into which are receiued the soules of the blessed. And it seemeth that *Plato* and his Academicks, especially *Plato* in his booke of the world, doth consent to them. But this heauen and throne of God, cannot properly bee reckoned with the other nine. For they bee moouable, but this is stable and immouable, they be of one substance onely, and this of another. Wherefore we may aptly referre it to the Angelicall and intellectuall world, whereof we discoursed yesterday. And if we may be permitted againe to discourse by numbers, as we haue begun; it is certaine that as the number of ten retaineth a double nature, because it doth partake with that number whereof it is the end, and with that other whereof it is the beginning: so the tenth in all the prime kindes of things doth consist of double nature. For man, which is the tenth kinde of things subiect to corruption, and at whom the other

Of the order and situation of the heauens.

Of the first moouer, which is the ninth heauen.

Of the Christalline heauen

Of the tenth Emphyreall heauen.

nine finish, is of a corruptible and incorruptible composition. So the nine heavens end at the imperiall heaven, which in that it is materiall, agreeth with them, but in dignity of matter it doth participate with the supercelestiall throne. As likewise they that speake of the nine orders of angels, lay, that they ende in Christ their king, who holdeth and embraceth in all perfection both the nature of angels and also of God; to whome at last all things must be reduced, as to him, of whom, from whome, and by whom all things consist.

Now that, which heere we speake of the heavens, may likewise be learned out of *Moses*, the prince of all Philosophers, or rather of the creator of all things himselfe, who hath spoken by the mouth of his prophet, as also by himselfe. For after *Moses* had praised the Eternal that he would be alwaies with him, & that he would by continuall oracles instruct him as there should be great neede, that hee might rule such a number of people, and that hee might give them the law; [I will be (saith he) with thee, and will dwell in the midst of thee: And according to all those things, which I shall shew thee, even so shal you make the forme of the Tabernacle. They shall make an Arke of Shittim wood, whereof the height and bredth shall be a cubite and an halfe.] Such as haue diligently interpreted this text, do amongst other mysteries finde therein the nine heavens aptly represented: for a cubite is sixe palmes, then a cubite and halfe hie and broad are nine palmes. And againe when he commandeth that vpon the same arke he should make a crowne of gold, which should serue it for a couering, and which was of precious stuffe, farre above that of the arke of wood, they should thereby make vs vnderstand, that the tenth heaven was figured. Which for that cause is not numbred commonly with the other nine, but is considered by our vnderstanding to be the beginning of an other combination and coupling. For tenne as it doth accomplish the other numbers, so is it the original of the tens so an hundreth finishing the tens, beginneth the hundreths: So this couering of gold, otherwise called propitiatorie crowning the arke, was beginning to a better thing, for vpon the same were placed the Cherubims, and there were obtained the mercitull and fauorable graces of God. In such sort likewise the imperiall heaven, though it accomplisheth and finisheth the number of the nine heavens, yet is it the beginning of spirituall and diuine things and retaineth an angelicall nature; yet so, that it is proportioned to the spheres, who are appointed to haue a place. Againe we haue heeretofore heard in the generall diuision of the vniuers, how in the partition of the Tabernacle into three speciall parts, was very aptly signified that of the world, beeing a threefold one. How also by the seven lampes of gold ordained to be set to the candlestick in the arke, might fitly seeme to be represented the seven planets shining in their spheres: as likewise by the bodie of the same candlestick, out of the sides whereof proceeded sixe branches, to wit, three out of either side might be particularly denoted the sun, which is placed in the midst of the planets, whereof there be three on each part in round forme, which like cups or vessels receiuing influences frō above, do conferre them on things here below, by which meanes fundrie flowres do spring vp. But because it would be too tedious for vs to compare all that which belonged to the making of the Arke with that which is taught vs concerning the spheres, wee will come to conclude that there be nine Heavens: to wit, the first moouable, by which the supreme worker and first moouer of all, mooueth all things. Then is the starry heaven or firmament, by which the same Creator distributeth his power into innumerable instruments to performe such things as he executeth, especially by meanes of the seven planets, which haue euery one their heaven, according to the order heretofore declared. And vpon which, (according to our yesterdaies speech) the Hebrew doctors, and many other Diuines doe teach, that certaine spirits (which they call celestiall, or separated intelligences) doe make abode, who being before the throne of God, reioycing in his presence, doe behold in his countenance as in a mirror, all things which may be contemplated, and at the very becke of the prince of nature, doe put his will in execution, vsing the heavens as instruments by which, and according to the number of diuers influences proceeding from all the starres and signes, here below are produced with one concurrence, mettals, stones, plants and liuing creatures. But before wee more ampie touch these things, which respect the nature & admirable effects of the heavens in all creatures, we must first entreat of their figure and motion, which (A M A N A) shall be the subiect of your discourse.

*Of the forme and figure of heauen, and of the motion thereof as well generall
as particular. Chapter 18.*

AMANA, **T**hat the heauen is generall and particularly of circular forme, and altogether round; the Latin name (*Orbis*) by which the ancients haue commonly called it, is a sure testimonie vnto vs. So likewise there are many natural reasons, which declare it to be such. For all the partes of the frame thereof doe consist of themselves, doe sustaine themselves, and doe comprehend themselves, not hauing neede of any stay of point, hauing neither a beginning nor ending place. Moreover, this roundnesse of heauen may bee knowne by the sight of the eye. For on which side soeuer you beholde it, you may see the halfe in our hemisphere, as it doth shew it selfe: which could not come to passe in any other figure, but in a round; which also is the most perfect, and most capable of all other figures to bee comprised in one selfe-same circuit: and is therewithall the easiest to moue euery way. And therefore it is not onely conuenient, but also necessary for all the heauens and celestiaall orbes, of which wee before intreated, as well because of the perfection of their essence, as by reason of their proper motions, which are circular, and correspondent to a round forme, and besides all this; because these spheres are placed one within another making their revolutions vpon diuers poles, and in diuers spaces of time. Which could not be obserued, nor the integritie of the whole heauen maintained, if the celestiaall forme were any other than round and circular. For the proper and naturall motion of the Spheres is circular, that is, framed equally distant round about their center, which is the point in the midst of the world, so that neither the whole heauen, nor any of the particular spheres, doth wholly abandon or passe out of his owne place and situation, but onely the partes of them doe incessantly change place, in that they turne about their said common center. And therefore is this circular motion much more noble and perfect, then that which is made by a right line, either mounting from the center of the world towards the circumference, or else descending from it towards the center: which motion is proper to the foure elements: For fire and aire do mount vpwards, but water and earth descend naturally downewards. Also fire mounteth higher then aire, and earth descendeth lower then water, and each of these enuiron the center of the world, which is the lowest place of all, and farthest from the circumference, which is the highest of all. So then the circular motion is naturally due and conuenient to the most noble and most simple body, which is the heauen and most necessarie for it: as it appeareth more cleerely to vs by the continuall motion of the starres, both fixed and wandring, which proceedeth of the onely moouing of their spheres. For wee must note that the starres are nothing else but certaine firme, cleere, and solide partes of their heauens, made in round forme like the heauen, whose motion they follow, which likewise receiue their light from the sunne, who is the very source and fountaine, wherinto the soueraigne creator hath put the brightnes of the whole vniuersal world.

Now this circular motion of heauen is found by obseruation to haue two principall differences: that is to be made vpon sundrie pole and axes, and in sundry parts and positions of the world, as also in diuers spaces and quantities of times. [Wee call that the axes of the sphere which is the diameter that passeth through the same vpon which it is turned, and the vttermoost points of the same axis are the poles.] For the whole vniuersal world hath his proper and naturall motion like a living creature, and euery of the orbes and particular heauens haue also a peculiar motion, like to the parts and members of the whole great body. For which cause, as also for diuers other considerations many learned personages haue affirmed, that the world is an animal or living creature. And amongst others *Origen* is wholly of that minde, who enforceth himselfe to prooue it, as well by reasons as by authority of holy Scripture. And therefore he saith thus in this booke of principles. [Though the world be ordeined to diuers offices, yet the estate thereof must not be thought to bee dissonant, or any whit disagreeing. But euen as our body alone is composed of many members, as is contained by one soule; so I thinke we must suppose that the vniuersal world is a great and vmeasurable animal, which as by a soule is sustayned by the power and wisdom of God.] The Platonists doe all with one mouth teach the same thing. And amongst many reasons, by which they would confirme this point, we will take onely that of *Plato* in his *Timæus*, which, me thinkes, is most excellent. [There are (saith he) two motions, the one proper

The heauen
is of round
forme.

Of the pro-
per and natu-
rall motion
of the spheres

Of the moti-
on proper to
the lower e-
lements.

What stars
are.

Of the axis of
the spheres
and of the
poles.

Reasons of
such as haue
said that the
world is an
animal.

Notable difference in the workes of God.

Psal. 102.

Of the first, and vniuersall motion of heauen.

Of the second kind of circular motions.

proper, the other strange or exterior; now that is more diuine, which of it selfe is mooued, then that which is stirred by the power of another. And this motion proper and diuine is in our soules onely, from which the beginning of the other strange motion is taken. Seeing therefore that all motion proceedeth of the ardor of the world, and that this ardor is not mooued by exterior agitation, but of it owne accord, it is therefore necessarie, that there must bee a soule. Whereupon we gather that the world is an animall, and that not without vnderstanding.] Now if thereupon any aske why heauen changeth not, nor becometh diseased, nor dieth, nor faileth as other liuing creatures doe? The answer of *Chalcidius* in this point pleaseth me very much, whē he saith, commenting vpon *Timæus*, [That which is instituted by God without meanes, is free and exempt from change, from age, from sicknesse, from oldnes, and from death.] And in this point agree all Academicks: as also might be well prooued by circumstance, if that be well considered, which the sage philosopher *Moses* declareth to haue beene produced by the creator, without helpe or matter, and that which hath beene also performed by meanes of the second causes. For though man was created and formed by the hands of God, yet was he not made without dust or earth, which was a meane subiect. But the eternall hath made the heauens, and the whole frame of the world of nothing: For which reason it might seeme perpetuall, and not perishing. For as wee haue heretofore declared; though the heauens and earth must passe away, yet doth not this plainly conclude an annihilating of them, but rather a changing and renewing. For so speaketh the kingly prophet, saying, [The heauens shall waxe old as doth a garment, as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed.] And of this consideration we may frame an excellent reason concerning the immortality of the soule, because it was made without any meanes by God himselfe. But leauing this argument, let vs pursue that, which wee beganne to say concerning the principall differences of the circular motion of the heauens.

Wherefore the first and vniuersall motion of all the sphericke world, is that, which we see is made round about the earth, from the east by south towards the west, alwaies with one and the same orderly celeritie and swiftnes, and without any ceasing, which performeth his course in a naturall day, which is diuided into fower and twenty equall hower, as is plainly shewed vnto vs by the ordinarie course of the sunne. So that the whole heauen, and each of those celestiaall spheres, doe follow the saide daily motion, though it bee not proper to them but accidentall, in that they are the partes of the vniuersall world. For (as wee shall presently see) every sphere hath an other proper and particular motion. But this same, whereof we speake, doth in such sort by accident agree with all the parts of the world, that the most thinne and subtil elements, especially fire, and the superiour region of the aire, are in like sort carried away therewith. So likewise doth the sea, though it environeth not the earth round about, in some sort follow this motion by ebbing and flowing every naturall day, not performing an entire reuolution. Wherefore nothing but the earth remaineth vnmoueable, because of the waight, and insensible quantity of it in respect of the whole world, as being the center thereof. The stablednesse whereof is very necessarie, that so both the vniuersall and each particular motion may be discerned; for otherwise there should be a confusion instead of harmony. And for this cause many haue supposed, that this whole Vniuers generally considered, is the first and very true moouer of the vniuersall motion, and not any heauen or particular orbe. Now for the second kinde of circular motions, it is that which is proper to every of the eight sphers and celestiaall orbs, which are the parts of the whole heauen, from the firmament to the sphere of the moone. For each of these spheres (as is evidently perceiued by the starres enchaſed therein, which can haue no motion but according to their heauen) performeth his owne naturall and peculiar motion, contrary to the first, and vpon other poles and axes, to wit, from the West by South towards the East. And the entire reuolutions of those spheres, are done and finished in diuers spaces of time, to wit, of the greater and superior more late, and of the lesse and inferiour (being next to the elements) more soone. For the heauen of fixed starres, according to the most likely opinion and apparant obseruation of Astronomers, performeth his owne reuolution in thirty six thousand common yeares, without bissext, whereof each containeth 365. naturall daies: *Saturne* the highest planet, in thirty yeares; *Iupiter*, which hath his circle much lower, in twelue; *Mars* in two; the Sunne in 365. naturall daies, and almost one fourth part of a day, which make vp the time and space of a yeare. For one shall alwaies finde, that number of daies being runne out, the shadow of the Sunne to be such, as (if you marke it) was the yere before

before, at the very same instant, yea to the difference scarce of a minute. Whereby it commeth that from foure yeare to foure yeare, is reckoned a bissextile day, which serueth to make the yeare answerable to the course of the sunne. The revolution of whom, *Venus* and *Mercury* do neere approach vnto: and for the Moone she maketh hers in seven and twentie natural daies, and almost one third part of a day: so that in so small time she maketh as much way in regarde of vs, as *Saturne* doth in thirtie yeeres: because he is the farthest from, and shee the neereft to the earth, which causeth her course to be shorter then any other planet. And this is the consideration, which hath giuen occasion to many to cast the distances and spaces which are betweene the spheres: saying, that there is nine teene times so much distance betweene the Sunne and Moone, as is betweene the Moone and the earth, & so of the rest, *Pythagoras* himselfe, a man very ingenious, counted by his calculation (as *Plinie* relateth) that there were 125000 stades or furlongs between the earth and the circle of the Moone: and that from the Moone to the Sunne there werethe double of them, and betweene the sunne and signes of the Zodiacke the triple. Now a stade (or furlong) was measured by the ancients to consist of one hundred fve and twentie common paces, or else of seven hundredth and fiftie feete. But so certainly to determine of the dimensions and distances betweene the spheres, should (me thinketh) be too great an enterprise for the capacite of our spirits. Yet may the curious by some infallible reason of Geometrie, or rather by imagined coniectures resolute vpon it. And to conclude our discourse concerning the motions of heauen, we see that though by the rapiditie and violence of the continuall motion of the first moouer, all the spheres are carried away with it, in the space of fower and twentie howers from east by south towards the west, returning by north, or midnight towards the east; yet neuertheless every one of them hath his proper and particular motion, cleane contrary to the vniuersall, that is, from the west towards the east. Which is chiefly done because that by the reuerberation of these contrarie motions, the aire may be parted and disperfed, which otherwise would heape and gather together, and become immooueable and heauy, because of the continuall revolution of the world, turning alwaies one way. And besides these principall differences of the circular motion of the heauens, all the planets haue other motions offarther consideration, which are called circuits of the great revolution, and which doe concur in the great yeare, which is taken for the time when all the planets shall fully finish their courses together. But we haue said enough concerning this matter, considering the entent of our discourse; wherefore we will prosecute as briefly as we may the other particularities seruing for the knowledge of the spheres, euen so much as we shall hold needful for our present historie of heauen and earth. Then you shall discourse to vs (*ARAM*) of those circles which shew themselues in the sphere, and of the diuersitie and disposition of them.

Of the bissextile day, or leape yeare.

Of distances betweene the spheres.

Plinie in his natural history lib. 2.

A good cause of the motions of the spheres.

Of the circles in generall, and particularly of the Equinoctiall and Zodiacke, and of their signes. Chapter 19.

ARAM. IN the sphere of the world are two kindes of circles demonstrated, whereof some are named greater, and some lesser circles. They which haue one selfe same & common center with the whole heauen, are called greater circles, and are one equal parts. But such circles as haue their centers out of that of the sphere, are called lesser circles, of which those only; that haue their middle points alike distant from that of the whole heauen, are equal one to another: being by so much the smaller, by how much their center is farther from the center of the whole. And therefore they which haue their centers vnequally distant from that of the heauen, are vnequall, and that is greater then the rest, whose middle point is neereft to that of the sphere: and consequently the one is so by much the more vnequall to the other, by how much the center of the one is farther distant from the center of the other. And it is to bee noted that all circular motion of any heauen and planet whatsoever, must bee considered and measured by meanes of a greater circle: to wit, that which is directly placed betweene the poles of the same motion, and is equally distant from the same: because it is a circle of the greatest circuite and swiftnesse, that may bee designed by the same motion. But wee must vnderstand, that among all the circles, there is one part mooueable that is incessantly turning therewith, and the other fixt and immooueable, seruing for to discern the better the accidents and effects of the sphericall motions and moouing circles.

Of the greater and smaller circles of the sphere.

Some circles are mooueable and some are immooueable.

First

First, then to entreate of the moueable circles, as likewise to prosecute that which wee haue heard in our precedent discourse that there bee two principall motions of heauen, whereof one is of the vniuersall world, making his reuolution from the East towards the West, and the other contrary from West to East, as is proper to the planets: we must imagine in the sphere of the world two principall circles, to wit, the Equinoctiall or Equator for seruing for the first of those motions, and the Zodiack or Eclipticke for the second. The Equinoctiall then is a great circle, diuiding the totall sphere into two equall parts, being placed directly betweene the two poles of the world, and equally distant in all parts from them. By the which circle is measured and considered the prime and vniuersall motion of the whole world: and consequently the time, which is nothing else but the measure of the succeeding of the same motion, which is alwaies of one selfe same course and quickenesse, and whereof the said circle is called the Equator. Vnder which the sunne directly comming (which is twice every yeare) the daies are of equall length with the nights throughout the whole world: for which cause likewise the same circle is called the Equinoctiall, that is the circle of equall nights. And the poles thereof are those of the whole world; about which the vniuersall and regular motion is made: whereof that which is in the North parts, is called by the same name, either the Pole Articke, North-pole or Septentriniall, which is alwaies seene where we inhabite and about which there is a certaine figure of seven fixed starres, turning circularly, which is called the great Beare, or most commonly the Waine. And the other pole opposite to this is named the pole Antarticke, south-pole, or Meridionall being towards the south, and is alwaies hid from vs. For the second great and principall circle among those which are moueable, it is nominated the Zodiacke or Eclipticke, or else the oblique circle: and it is that, wherein the twelve signes are placed of diuers names and figures, being indeed obliquely placed in respect of the Equinoctiall, and poles of the world: so that one halfe thereof extendeth towards the north or pole articke, and the other moitie declineth toward the south and pole antarticke. And this circle is the very path way of the sunne and rest of the planets, all which keepe their peculiar motion in the Zodiacke, to the end to distribute their influence and vertue vpon the earth, for the life and production of all things. Now the Zodiacke doth diuide in the midst the Equinoctiall, and is thereby diuided also into two equall halfes. And the points of these interfections are called Equinoctiall points because the sunne being in them, they daies are vniuersally equall to the nights; as also the points of the foresaid Zediacke, which are the meanes betweene the said Equinoctiall points are named Sunsteads or Tropicks, that is to say, stations, or reuerfions of the sunne: because that, it arriuing about those points, the meridian altitudes and artificiall daies do long remaine in one estate, without any notable variation; as also for that comming to the said Sunsteads, it returneth toward the Equinoctiall. And thus the two Equinoctiall points, and that two Sunsteads diuide the Zodiacke into foure parts, answerable to the foure seasons of the yeere: which are the Spring, Summer, Autumne, and Winter. Of which, the Spring time beginneth at that Equinoctiall point, from which the sunne by his proper motion, commeth and enclineth towards the highest point called Verticall. Sommer beginneth at the Sunstead next following. Autumne at the other Equinoctiall: and Winter at the second sunstead; so that the said Equinoctiall points are called by the names of the foresaid seasons. And because that every natural action hath beginning, middle, and end: therefore each of these said quarters of the Zodiacke is diuided into three equall parts, & so the whole Zodiacke into twelve: which parts are named signes, because they signifie, and designe the most notable and apparant mutations of things heere below, being chiefly caused by the yeerely course of the Sunne along the Zodiacke. Every of the said seasons of the yeere is likewise diuided into three parts, and the whole yeere into twelve, called moneths, that is to say measures of the time, wherein the sunn passeth the said twelve signes. And as the twelve months haue beene diuided some into thirtie, and others into thirty one natural daies; euen so is every signe parted into thirtie degrees, and the whole Zodiacke into 360. Then every degree into 60. prime minuts, and every prime minute into 60. seconds, and so consequently into other subdiuisions so far as one will. Wherein is to be noted, that this number of 60. must alwaies be obserued, because it may be diuided into more equall parts then any other number vnder 100.

Now forasmuch as the sunne, according as it is remooued or approacheth neere the highest points called Verticall, doth cast forth his beames more directly or oblique vpon the earth; for this cause also the heate, and proper action of the starres and planets is more forcible;

Of the equinoctial circle.

Of the poles of the world,

Of the zodiacke.

Of the equinoctial points and solstists.

Of the foure seasons of the yeere.

Diuisiō of the zodiacke into twelve parts called signes.

cible, or feeble in things here below, and according as it findeth them prepared causeth diuers effects. Which diuersity is notoriously apparant from signe to signe. And therefore the twelve signes of the zodiack are called by certaine proper names, extracted from the nature and property of things correspondent with their said effects. The first signe is nominated (Aries) because that the Sunne then beginneth to approach to the highest point, and the heate thereof doth encrease, which mixing with the humilty that the precedent winter had brought in, maketh the temperature of the aire hot and moist, which agreeth with the nature of a ram. The second signe is called (Taurus) because that when the sunne is therein, the heate fortifieth it selfe, and consumeth the moisture, so that the temperature of the aire tendeth somewhat to drinesse, which seemeth very answerable to the nature of the bull, which is of greater power then that of sheepe. The third signe is named (Gemini) because the Sunne beeing therein, hath his heat redoubled: and amongst all kinde of beastes the males and females haue naturall copulation, two and two together to engender one like themselves, and to continue their kind. The fourth signe is said to be (Cancer) for euen as the crabbe goeth backward, so the sunne entring into this signe retireth backe towards the Equinoctiall from whence he came, making his declinations contrary to those of Gemini. The fift signe is called (Leo) because the sunne being therein, by the redoubling of his beames, the heate is strong, and drinesse great, euen as the lion is a puissant beast, of hot and dry nature. The sixt signe is named (Virgo) for as the virgine is a weake creature, and of her selfe barren, so the sunne being in this signe the heate diminisheth, and drinesse ruleth; whereby the production of things ceaseth, and the earth becommeth barren. The seuenth signe hath to name (Libra) because the disposition of the aire is then in ballance betweene the wasted heate and new begunne coldnesse and because also the sunne beeing in this signe, the daies and nights are in ballance betweene the decreasing of the one, and increasing of the other. The eight is called (Scorpio) because that then the colderuling with drinesse, are great enemies to nature, and doe corrupt the aire, which hath the proper qualitie of hot and moist: whereupon ensue plagues, and other dangerous diseases, which surprize the creature, like the venome of a Scorpion, which lies in his taile, and is engendered of corruption. The ninth signe is named (Sagitaris) for the sunne being in it, the too much weakened heat is surmounted by cold, wherupon there ensue fogs & frost, and other alterations of the aire, as hurtfull to creatures, as enuenedomed arrowes. The tenth signe is nominated (Capricornus) because that the sun entring therinto, is the farthest that al the yeere it can be from the vertical point, so that by rigor of the cold mixed with drines, which hath then full domination: as also by reason of the debility of heat, the disposition of the aire is melancholy, retaining the nature of a goate. The eleuenth signe is signified by (Aquarius) because then the drinesse is surmounted by the moisture now beginning, the cold neuertheless remaining: wherefore the aire is cold and moist like water, and disposed to snowes and raine. The twelfth and last signe is (Pisces) because as fishes are cold and moist, following naturally the water, hauing yet some little naturall heat: euen so is the temperature of the aire, then cold and moist, hauing yet some heate growing by the approach of the Sunne to the vernall Equinoctiall point, so that the colde diminisheth. And thus much concerning the signes of the zodiacke, and the names to them ascribed, for which cause the fixed starres, which are in this circle and comprised within the said signes, both of the one side and one the other, haue bene painted according to the fashion of the said beasts: and their influence iudged from the causes by vs heere declared; and not that the said signes haue taken their names of the nature and disposition of the said starres. And by this consideration of the property of each signe in the zodiacke, wee learne, that by the introduction of one qualitie, ensueth the expulsion of the contrarie; and by the augmentation of the one, the decrease of the other. Which must onely be vnderstood concerning the qualities happening in the aire, by the radiation of the sunne onely, being strong, meane and weake, and the disposition of inferiour things, without comprising therein the other constellations and aspects of the planets, changing and greatly altering the said disposition of the aire: neither doe we touch the opinions of professors of iudiciall Astrologie, who for other reasons and principles of the said art, attribute to the same signes other qualities then those that we haue expressed. But from them we may extract fower triplicities, which make the twelve signes correspond with the fower elements; to witte, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, with the fire: Pisces, Aries, and Taurus, with the aire: Sagitaris, Capricornus, Aquarius, with water: and Virgo, Libra, and Scorpio, with earth. Now must we pursue our purpose

Of the names
of the twelve
signes and
the causes
thereof.

concerning the circles of the sphere, as well great as small, moouable as immoouable: the treatise whereof (A C H I T O B) I refer to you.

Of the two great circles named Colures, and of the fower lesse circles and parallels, of the five zones of the world and immoouable circles. Chap. 20.

A C H I T O B.

BESIDES these two principall moouable circles which haue bene declared vnto vs in the precedent speech, there are also demonstrated in the sphere two other great circles; whereof one passeth by the Equinoctiall points, and the other by the Solstits or sun-seeds and poles of the zodiacke, and both by the poles of the world, where they are diuided into three angles. And by this meane they part as well the Equinoctiall as the zodiacke into fower parts; the parts whereof answere together in iust and equall proportion. These two circles haue to name Colures, that is to say, vnperfect, because they haue an vnperfect reuolution in turning with the sphere vpon the points of their circumference, and not about their proper poles, like other circles. One of them then is called the Equinoctiall colure, and the other the Solstitial colure. And the one passeth by the circle of the zodiacke at the beginning of the signes Aries and Libra, which are the Equinoctiall signes: and the other at the beginning of the signes Cancer and Capricorne which are the Solstitiall signes. And it is to be noted that the arck of the Solstitiall Colure comprised betwene the Equinoctiall and one of the Solstits, is the measure of the greatest declination of the Sun: which must of necessitie be equall to the arck of that Colure, which is between one of the poles of the world, & the next pole of the zodiack. For by how much one greater circle declineth from another, by so much the poles of the one are distant from the poles of the other, because all greater circles are equall, and haue one common center, and doe equally part themselves: and likewise their declination is iust in the midst of their cuttings or interfections.

Of two circles called Colures.

Of the two tropicks.

Of the two polary circles

Of the five zones of the world.

We must also consider in the sphere foure principall lesser and moouable circles; whereof the two first doe limit out the whole oblikenesse of the Zodiacke, and the declination thereof from the Equinoctiall, as also the conuersions of the Sunne towards it. And these circles are nominated Tropicks, that is, turning or conuertive, because they passe by the two Solstits of the zodiacke. That then which passeth by the first point of Cancer, which is the Sommer Solstice, is called the Tropicke of Cancer, or Sommer Tropicke: and that which passeth by the first point of Capricorne, or Winter Solstice, is named the Winter Tropicke, or Tropicke of Capricorne: being therefore one equall to another, because they are equally distant from the Equinoctiall. For the two other lesser circles, they are those which be described about the poles of the world, by the poles of the zodiacke, limiting the diuision or distance of the said Pole: and for this cause they are called Polarie-circles, and doe retain the names of the Poles of the world. For one is named the North or Arcticke-circle, and the other the South or Anarcticke circle, being also equall one to another by the same reason, as is vnderstood of the Tropicks. And you must note that these said foure lesser circles doe diuide the whole sphere into five parts or principall regions commonly called zones: whereto as many parts, or diuers regions answere vpon the terrestriall globe: which zones are different as well in figure and greatnesse, as also in nature or accidentall disposition, caused chiefly by the radiation of the sunne. The first then of these five parts or regions of the sphere is comprehended betwene the two Tropicks, and deuided by the Equinoctiall in the midst, for which cause it is the most ample of all the rest. The two extremest and smallest are comprised about the poles of the world, within the Arcticke and Antarctick circles: wherefore the one is called the North, & the other the South zone. And the other two are meanes betwene the greatest, which is middlemost, and the two extremest or least, which are about the poles of the world, being larger towards the two tropicks, then towards the polary circles, which together are the bounds of them. And among these five zones which enuiron the earth, some parts of them are become habitable, and others not, by meanes of the diuers effects caused by the sunne. For the meane region about the Equinoctiall, is for three causes temperate, first, because the

the

the sunne being vnder, or about the said Equinoctiall, it maketh a greater circuit in the vniuersall motion of the whole world, and runs faster away; for which cause his heate maketh not so great impression vpon the earth. Secondly, because it passeth suddenly from the South to the North part, by reason of the transuers disposition of the zodiacke about the Equinoctiall. And thirdly, because the daies are there equall with the nights, whereby the heate of the one is tempered by the coldnes of the other. But about the Tropicks the heat is excessive in Sommer. First, because the sunne is then in those stations, wherein his shining endureth longer vpon the earth, and by reason also that he performeth lesse compass, and passeth slowly away, whereby his heat taketh more deepe impression. And besides all this, the dayes are longer then the nights, in such sort that the heat of the one surmounteth the cold of the other. For the two polary regions and the circumiacent parts, it is manifest that they are farre out of the sunnes way; whereof ensueth, that by the too much oblique radiation thereof, heat is there exceeding feeble, and cold great and intolerable. Finally, in the middelt or about the two other foresaide regions betwene the Equinoctiall and poles of the world, the disposition of the aire is temperate; as well by reason of the commixture of the heat, which is about the Tropicks, and the cold which is about the polary circles, as because of the meane radiation of the sunne, that is to say, neither too direct, nor too oblique. So then the middle zone, comprised between the two Tropicks is temperate about the midd; and intemperate through excessive heate, about the extremities thereof: whereupon it is in this part called the Torrid zone, because the sunne doth alwaies turne about it. And the two polarie and extreme regions, are perpetually intemperate through colde. And the two meanes are temperate about the middelt; and in one extreame thereof intemperate with heate, and in the other with cold. But thereof followes not, that all intemperate places should be inhabitable, but onely very hard, and difficult to dwell in.

Hitherto hath our talke beene concerning the principall and mooueable circles of the sphere: Now let vs intreat of the immooueable. Even then as the Zodiacke and the Equinoctiall are the two chiefest amongst the mooueable circles: so are the Horizon and Meridian amongst the immooueable. By the Horizon is meant a great circle imagined in heauen, which diuideth that halfe of heauen which is seene, from that halfe which is not seene: that is, which parteth the Hemisphere vnder vs, from that which is aboue vs. And to the same circle one of the poles is alwaies the verticall point, and the other pole is the point opposite. Wherefore by how much each place hath his point higher, by so much doth the Horizon of each place differ; for there are so many Horizons as there be particular places. And therefore the horizon of those, which haue the verticall point (that is, the point which is right ouer head) vnder the Equinoctiall is named the right Horizon, because it must needs passe by the poles of the world, and diuideth the Equinoctiall at right angles one equall to another. Whereupon it is also called a right sphere because it seemeth to be rightly placed in respect of that Horizon, and the starres to make their motion directly by the vniuersall motion of the sphere. But the Horizon of those whose zenith is out of the Equinoctiall towards the one or other pole of the world, is called oblique, because that one of the poles (to wit, that which the verticall point is next to) is elevated aboue the said Horizon; & the other pole is so much depressed vnder the same: which for this occasiō doth deuide the Equinoctiall at oblique angles, vnequal one to another. Wherefore also the sphere is said to be oblique, because it is obliquely placed in respect of the said Horizon: and the stars turne obliquely in the vniuersall motion. And therefore it is euident, that all direct Horizons are of one selfe same disposition, but among the oblique, there are as many differences of oblique, as are distances betwene the verticall point and the Equinoctiall, or as the elevation of the pole is diuers aboue them. For the Meridian, it is a great circle, which passeth by the poles of the world and that point of heauen, which is directly ouer our heads, wherefoeuer we are: and deuideth both the Equinoctiall and Horizon at right angles, separating also halfe the sphere being east, from the halfe that is west. The poles whereof are the interfections of the Horizon and of the Equinoctiall. And because it deuideth the naturall day, and the artificall day (whereof we must hereafter entreate) into two euen parts, it is called the Meridian, or midday circle, which is as much to say, as the noone-tide circle. For whensoever the sun is come from the east to this circle, aboue the Horizon, it is high noone: when to the opposite point vnder the Horizon, it is midnight. All places then, according as they are more orientall, or more occidentall, haue their proper Meridian, and

Of the causes which make some parts of the earth habitable and others not.

Of immooueable circles, & first of the Horizon.

Of the Meridian circle.

they which lye alike east, or west, haue one selfe Meridian, though they be not alike distant from the Equinoctiall. And you must vnderstand, that euery Meridian is a right Horizon to some, and euery right Horizon a Meridian.

Of verticall
circles.

Of parallell
circles.

Now do I next proceede to the other immouable circles of the sphere, without which, no man can vnderstand the making & vse of many instruments especially of the Astrolabe, which representeth the sphere reduced into a plaine forme. Of these circles, some are called verticall, some parallels of heights: then are there circles of houres, and those which distinguish the twelue houses of heauen. The verticall are certain great circles, which proceed from the vertical point (wherof they are named) about the Horizon, which they diuide into 360 degrees, and of the number of those is the Meridian. But there is one especially called the vertical circle, which in the right sphere is Equinoctiall it selfe, to wit, that which deuideth the Meridian at right angles, and the Horizon also in the same points, where it is separated from the Equinoctiall, which circle with the Meridian designeth the four principall angles of the world, that is, the exact points of East, West, North and South, diuiding both the Horizon and vpper hemisphere into four parts, one equall to another. And the other vertical circles serue for to discern in what quarter of the Horizon the stars rise and set, or in what part of the superior hemisphere the same stars are eleuated above the Horizon, & how much they are distant from the Meridian, or from the foresaid principall vertical circle. Now for the parallels of heights, they be circles being euery where alike distant one from another, diuided from the Horizon from degree to degree towards the vertical point, whereof the greatest is next the Horizon, and the least of all neere to the said superiour point. Which parallels do deuide euery quadrant of the foresaid vertical circles, comprehended between the vertical point and the Horizon, into 90. degrees, and are also diuided by the same circles into 360. degrees. Moreover they determine or distinguish the heights of the stars, which are about the Horizon, as wel in the east, as in the south & west. For by the height is to be considered of euery star, you must vnderstand the arch of the vertical circle, which passeth by the center thereof, comprised betwixt the Horizon, and the parallell of the same, passing also by the same center. Whereupon ensueth, that in all vertical circles, which are equally distant from the Meridian, the stars haue equall heights, which commeth to passe in time equally distant, or reckoned from noone tide. And the greatest altitude that any star may haue, is when it commeth vnder the Meridian circle, at what hower soeuer it be. Now must we look vpon the hower-circles, and those which deuide the twelue houses of heauen: wherof Asse I impose the taske on you to discourse.

*Of the hower circles, and what is done by them in sunne dials: and of
the circles, which deuide the twelue houses of
heauen. Chap. 21.*

Deuision of
the Equino-
ctiall.

Of the how-
er circles.

ASER **S**ith that time is nothing else but the measure of the prime and regular motion of the whole world, as we haue heretofore declared, & that this motion is measured by the Equinoctiall, as out of our percedent speech may be excerpted: thereupon it is consequent that the Equinoctiall is the measure of time, and that the entire revolution of the same circle comprehendeth the naturall day: whereupon ensueth that the diuision of the one must needs bee answerable to the parting of the other. Now the Equinoctiall is diuided into twelue signes, and each signe into thirtie degrees, as is the zodiack. Therefore parting each signe into two halues, the whole Equinoctiall shall bee deuided into foure and twentie equall portions, containing each fiftene degrees: which are the measures of foure and twenty such houres of a naturall day. You must therefore imagine by the hower-circles twelue greater circles (therein comprising the Meridian) which passe through the poles of the world, and by the distinctions of the foresaid foure and twenty parts of the Equinoctiall: so that each quarter thereof comprehended between the Meridian & the Horizon, is diuided by the said circles into six of the foresaid parts making together the number of foure and twenty houely spaces, wherof the said circles receiue their name. Amongst which, that which diuideth the Meridia at right angles, passeth by the intersections of the Equinoctiall & Horizon; and maketh the distinction of six houres, both before & after noone.

So

So that there is no greater circle which may be deuided into foure and twenty equall parts by the hower circles, but onely the Equinoctiall, except it bee conioyned therewith. Wherefore as well the oblique Horizon, as the Verticall circle, which cutteth the Meridians at right angles, is diuided into foure and twenty vnequall parts; which are so much the more one differing from the other, as the poles of the world are eleuated above, or vnder five and forty degrees: and though these parts are vnequall, yet the spaces of the howers are equall in the said circles, because they proceede of the equall parts and diuisions of the Equinoctiall; yet so, that the said equall spaces aswell in the Horizon, as in the Verticall circle, which are equally distant from the Meridian, are equall, as well on the one side, as on the other: and are by so much greater the one then the other; by how much they are farther distant from the same Meridian. Wherefore those next to the interfections of the Horizon and the foresaid vpper circle, are the greatest of all: and in the same sort are the foure quarters of the said circles diuided. It is to be noted, that every right Horizon is ioyned with the hower circle of sixe howers, without any diuision: and the Verticall circle ioyned with the Equinoctiall is diuided equally as it is. But in the most oblique situation of the sphere, where one of the poles of the world is the superior point, or zenith, the Horizon is right with the Equinoctiall, and diuided like it by the said howerly circles, which are all of them then called Verticall circles.

Those dials therefore or quadrants, which are made to take the height of the sunne, are composed by diuers considerations: for some depend vpon sections made by the foresaid hower circles, as those which are grauen on the face of the Equinoctiall, and are therefore called Equinoctiall dials: or else vpon the plaine of the Horizon, which are named Horizontall: or vpon the face of the Verticall circle, which diuideth the Meridian at right angles, which are erected towards the south, and are nominated Verticall. In which three sorts of dials, the hower spaces are noted by straight lines proceeding out of one onely point, which representeth the center of the world: and the Iudex or gnomon to shew those howers, representeth the Axis, vpon which the heaven maketh his first, and vniuersall motion. The other sunne dials depend vpon the coextension or impression of the foresaid hower circles: as those which are described vpon the face of the Meridian circle, and are erected towards the east or west, being named Laterall, and can serue but onely for the forenone, or afternone: or such as are made vpon the face of the sixe howers circle, hanging & inclining towards the south, by the axetree of the world, for this cause named hanging dials. In which two sorts of dials the hower spaces are designed by parallell lines, and the Iudexes by the axetrees of the circles, or else they are described and erected perpendicularly vpon the face of the said circles. And in all the fore recited dials, and such like, the hower spaces are vnequall, and haue notable difference one from another: except those onely, which are drawne vpon the face of the Equinoctiall: because it alone is diuided into equall portions by the hower circles; whereof the projection in plano must obserue equall spaces. And by consequence it is euident, that onely Equinoctiall and Horizontall dials serue for all howers of the day at all times of the yeere, and the Verticall onely sixe howers before, and sixe howers afternone: the hanging dials tenne howers: five before, and five after noone: and the Laterall from sunne rising till noone, or from noone till sun set. Moreover it is manifest, that all these dials, except the Equinoctiall dials, must bee described particularly according to the proper eleuation of the pole to every oblique Horizon; because the houre spaces and Iudexes are diuers, according to the varietie of the said polary eleuations. But the Equinoctiall dials may serue vniuersally, in applying them according to the height of the Equinoctiall, aboue every oblique Horizon; because those spaces are equall and of one sort.

But breaking off this talke of dials, let vs now entreate of those circles, which with the Horizon and meridian diuide the whole heaven into twelue equall portions, which are named the twelue houses of heaven. First, then it is to bee noted, that as the Sonne and the rest of the planets in performing their reuolution by their proper and peculiar motion in the zodiacke, according to the radiation of the Sunne, being notably diuersified from signe to signe, and according to the disposition of elementarie substances doe imprint their influence and vertue diuersly, causing sundry effects vpon the earth: so likewise these faire celestiall lights being turned every day about the earth, by the first and vniuersall motion of the whole sphere, doe make the very like mutation of their power and influence vpon the terrestriall Globe, by the variation of their shining; as may bee marked from

Circles that
deuide the
twelue hou-
ses of heauen.

Agreeablenes
of the twelue
houses with
the diuers
seasons of
the yeare.

signeto signe, either mounting aboue; or descending vnder the Horizon. For this cause you must diuide the entire sphere of the world in regard of the Horizon beeing right or oblique, into twelue equall parts or signes, which are called houses, that is, notable mansions of heauen. Which is done by the proper Horizon and Meridian, with foure other great circles and particular Horizons, passing by the two interfections of the saide proper Horizon and Meridian circle, and deuiding euery quarter of the principall Verticall circle, (which maketh right angles with the saide Meridian) comprehended betweene the saide Meridian and the Horizon, into three signes, which amount together to the number of twelue. And these houses, or notable mansions of heauen begin at the east side of the Horizon: and the first sixe are distributed vnder it, and the other sixe aboue it, according to the order of the twelue signes of the zodiack and the proper motion of the planets, which is from the west, eastward. So that by the Horizon with the Meridian, the fower principall angles of the saide houses are distinguished: that is, the east angle, which is named the Horoscope, beeing the beginning of the first house; the west angle of the Horizon whereat beginneth the seventh house; and the midde heauen, which is the third angle, and there beginneth the tenth house; and for the fourth the angle vnder earth, where beginneth the fourth house, by the Meridian. Euen so (as we haue heard) as the colours distinguish the two Equinoctiall points, and the two Solstices or sunsteads of the zodiack, which are the fower notable points thereof agreeing with the fower angles aforesaide. For the Horoscope agreeth with the vernall Equinoctiall point; midde heauen with the sommer Solstice: the west angle with the Autumne Equinoctiall point: and the angle vnder the earth with the winter Solstice: and so consequently the fower quarters of the foresaid Verticall circle are correspondent to those of the zodiack, which make the fower seasons of the yeere, & each whereof is diuided into three signes, as also euery quarter of the saide circle into three houses equall to those signes; so that the sixe houses, which are aboue the Horizon doe accord with the sixe septentrionall signes of the zodiack; and the sixe other houses with the south or Meridionall signes. And these twelue houses of heauen are called by diuers names; for those fower which begin at the fower foresaid angles, are named Angularie houses: the next fower following are called Succedent, and the rest Cadent. Moreover we must note that in the right sphere, each of these houses comprehendeth one signe of the Equinoctiall, because this circle is ioyned with the foresaid Verticall, and all the circles which distinguish them passe by the poles of the world, because they consist in the foresaid sectiōs of the Horizon & Meridian: which hath caused many to erre in this point, who would make the distinction of the saide houses in the Equinoctiall, both in the oblique & in the right spher, lightly following the authority of *Ptolomie*, not noting how that authour had the sphere right to him, so that in that respect he spake well, referring the manner how to distinguish the saide houses in the oblique sphere to the iudgement of all good Astronomers. Finally it is to be vnderstood, that euery house is diuided into thirty degrees, like the signes of the zodiack, and that by other great circles, proceeding from the foresaid interfections of the Meridian and Horizon. Moreover you must note, that euery great circle which passeth by the said interfections, and by the true place of any star, which is proposed, is called the Horizon thereof: for all the foresaid circles (as already hath beene declared) are but oblique Horizons except the Meridian, which representeth the right Horizon. Then to erect the twelue houses of heauen, is nothing else but to finde the twelue principall interfections of the zodiack, and of the foresaid circles, which is preformed by the ascensions of the arcks of the zodiack, aboue each of the saide circle (whereof wee must presently entreat) not regarding which arcke of the saide zodiack is contained in each of the saide houses. Wherefore (A M A N A) let vs heare you discourse concerning the ascensions and descensions both of the Starres, and of the signes of the zodiack.

of

*Of the ascensions and descensions of the starres, and of the signes and other
arcks of the Zodiacke, and of the Orientall and Occidentall la-
titude of the Sunne, or degrees of the Zodiacke.*

Chap. 22.

AMANA. **W**E should reape small fruite and commoditie of things, hitherto by vs
entreated of in the sphere, if we should be ignorant in the ascensions
and descensions both of the starres and signes, and other arckes of the zodiacke, according
to the vse and principall consideration of good Astronomers, who marke what houre the
Starres ascend above the Horizon, or descend vnder it, whether it be day or night: and how
long time the signes and other arckes of the zodiack are eleuated above the said Horizon, or
depressed vnder it; not respecting the simple apparition or absence of the said Starres and
signes, which diuers doe vsually obserue, and which the Poets doe commonly mention,
when they would expresse and describe the seasons and monethes, and other parts of the
yeere. To enter then into the substance of our discourse, we must vnderstand by the ascen-
sion of any starre, that we propose, the arcke of the Equinoctiall, comprised according to
the order of the twelue signes of the zodiacke, betweene the beginning of the said signes &
the orientall part of the Horizon: then when the center of the saide starre attaineth to
the same part of the Horizon. And consequently the descension of the same starre is the
arcke of the said Equinoctiall, comprehended according to the order of the said signes be-
tweene the beginning of them, and the west part of the Horizon, when the same Horizon
passeth by the center of the saide starre. Which consideration is euery whit agreeable in
each part of the zodiacke, or elsewhere. For the stars are in this place taken for points, how-
soeuer they be of notable greatnes: wherefore it is necessary that their ascensions and des-
censions should be measured and discerned by the arckes of the Equinoctiall, hauing some
conuenient beginning common to all Horizons, as the vernall Equinoctiall point is the
beginning of the signes of the zodiacke. And by the same arckes taken as aforesaid, and for
that the Equinoctiall is the measure of time, one may know at what hower and minute
the starre riseth above the Horizon, or descendeth vnder it, or attaineth to the Meridian cir-
cle, either above or vnder the earth, by the first and regular motion of the whole world. And
you must note, that the said ascensions or descensions are called right ones when they are re-
ferred to the right Horizon, or to the Meridian circle, which retaineth such qualities in all
obliquenes of the sphere, as the right Horizon doth: and consequently they are called obli-
que, when they are referred to the oblique Horizon.

What the as-
cension, de-
scension of
any starre is,

For the ascensions of the signes of the zodiacke, very necessary to be vnderstood, for to
measure and know the quantitie of the artificiall daies and nights in all places of the earth,
as hereafter we may declare: it is to be noted, that the ascension of euery signe is nothing else
but the arcke of the Equinoctiall eleuated together with the said signe above the Horizon;
as the descension is the arcke of the said Equinoctiall which descendeth vnder the Horizon
equally with the saide signe: wherefore according as this arcke coascending or descending
with any signe is more great or lesse, so likewise the time that the said signe shall bee eleua-
ted above the Horizon, or depressed vnder it, shall be longer or shorter. And it is to bee no-
ted, that that signe of the zodiacke wherewith is eleuated one signe of the Equinoctiall
precisely, is said to haue an equall ascension: I omit heere to specifie the accidents and dif-
ferences of the ascensions and descensions of the signes, which are particularly considered
both in the right and in the oblique sphere, which are common to the arckes of the zodi-
acke, (which arckes are particles or the fower quarters of the said zodiacke, and do begin at
the Equinoctiall points, and Solstices:) for our intent is not particularly to discourse of eu-
ery thing that Astronomers teach concerning the sphere, and which cannot be vnderstood,
but by demonstration of the materiall sphere, or by the figures placed in their bookes,
which it is necessarie to marke diligently to conceiue this part of the Mathematicks. But
we will heere summarily and grossely run ouer the most notable points required for our
instruction in the vniuersall description of the whole world, and of the most noble things
which come to passe heere below by reason of the prime and vniuersall motion of hea-
uen. Yet may we not steppe out of this matter without considering in the ascensions and

Of the ascen-
tion of signes.

Of the latitude of the sunne.

discensions of the sunne, that is, concerning every degree of his way, which is the zodiacke, the orientall and occidentall latitude of him; and which he obtaineth from degree to degree in the zodiacke, either in rising above, or descending vnder the Horizon. But for the other planets or fixed stars, no mention it made of the concerning this point. It is then most manifest by that which wee have already heard, that the interfections of the right or oblique Horizon, with the Equinoctiall and verticall circle, which diuideth the Meridian at right angles, are in the midst and equally distant betweene the interfections of the said Horizon, and of the Meridian, and that they designe the points of the true east and west. And because that the zodiacke declineth from the Equinoctiall partly toward the pole arcticke, and partly towards the antarcticke: the sun doth not rise in the true point of east, nor set in the direct point of west, but when it is vpon the Equinoctiall points, which are in the interfections of the zodiacke and Equinoctiall. For while the sunne is in the north part of the zodiacke, he riseth and setteth on the north side; and when he is in the south part, he riseth and setteth on the south side: and that in diuers distances from the true east and west, according as the true place of the sun declineth more or lesse from the Equinoctiall. The arcke then of the Horizon, which is between the true east and the center of the body of the sunne: when it is come to the easterne part of the Horizon, is called the orientall latitude of the sunne, and that which is comprised betweene the direct west, and that same center when it is in the west part of the Horizon, is called the occidentall latitude of the sunne. As also the latitude of the starres is taken from the zodiacke, towards the one or other pole thereof. For all stars both fixed and wandring, hold their longitude and latitude of the zodiacke, as of the Equinoctiall their declinations, ascensions and descensions. So that the latitude of the sun both orientall & occidentall, is necessarily northerly one half of the yeere, & the other halfe it is southerly. And likewise the orientall latitude is equall to the occidentall in one day. And because the variation of each latitude proceedeth of the diuersitie of the sunnes declinations, they are therefore such on the septentrionall part, as on the meridionall. Consequently you must note; that in the right sphere, the foresaid orientall or occidentall latitude is such without difference, as is the declination of the sunne: because the right Horizon passeth by the poles of the world, and sheweth both the one and other. But in the oblique sphere those latitudes are greater, then the declinations of the sunne: and so much the greater and more different, as the pole of the world is eleuated above the oblique Horizon, and the place of the sunne declineth from the equinoctiall. So that the greatest are those of the solstices, which doe most decline from the Equinoctiall: and besides these, there are fower points in the zodiacke, which haue equall latitude both orientall and occidentall, that is, two on the north side, and two on the south side. But thus much may suffice concerning this matter, for our purpose. And that we not swerue from the substance of our former discourse, it will bee good for vs to intreate of the daies, both naturall and artificiall, which are caused by the prime and regularg motion of the whole sphere, with the night likewise, as you (A R A M) can manifest vnto vs.

Of the naturall artificiall daies, and of the nights of their diuersitie and cause. Chapter 23.

Of naturall daies.

A R A M. **A**Mongst the most excellent and note-worthy things which depend vpon the first and vniuersall motion of the whole heauen, and vpon that which hath bene expounded in our forepassed talke; there appeareth next to be handled the vnderstanding of the greatnesse and quantity of the daies, and the parts of them, called houres; as also of the heights of the Sunne above the Horizon, and of the shadowes as well right as oblique. Beginning then with the daies, you must note, that some are called naturall, some artificiall daies, which with vs are named properly daies, though indeed they be but parts of naturall daies, and so of nights. Now the naturall day is nothing but the time of the entire revolution of the body of the Sunne about the world, made by the naturall and proper motion of the vniuersall sphere: which revolution must alwaies begin at the Meridian circle, and comprehend the time, which is from one noone till the next ensuing. But because the Sunne this while goeth contrary in his owne peculiar course; the point of the

Of naturall and artificiall dayes.

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the equinoctiall, which is vnder the Meridian with the sunne, performeth his revolution sooner then the sunne it selfe. Wherefore you must adde to the entire revolution of the Equinoctiall, the ascension being taken in the right sphere, from the part of the Zodiacke, which the sunne hath passed that while, to haue the entire revolution of the sunne, and the true measure of the naturall day. For all accidents of ascensions: which happen in the right Horizon, are common to euery Meridian circle in the right or oblique sphere: whereupon ensueth, that the true naturall daies are vnequall one to another, both because of the proper motions of the sunne, as also because of the saide ascensions taken in the right sphere. For the sunne, by reason of the obliquenes of the Zodiacke declining on either side from the Equinoctiall (which onely is the measure of time) is irregular in his owne proper motion, and performeth not euery naturall day a degree precisely, but sometimes a little more, sometimes a little lesse. And though it should make a degree iust, yet would not the ascension in the right sphere be equall. For these causes then, the true naturall daies are vnequall. But this inequality is scarcely to be perceived by vulgar iudgement and sensible obseruation. Moreover it is to be vnderstood, that forasmuch as the motions of the planets: and the middle coniunctions and oppositions of the sunne and moone, cannot be reduced into tables nor be calculated, but by equall daies, and euen revolutions of times: there must be assumed for this cause, certaine naturall daies, one like alwaies to another, which are called middle, or meane daies, containing each the entire revolution of 360. degrees of the Equinoctiall, and about that 59. minutes, and almost eight seconds of a degree: Which make vp the quantitie of the regular and middle motion of the sunne, correspondent to one of the said euen and meane naturall daies, according to which daies the tables of the foresaid motions are composed and calculated. And by this meanes the proposed terme of an entire yeere is reduced into true naturall daies: which of Astronomers is called the Equation of the daies.

For the artificiall day, thereby is vnderstood that part of the naturall day, which the sun maketh passing from the east by south to the west, through the proper & vniuersall motion of the whole world: During which time, the sun illuminaterh the superior part of the Horizon; for which occasion, the said part of the naturall day is properly termed day. And that which remaineth therof, being comprised betweene the west to the east passage of the sun, is named night: during which time the shadow of the earth is about the said Horizon in forme of a round Paramis, which doth then deprive that superior part of the light and shining of the Sun, whereby the darkenes is caused, which is called night. And also the two twylights, that is the clearenesse which we see before Sunne rising, and after Sunne setting, are parts of the night. For the true artificiall day beginneth, when the Sunne is in the East part of the Horizon; and endeth, when he passeth to the West. And these daies and nights are called artificiall, because that according to the diuers and artificiall situation of the Sphere, and according to the true place of the Sunne in the zodiacke, that they differ in quantitie one from another. To vnderstand which varietie, you must know that in all artificiall daies, of what length soeuer they bee, there rise about the Horizon sixe signes of the zodiacke, beginning at the true place of the Sunne; and the other sixe signes which beginne at the opposite point doe rise in the night time: because that the zodiacke and horizon are great circles of the sphere, which do alwaies diuide one another equally. And according as with the sixe eleuated signes, by day or night, any part or quantitie of the Equinoctiall doth arise about the Horizon, either more or lesse, by so much the artificiall daies and nights are of shorter or longer continuance, so that the ascension of the eleuated signes by day, is the true measure of the artificiall day, and the ascension of the other eleuated signes by night is the measure thereof. Because then, that in the right sphere, together with the moitie or one halfe of the zodiacke, where soeuer it begin, the moitie of the Equinoctiall doth precisely rise about the Horizon; for this cause therefore the artificiall daies are equall to the nights in the said right sphere. So that all the revolutions of naturall daies comprised betweene the two Tropickes, are diuided by the right Horizon into two iust halfes, and at right angles like the Equinoctiall. But in the oblique sphere the daies are neuer equall to the nights but twise a yeere, that is, when the sunne is in the first point of the signe of Aries and of Libra: which points are for this reason called the two Equinoctiall points. For in the oblique sphere there are but the two halfes of the zodiacke, comprised betwixt the said Equinoctiall points which may haue equall ascensions, because that the two Colures do neuer agree with the Horizon, which cannot diuide the zodiacke and Equinoctiall also into two equall parts together,

Of artificiall daies and nights.

Of the twylights.

Of the diuersitie of the daies and nights.

ther, except in the same Equinoctiall points. Whereof the one is neuer with the Horizon without the other; because the said greater circles, are in them diuided into two exact halfe. But out of these Equinoctiall points, while the sunne is in that halfe of the zodiacke, that declineth from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole, which is eleuated above the Horizon, that is, from the vernall Equinoctiall point, by the Sommer Solstist to the Autumne Equinoctiall point, the artificiall daies are longer then the nights. And during the time that the sunne is in other part of the said zodiacke, which declineth towards the opposite Pole, which is depreised vnder the saide Horizon, the nights are longer then the daies: which inequalitye is so much the more, by how much the sunne is neerer to the Solstists, and the sphere is more obliquely placed in respect of the Horizon. So that the artificiall daies encrease from the winter Solstist, by the Vernall equinoctiall point to the sommer Solstist; and do decrease from the same by the Autumne Equinoctiall point, to the winter Solstist. I do not heere particularize the diuersitie of daies, which commeth to passe all the yeere long from degree to degree, being a thing little necessary for the substance of our discourse, and which they may easily learne, that will study vpon the Astronomicall sphere: But that wee may finish this day without going from our sphericall matter; let vs speake somewhat concerning the howers of the day and heights of the sunne, and of his shadowes; the declaration whereof I commit (ACHITO) to you.

*Of equall and vnequall, temporall and artificiall howers: of the heights
of the sunne above the Horizon, and of his right
and reuerse shadowes. Chapter 24.*

Of equall
howers,

ACHITO **H**AVING entreated of naturall and artificiall daies, it now resteth that we say somewhat concerning the parts of them, which are called howers. Euen as then there are two principal and great circles in the sphere, the zodiacke and the Equinoctiall: so likewise are there two manner of howers: one sort are equall and naturall, taken from the Equinoctiall, the other vnequall, temporall or artificiall deriued from the zodiacke. Equall howers are spaces of time measured by the ascension or reuolution of one halfe signe: that is, of fifteenth degrees of the Equinoctiall. For time must bee diuided according to this circle, which is the measure thereof. And though the Equinoctiall bee first diuided, as euery other circle, into twelue equall parts, called signes, and each of those into thirtie degrees like the zodiacke: yet neuerthelesse, because that each signe demaundeth more time to bee eleuated above the Horizon, then the facilitie of distinction and supputation of time requireth, therefore is euery signe diuided into two equall parts. And so in the whole reuolution of the Equinoctiall are 24. halfe signes of 15. degrees a peece, which make the distinctions and measures of 24. howers, diuided by the hower circles, whereof we haue heretofore spoken. Which howers we call equall, as well by reason of the equalitie of the 24. halfe signes, as also because that one requireth no more time to bee eleuated above the Horizon, then the other. And for that the Equinoctiall is the measure of the regular and naturall motion of the whole world, and that euery signe is measured naturall and commonly by the said equall howers, they are therefore called naturall and common howers. We must know then, that the Sunne maketh his entire reuolution about the earth, betweene one noone and the next following, according to the naturall daies in 24. howers, and one fifteenth part of an houre: because the same reuolution comprehendeth the whole Equinoctiall (which is the measure of foure and twenty howers) and nine and fifty minutes, and eight seconds besides, which are almost one degree, which is the fifteenth part of the measure of one equall hower.

Of vnequall
howers,

Concerning vnequall howers, they are referred to the Zodiacke, being in number foure and twentie, that is, twelue of the artificiall day, and twelue of night. And the day-houers beginne at Sunne rising, and those of night at Sunne set. And they be all vnequall one to another, whereby they haue their name. Which that we may well vnderstand, wee must note, that in all artificiall daies and nights, of what quantitie soeuer they bee, there riseth above the Horizon one halfe of the Zodiacke, comprehending sixe signes, which beginne in day at that degree, where the Sunne is; at night in that degree, which is diametrically opposite: And thus there are eleuated by day twelue halfe signes, and as many by night.

And

and shadowes of the Sunne. 695

And as one halfe signe of the Equinoctiall maketh the space of an even hower; so one halfe signe of the zodiacke maketh the space of an vnequall hower. Whereby appeareth that in each day and night there are twelue vnequall howers in the day, and twelue in the night. And that these howers must bee vnequall one to another, it appeareth in this, because that the zodiacke, by reason of the obliquenes thereof, cannot bee the measure of time, but the Equinoctiall onely. Wherefore it is necessarie that the time of the said howers should bee measured by the arcks of the Equinoctiall coascending aboue the Horizon, together with euery halfe signe of the zodiacke containing fiftene degrees. And for that the arcks of the zodiacke, which are equall, cannot haue equall ascensions, even in the right sphere: it is necessarie that the said twelue howers both of day and night should bee vnequall one to another, and by so much the more vnequall, by how much more the Pole is elevated aboue the Horizon, according to the diuersitie of the artificiall daies & nights: whereof they likewise are called artificiall howers. They are also named Planetarie and temporall, for that they are taken in the way of the planets, which is the zodiacke; and also because the ancients haue assigned the time of the seven naturall daies of the weeke, to the domination of the seven planets, attributed to the said vnequall howers: and haue appointed to the said naturall daies, the names of those planets which raigne, the first vnequall hower of the artificiall day. But leauing this discourse, we must now entreat of the altitudes of the sunne, and of his shadowes, according as hath bin declared in our antecedent speech.

That we may better then vnderstand the reason of shadowes, we must first haue knowledge of the altitudes of the sunne aboue the Horizon: because that the diuersitie of shadowes proceedeth from the variety of those heights. Now by the height of the sunne is vnderstood the arcke of the verticle circle, which passeth by the center of the body of the same sunne, being comprised betweene the same center and the Horizon, and distinguished by the parallel of the same Horizon, which passeth together with the same center, as heretofore hath beene related. So that the height of the sunne increaseth from sunne rising till noone, and proportionally decreaseth from noone till sunne set. So that the greatest altitude that the sunne may haue in an artificiall day, is at the noone houre: wherefore it is called the Meridian altitude. Which surmounteth the height of the Equinoctiall in the oblique sphere, by the quantitie of the declination of the sunne, so long time as hee is in that part of the zodiacke, inclining towards the pole, which is elevated aboue the Horizon: and is lesse then the height of the Equinoctiall, by the same quantitie, when the sunne is in the other moitie of the zodiacke, which inclineth towards the opposite pole. So that the least altitude that the sunne may haue, is vnder the winter solstice, and the greatest is when he is in the summer solstice. But the sunne being in the Equinoctiall points, his Meridian altitude differeth not in the oblique sphere, from the height of the Equinoctiall. Whereupon ensueth, that in all the degrees of the zodiacke, which are a like distant from the one or other solstice, the sunne hath one selfesame Meridian altitude. And thereupon ensueth, that in all howers, whereof the one is before none, and the other after, and equally distant from noone, as are ten a clocke in the morning, and two a clocke after none, the sunne hath one selfesame altitude: which is the cause, that in all sunne dials, being composed by helpe of the said howers, as the old quadrants are, the hower spaces serue indifferently as well for before, as after noone. And because that the altitudes of the sunne vary according to the obliquenes of the sphere, the said sunne dials cannot serue generally, but onely to that polarie elevation, whereunto the altitudes of the sunne haue beene calculated. Concerning shadowes they are made by meane of solide darke bodies exposed against the Sunne: And of those some are called right shadowes, and some reuerse shadowes. The right shadow is that which is caused by interposition of the shadowing bodie, rightly erected vpon the Horizon: and the reuerse shadow is that which proceedeth from euery shadowing body, equally distant from the said Horizon. So that the right shadow reacheth out at length vpon the Horizon & all superficies: and the reuerse shadow is turned over perpendicularly aboue the said Horizon. Whereby it is manifest, that right shadowes are infinite, and reuerse none at all, either at Sunne rising, or Sunne set. Againe, right shadowes decrease by little and little from Sunne rising till noone; and doe proportionally increase from noone till Sunne set: to which the reuerse shadowes are contrary. So that the least right shadow, and the greatest reuerse shadow that can be in any day whatsoever, is at noone tide. And you must note, that the Sunne being elevated aboue the Horizon more then 45. degrees euery shadowing body being directly erected vpon the said Horizon, surmounteth his right shadow; but

Of the height
of the Sunne.

Of right re-
uerse shadow.

euery

696 Of the substance and nature of heauen,

euery reuerſe ſhadow ſurpaſſeth his ſhadowing body which cauſeth it. And when the ſun is raiſed leſſe then fortie ſiue degrees, the contrarie commeth; for the right ſhadow exceedeth his ſhadowing bodie and the ſhadowing body ſurpaſſeth the reuerſe ſhadow. But if the ſunne be preciſely fortie ſiue degrees high, then all ſhadowing bodies are equall to their ſhadowes both right and reuerſe. From which equalitie is extracted the Geometrical ſquare, which is ſet in quadrants, or vpon the backe of the aſtrolabe, by which are meaſured (by meanes of the ſhadowes, or viſuall lines, repreſenting the ſaid ſhadowes) all lengths, heights and depths, by reaſon that the two ſides of the ſaid ſquare, which meete at right angles in the center of the inſtrument, repreſent two ſhadowes one equall to another. Yet Geographers doe commonly uſe but right Meridian ſhadowes, to know in what part of the world the regions of the earth conſiſt: and how farre they decline from the Equinoctiall: which ſhadowes doe vary leſſe about the Solſtills, then about the Equinoctiall points, like to the altitudes of the ſunne. But we haue ſaid enough concerning this matter: and to morrow we will proſecute our firſt diſcourſe concerning the celeftiall world, now in- treating of the ſubſtance and nature of heauen, and of the particular effect of the ſpherical bodies in things here below, whereof you (A S E R.) ſhall begin to diſcourſe.

The end of the third daies worke.

The fourth daies worke.

*Of the ſubſtance and nature of heauen, and of the celeftiall bodies:
and of their continuance and change.*

Chap. 25.

A S E R.



Being this day to intreate of the ſubſtance and nature of heauen, and of the particular effects of the ſpherical bodies in things here below; wee ſhall make more eaſie entrance thereto, if we firſt beginne with ſome brieſe conſideration concerning all eſſences. Firſt then will wee propound this principle, that among all creatures in heauen and earth ſome are ſpirituall, and the reſt corporall. By the ſpirituall wee meane thoſe that haue no body, and cannot be perceived by corporall ſenſes (as are angles, or diuels, & the ſoules or ſpirits of men:) And by the corporall, we meane all other creatures, that are viſible and ſenſible to the ſenſes of our bodies. Now of theſe, ſome are without life, and the reſt liue. And amongſt thoſe which are without life, there is a difference in two points: One is, in that ſome haue naturall motion, and the reſt haue not. And amongſt thoſe which haue this motion, ſome are mutable and corruptible, and ſubiect to change, and the reſt are immutable and incorruptible, perſiſting alwaies in their eſtate, during the courſe of this world. Stones, mettals, minerals and ſuch like creatures, are of the number of thoſe that haue neither life, nor any naturall moouing whatſoeuer, but like the earth it ſelfe. The water, aire, winde, and fire are creatures which though they haue not life, yet haue they moouing: but they are ſubiect vnto corruption, as are all other creatures compoſed of the elements, whether they retaine life, or not. For by reaſon that they are compounded of matters and contrarie qualities, they doe at length corrupt and are changed, not in regard of their firſt nature and ſubſtance, which periſheth not, though it change formes, but returneth alwaies into the ſame elements, whereof euery compound conſiſteth. And though ſtones and mettals be exceeding hard, yet are they not exempt from corruption, but are conſumed by uſage, yea euen gold and ſilver, which are the moſt precious mettals and of ſo excellent temper, that they reſiſt fire. But the celeftiall bodies, whereof we entreat now, conſiſt of ſuch matter, nature and ſubſtance; that being in perpetuall motion, they euer preſeue in their entire and firſt forme, not being ſubiect to any change in their bodies, nor any way conſuming, like to the other creatures, which are vnder them.

Diuiſion of all eſſences, or natures.

Nothing periſheth in regard of the matter.

But

But what this matter or substance is, hath beene much disputed on amongst the learned. For some Philosophers haue affir me, that the heauens, starres, and planets which we behold, are compounded of the same elements, whereof all other creatures are made; but yet of the most pure parts and portions of them: And vnder this reason (viz.) that they could not be visible, if they were not created of visible matter. For none can make a visible thing of an inuisible. Whereupon they conclude, that there is in the composition of celestiall bodies some portion of earth and water which are visible elements, and more water then earth, because it is more pure and cleere then the earth is, and because it hath motion. And in that they are, most splendant, cleere and moouable, they attribute the principall cause thereof to the nature of the aire and fire, and the most subtile parts of them, whereof (say they) they are singularly composed. But others hold, that the heauens consist of another kinde of substance, then of the elements, which they name a fift essence, of most rare and different substance from the elementary, and much more excellent and noble. Others more cunning finde in the heauens diuers and vnequall substances. Whereunto may seeme to accord that which *Americus Vesputius* hath declared in the discourse of his third Navigation to the Indies, concerning the magnitude of the stars, making mention of three very great ones, called (Caponi) which are not cleere. And many other authors haue noted diuersity of shining and cleerenes among the stars, and that some part of heauen is thicker then the rest. But whatsoeuer may be vtilly invented in this matter, it seemeth very well, that heat is the substance of celestiall bodies, which is inseparable from brightnes, which is a similitude and semblance of light, hauing the substance of it and of heat so annexed with it selfe, that it is almost nothing else. So that the light, brightnes & heat may be taken for one selfe same substance & matter of heauen, and of all the spheres. Which we must moreouer note to be established and ordained by God, that the Sunne, Moone, and all the other stars and planets are no whit changed since the day of their creation, any more then their saide spheres: neither are they more wearied, worn, or corrupted, for all the labor which they haue performed by the space of so many yeeres, then they were the first day of their creation. For you must not hold it for a change and alteration of their natures and qualities; in that according to their diuers courses, the stars and planets are sometimes far from, & sometimes neere to one another, and that they haue oppositions, coniunctions, and diuers and different respects, according to the variety of their motions: nor yet for the eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. For such changes are not in their proper bodies, substance and quality, but only in regard of vs, and our sight.

But to this constancie, stablenes and continuance of the heauens and the celestiall bodies, the words of the Kingly Prophet in the Psalmes may seeme to be repugnant, when he saith, [*Thou (O God) hast aforetime laid the foundation of the earth, and the heauens are the works of thine handes. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: euen they all shall waxe old as doth a garment: as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed. But thou art the same, and thy yeeres shall not faile.*] Also it is written, that the heauens and earth shall passe: That the day of the Lord shall come like a Thiefe in the night, and in which the heauens must passe away like a noise of a tempest; the elements must melt with heate, and the earth with all the workes that are therein, shall be burnt: That the heauens being set on fire shall be dissolued, and that wee looke for new heauens and new earth, according to the promise of God: in whom dwelleth righteousness. All these testimonies yet, do not contradict that which we heeretofore said concerning the nature of the celestiall bodies. For wee referre their stability and continuance to the course of all this great world, which God hath ordained and established to endure, till the consummation and ending thereof: in such sort, as he hath declared to vs in his word. Moreouer, it is onething to speake of the heauens comparing their nature with that of other visible and corporall creatures, and another thing, when we compare them with the nature of God or of his word, as the holy Scripture commonly doth. For according to the doctrine thereof, a thousand yeeres are as one day before God: wherefore also this visible frame, both celestiall and terrestriall, is nothing else, but as a vesture which weareth, waxeth old & is cleane done, after that it is worn all out. And sith that both heauen and earth are created by the word of God, there is no doubt, but they shall faile rather then it. For it remaineth for ever like God, from whom it proceedeth from all eternity. There is yet diuersity of opinions amongst the ancient doctors about the vnderstanding of the holy Scripture, concerning the matter which we do now treat of. For some indeed say, that the heauens shall perish with the rest of the world, if it so please the crea-

Of the matter or substance of heauen.

Of heat, light and brightnesse.

Of the continuance and changing of the heauens.

Math. 24.
2. Pet. 3.

Esay. 63 & 66
Apoc. 21.

Psal. 90.

Iohn 1.

Rom 8.

and if he will haue it so, considering that all creatures both visible and inuisible receiue their essence and continuance, not from themselves, but from God alone: Yet for all that doe they not thinke that the heauens shall altogether faile, nor that God will haue it so. And others maintaine that though the heauens must passe & be dissolued according to the word of God, that yet this defect shall not be an entire annihilating, but onely a certaine change which shall come to them, by which they shall be renewed in far more perfection. Wherto it seemeth that *S. Paul* agreeth, when he clearly testifieth concerning all creatures in generall, that they are subiect to corruption because of the sin of man: and for that cause they doe attend with great desire for the reuelation and redemption of the children of God, because they shal not be relieved nor deliuered from the seruitude of corruption, to be in the liberty of the glory of them, and restored to their integritie, til the day ordained by the creator, for the acceptation of his into eternall felicity. For thereupon ensueth, that the heauens and celestiall bodies sigh and grone, attending together with the other creatures, this blessed day to be changed, renewed & restored, which *S. Peter* likewise teacheth in the place before cited. Yea and some Philosophers accord with him concerning the dissolution of the world by fire, but not concerning the cause thereof. For they refer it not to the sin of man, which hath infected the heauen, the earth, and all things contained therein, and put the world into disorder and confusion: but to the nature of fire, which at last consumeth all, and whereof they giue a reason by naturall causes. There are also some Astronomers, who affirme, that some change may be perceiued in the spheres and heavenly bodies concerning their courses and ordinary motions, and that they are somewhat different from those which they haue had from the beginning, how they waxe weary, are worne, and become old in their function, like to other creatures: although this change doth much lesse appeere in them, then in the other works of God, but we will leaue this argument to the professors of Astrologie. And let it suffice vs, for conclusion of this matter, to consider what the stability and continuance of men in this world may be, seeing that all other creatures must receiue a change, & haue an end, yea the very heauens themselves. For what are all people in respect of this great Vniuers? And againe, what is euery one of them particularly, in comparison of the generalitie of mankind, and of all those which haue already gone before vs? But let vs returne to that which concerneth the heauens & sphericall bodies, considering that which doth touch their motions, besides that which hath beene already declared, which (*A M A N A*) shall bee the subiect for you to discourse vpon.

Of the motions in generall, of their first cause and of their vniou in all nature. Chap. 26.

A M A N A. **E**Are we enter into the declaration of the subiect, which is now propounded vnto vs to discourse vpon concerning heauen, my desire is, that we may call to our memorie that which we haue already heretofore heard of the nature of the heauens, concerning the matter whereof they are compounded, and concerning their beauty, stability, and continuance. For so shall we reduce the ende of our discourse to that principall point, whereunto we haue already from the beginning destinated it; that is, so much the better to acknowledge our God, and his providence, to the ende to glorifie him. I say then, that if wee considerately meditate vpon the excellencie of the celestiall bodies, wee shall therein finde a more expresse image of the eternitie and maiestie of God, and of his diuine and immutable nature, then in any of all the other visible creatures. Moreover we may accept of them as a testimony and example, not onely of the immortalitie which *G O D* hath ordained for mens soules, which are spirituall natures: but also of that which hee hath promised our bodies after our resurrection. For that hee can accomplish his promise, wee neither may nor must make doubt of, if we beleue that hee is Almighty: No more must wee make doubt of his will, sith hee hath declared it vnto vs in his word. If then hee hath beene able to create the heauens, and the Starres and planets, which in them are, like splendant precious stones enchafed in rings, of a matter so firme and durable, that it remaineth incorruptible, and as it were immortall, whether it be taken from the fowre elements, or be of an other quintessence, as we haue already heard: It shall bee no lesse easie for him to make our bodies incorruptible & immortal, hauing deliuered them from

from corruption & death, to which (through sin) they were subiect. Now let vs pursue that which particularly concerneth the heauen in his motion, wherein we haue notable signes of the glory and bounty of our God.

To vnderstand then sufficiently that which concerneth the present matter, we will first note, that there be three sorts of motion in the whole world. For there is one which tendeth to the middest and to the center of the Vniuers, which is in the earth the lowest of elements: which motion for that it descendeth, is proper to the most heauie elements, and to such creatures as doe most participate with them. Then is there another motion contrary to the first, which alwaies tendeth from the middest, and from belowe vpwards: and this is proper to the most light elements, and to those natures which do neereft approach vnto them, and which participate with their qualities more then the rest. But the third kinde of motion is that: which neither mounteth nor descendeth eyther one way or other, but goeth round, euer turning about the middest like a circle or a wheele. And this is that which is proper to heauen, and to the sphericall bodies, beeing most certaine, disposed, and composd by a most constant and firme order. For though that all the elements, and all other creatures which haue motion, obserue an order therin, yet is it more subiect to change according as the inferiour bodies are subiect to the superiour. But those haue a more certaine course, because they depend not vpon other bodies, which are aboue them, but immediatly vpon God, without the meanes of any other corporall nature. And therefore of all the motions, which are in all creatures, that of the heauen and heauenly bodies is chiefest and most excellent. For whereas some attribute the motions of the spheres to the angels, as if God vsed their ministry heerein (as wee haue already declared) whether it be so or not, yet this is most certen, that the heauens haue their motions immediatly from God, seeing there are no corporall natures aboue them, whereby they may bee moued. For the angels are certaine spirituall creatures, on whom if the omnipotent hath imposed this charge, we must be content to leaue the vnderstanding thereof to him alone, sith it is so much hidden from man. Now in that the celestiall bodies, and the elements, and all creatures haue their proper motion, wherein they continue according to the first ordinance established in nature by the soueraigne creator thereof, we are much to admire both the cause and effects of such a constancy. I intend here to speake of a neere cause, which is a secret amitie ingrafted into euery creature toward his owne nature. For there is a loue an appetite or vniuersall inclination in all creatures, which vrgeth and inciteth them to desire and searce that which agreeth with their nature: so that there is none so insensible, which hath not in it selfe this amitie innate, which neuer pusheth it to follow the nature thereof: and for this cause may wee say, that all motions proceed from loue. And passing further, wee may contemplate the loue of God, as the eternall source of amity and inclination of all nature, and as the first cause of causes, and we shall say, that in the same loue, God louing himselfe, proceeded to his worke, which hitherto we haue celebrated, and doe now meane to prosecute. For sith that God is the soueraigne good, and that all goodnesse is by nature louing, it cannot be but he must likewise loue himselfe exceedingly, and consequently loue all that which he iudgeth to be good, inso much as it proceedeth from him, who is the supreme good, and the limit of all goodnes. This loue then not being able to be idle, nor yet the good which it loued, would manifest both the one and the other, first in the creation of the world; namely, in that of man; and then againe in the restauration and reparation of his fall. So we learne, that the first motion, whereupon all the rest depend, is the loue of God, which proceedeth from his bounty, which he would not keepe shut vp nor enclosed in himself, but would manifest and communicate it with his creatures, whom he hath created, to the end that he might be glorified in them and by them. And as he loueth them for his owne loues sake, and for that they were his worke: so bath he set in them the seeds of loue, both towards him and towards themselves, according to the diuers nature, which he hath conferred vpon them. It is then his natural loue, which constraineth them by a secret feeling of nature imprinted even in those essences, which haue neither reason nor vnderstanding, to take delight in that, which is agreeable to their creator, and to follow his ordinance, tending all to him, and to that which hee loueth, because it is good, and therefore good, being done according to his will; and because it pleaseth him to iudge it and approoue it for such. Whereupon we may conclude, that loue and amitie is the good, by which all creatures haue an accord and agreement, first with God their creator, and then one with another: and that vpon the same cause their conuersation and per-

Three sorts
of motion.

Of the motion
of the
spheres at-
tributed to
the Angels.

Euery crea-
ture follow-
eth his owne
nature.

The loue of
God is the
first of all
motions.

Of the vnion
and accord
betweene all
creatures.

fection doth depend. Wherefore loue must be the bond and vnion of all the world, which is an vniuersall peace and concord betweene God and all his creatures. For the diuine providence hath so disposed all the order of them, that they be all conioined one with another by such loue and amitie, that euen they which seeme to be cleane contrary, are allied, reconciled and vnited togeiher by those, which haue more correspondencie between them. In such sort as we may therein behold, a very pleasant and perfect harmonie, like as in musicke; wherein although it seemeth that the notes, tunes and sounds be different one to another; yet notwithstanding, there is such a moderation in them, that they yeeld together a goodly concord and sweet melody, keeping their proportions, times & measures. As then by such peace and concord the celestiaall spheres follow the generall and comon course of the first, highest, and greatest of all, within which they are contained and inclosed; performing likewise each of them his particular course, without endommaging themselves, as wee haue heretofore made mention: so do all the elements follow the heauen, and obserue their order after it, every one in their degree, from the highest to the lowest, hauing their motions agreeable to their nature. And euen as living creatures haue their agreements and coniunctions one with another, every one in his degree, according to the covenant and participation of nature, which they haue together, and as they are either neere to, or farre off one from another: enen so is it in the agreement and consent of nature, which is between the celestiaall bodies and the elements and all creatures composed of them. For this cause, as the angels retaine the first degree among living creatures, and then man the second next them, by reason that in his nature he neereft agreeth with the angels, and doth neereft approach them: so doth the heauen and celestiaall fires retaine the first degree among creatures, which are without soule and without life, in their proper and conuenient motions, according as wee haue already declared. And as man doth in some sort holde the middle place betweene the angels and the most perfect beasts, so doth fire betwixt the heauen and the aire: and as the aire doth keepe the middle place betwixt the fire and water; so the water is a meane betwixt the aire and the earth. But these things will claime a fitter place, when we come to entreate of the elementary world. Wherefore we wil returne to that which onely concerneth the heauenly bodies: which forasmuch as we haue saide to be of the number of those creatures which are without life, being contrary to the opinion of the most famous Philosophers: my minde is, that we should consider neerer of this matter, because that by the excellent politicall and military order, which is amongst them, it seemeth that they are not altogether deprived of life, reason, and vnderstanding: as A R A M we may learne of you.

Of the life, reason, and vnderstanding of the celestiaall bodies: and of the excellent politicall and military order, which is amongst them. Chapter 27.

Four kinds
of soule and
life.

A R A M. **T**His being true, that all creatures haue a certaine motion agreeable to their nature, and a naturall loue which euerygeth them to seeke and pursue that, which is most naturall for them; as hath bene already related in our antecedent speech: it seemeth that this can hardly come to passe, but that there must bee in them, some kinde of soule and life, yea euen in those creatures, that are most insensible. And more I will say that it is not onely to be presumed, that they haue some kinde of life, but also a naturall vnderstanding, which wee may properly name inclination; sith there is no essence but can follow his proper course and order in his owne nature and peculiar motions. For the stones themselves, and mettals by a kinde of soule and vegetatiue life, doe growe and increase in the earth: wherefore it seemeth that they are nourished in the earth like to plants. Yet we must note, that to speake properly, there is neither soule nor life attributed vnto them. For according to the common rule of the learned, there are but foure kinds of soules and of life: except by abuse of the language, this name life bee taken generally for the estate of all creatures. But when it is taken in his proper signification, the soule and life is onely attributed to foure kinde of creatures: that is, to herbes, trees, and plants, a nourishing

nourishing or vegetatiue soule and life * sensitiue plants, as sea sponges, oysters, cockles, &c. a sensitiue: to perfect beasts a soule and life cogitatiue or knowing: and to men an intellectuall or reasonable soule and life. Though therefore that stones and mettals doe encrease and grow in the earth, yet this is done by addition of matter, which is conuerted into their nature, rather then by any nouriture which they draw from the earth, as plants do. And therefore when we speake properly of life, we must vnderstand something more, then that which simply call (being.) And yet one may sometimes signifie (the estate or being of any thing) by the name of life, taking the word generally, and not in his most proper signification: for the being of euery creature is like the life thereof; in so much as thereby it is conserued in his proper estate. And so it may seeme that Saint Iohn meaneth, saying, *That all things were made by the eternall word of God, and that without it nothing was made that was made, and that in it was life: for heere the word, Life, might bee taken for the being of all creatures.* In this respect it may be permitted vs to say, that all creatures haue life, but not like any of those which are properly called liuing creatures and each one according to the distinctions by vs before alledged.

A kinde of creature of a middle nature betweene plants and beasts.

John 1.

Now let vs speake of the naturall vnderstanding which seemeth to bee in all creatures. I know that to speake properly, vnderstanding and reason cannot be attributed but onely to angels and men. For although all creatures obserue their order and course in their naturall motions: yet doe we not conclude that they do this by vnderstanding and reason, whereof they should participate with men, but rather by a naturall inclination, which God hath bestowed vpon them to guide and direct them so. Yet it seemeth, that there is great difference betweene the celestiaall bodies, concerning which wee now discourse, and the other creatures which are without life and vnderstanding, considering their well ordered motions and incorruptible nature, as we haue heretofore shewed. For this is the cause why many Philosophers haue taught; that the heauens retained some kinde of life and vnderstanding: briefly, that the world was an animal or liuing creature, for the reasons heretofore alledged. And therefore some haue supposed, that the celestiaall and luminarie bodies did nourish and preserue themselves by the moistnesse and vapours, which they attracted and drew vp by their heate, out of the water and other elements. And for faculties of sense and reason, they also considered the same to be in them; because that they haue their course and motions so well ordered and comprehended one by another, that therein can be found no fault, disorder, or confusion. Which so excellent order could not bee kept nor maintained (it seemed amongst them, without great reason and vnderstanding and wisdom, yea more great then is seene in all the men of the world together. For although they were created partaker of these graces and gifts; yet so farre they are from maintaining such an order amongst them, as do the celestiaall bodies; that contrariwise there is nothing but disorder and confusion in them, & in all their actions. For these reasons therefore sundry Philosophers haue concluded, that as there animals or liuing creatures in the earth, in the waters, and in the fire, so likewise are there in heauen; and that the sunne and moone and the other planets and stars are celestiaall animals, not onely liuing, but also participating of reason and vnderstanding yea some haue named them celestiaall intelligences. And in truth they which haue good skill in Astronomie doe consider how the Sunne, the goodliest and most excellent of the lights of heauen, possesseth the middle place amongst the seven planets like the king and prince of them, and which hath about him the lords of his court. For on one side is Mars the warrior, which hath charge of armies, and on the other side Mercurie his Orator and ambassadour. Then is there betwixt him and Mercury the planet Venus, which is the day starre, messenger of the morning, which alwaies attendeth on the sunne, at his rising and setting, for she riseth euery day before him, and setteth euery day after him, & vnder those is the Moone. These two planets seeme to bee allowed him like mistresses of his house, and huiuswifes of the most moist natures. Then about Mars is the milde and benigne planet Iupiter, to the end to moderate the vehemency and fury of him. And higher yet is Saturne, who is colde, slowe, and sadde; wherefore he may the better temperate the heate of Mars, and serue the sunne like a sound and well staied counsellour, neere about his prince. Then may be seene the high heauen, commonly called the firmament, which containeth all the rest of the starres, vnder which the sunne marcheth in his royall magnificence accompanied (like a king) with his court & armie, all in gallant order. Is it not then a goodly policy, & like a royall court, a celestiaall common wealth, and a braue army, wherein euery star and planet keepeth his ranke and order? And not onely for these considerations, but

Vnderstanding proper to men and Angels onely.

Opinions of diuers touching the life and vnderstanding of the celestiaall bodies.

Of the excellent politicall and military order in the heauens.

Deut. 32.
Isay

Psal. 148.

Why the
word of God
is sometimes
directed to in-
sensible crea-
tures.

Psal. 147.

even by testimonies of Scripture, there are some will vnder take to prooue, that the celestial bodies haue reason and vnderstanding. For the prophets, namely *Moses* and *Isay*, sometime addressing their speech to the heauens, call them for auditours: As when they say [Oh heauens, heauens, heare that which I shall speak, and giue eare to my words.] So that they wonder, why these holy men should call to the heauens, if they had neither soule nor life, nor reason, nor vnderstanding. And the Psalmist in his canticles doth exhort the heavenly bodies to praise God no lesse then the angels themselves. But now let vs tell them, that if by these authorities wee must conclude, that the spheres haue in them a soule, life, sense, and reason: wee might say the like of the aire, of the clouds, waters, fire, haile, snowe, vapors, windes, yea and of all earthly creatures, to the very plants. For the royall Prophet inuited them all to praise the Lord, as well as the heauens. Yea he proceedeth farther, when he saith, that all of them performe the word of the Lord. And when *Moses* and *Isay* call the heauens to record, they doe as much to the earth, as if it had eares to heare, and vnderstanding or to vnderstand. We must then know, that the Prophets vsing this manner of speech doe speake to insensible creatures, and which are without vnderstanding, the better to moue them to their duty, and the more to induce them to acknowledge their ingratitude and rebellion against God, by rendring to him that honour and reuerence, which they should beare to his Maiesty, which is of such weight and vertue, that the very sense and feeling thereof reacheth to all nature and to every kinde of creature. Whereby we must learne, how great reproach shall redound to men, and the number of witnesses that shall appeere against them, if they will bee more deafe at the voice of God, then the deafeest creatures, and if they will bee lesse moued with his presence, and hardlier acknowledge it, then those his works which are farthest remote from reason & vnderstanding. And in truth what shame may this goodly order which wee whilome spake of, to bee amongst the celestiall bodies, every day breed in vs? For if they had a soule, life, sense, and vnderstanding; we might lesse woonder to see them euer continue and maintaine such a constituted order. Because we might ascribe the good government of them to the reason and wisdom, which might bee resident in them. But if they haue neither sense nor vnderstanding, by meanes whereof they might attaine to that intelligence and wisdom, for to know how to guide and governe themselves: so much more iust occasion hath beene given to the Prophets to appeale to them as witnesses and iudges against men, and leave to looke to other creatures, seeing that they shew in effect, that they doe better vnderstand the voice and word of God, whereby they haue beene created and disposed, and which hath appointed and ordained the estate wherein they serue; then men doe, whom hee hath made partakers of reason and vnderstanding. Wherefore wee will heere note, that when the Prophets do exhort the insensible creatures to praise God, it is chiefly for two reasons. The first is, in keeping enery one their order, they glorifie God after their fashion, and according to their nature, because they are like preachers of his puissance, wisdom, and bounty, and as witnesses of them, and of his glory towards men: and the other reason is so much the better to induce men to praise their creatour, as it behooueth them. But for the Philosophers, yea the Pythagorians and Academicke, which proceede farther concerning the life, reason, and vnderstanding, which they contemplate in the spheres, saying, that they are replenished with soules lodged in them, and by which many of the Diuines also will haue to be meant, the angels and celestiall spirits, who (say they) moue the heauens: but what, and how many there are of these intellectuall formes in the sphericall bodies, he only knoweth, who (as *David* saith) counteth the number of the starres, and calleth them all by their names. I will onely say thus much, that sith every planet hath his proper force and influence vpon things here below, it seemeth very fit, that it should haue his governing intelligence, which giueth it the vertue to worke: considering that the operation cannot proceed simply from a body. But now I enter into a new matter, the discourse whereof (*ACHITOBI*) I impose on you.

*Of the influence and effects of the planets and starres in things.
here below, either to good or euill. Chapter 28.*

ACHITOB. Some might maruell, why christian philosophers do alwaies (when they in-
treat of the sphere) retaine the names of the gods and goddesses of the an-
cient idolaters; which the Pagan philosophers, both Greekes and Latines, haue long agoe
giuen to the starres and planets. But this should seeme no more strange, then that we yet
obserue in the daies of the weeke the names, which were attributed to them by the said
authors, and which they haue likewise taken from the names of the planets, except
sunday. For, because that these celestially bodies haue bene so called at the first by those,
who haue most curiously and diligently searched them out, and left precepts of the
Astronomicall doctrine; therefore doe these fond names yet remaine amongst vs, like
many other things taken from the ancients. But the discourse is very great and of deepe
study, concerning the diuers properties, vertues, and powers which Astronomers assigne to
the planets, aboue all nature, yea and ouer all men: of whome making their predictions, they
name one man a Saturnist, another a Martialis, or Louialis, or elle a Mercurialis, or a Ven-
erian or a Phebean, or a Lunatist. In such sort, that the diuers affections, inclinations and
manners of men, are by many holden, not to proceede onely of the matter diuersly disposed
(as there be some that esteeme:) but also by the diuers influence and sundry forme, not in
specificall diuersitie, but particular and proper. And thence it cometh, that *Ptolomie* and
other professors of Astrology do teach, that the stars & planets do giue influence of good
and of euill: for (say they) by *Saturne* is infused a firme and stable prudence: by *Iupiter*, a
righteous iustice: by *Mars*, a constant force and puissance; by the Sun, an ardent charity: by
Venus, a milde hope: by *Mercury*, a penetrating faith: and by the Moone, a moderate tempe-
rance. Moreouer, that by *Saturne*, as by a most graue and sublime fautor, men are indu-
ced to the most profound mysteries of all diuine and naturall Philosophie; That by *Iupiter* they
are gouerned in a good due temper, so that they make and obserue lawes, and dispose all
things with equitie, pursuing alwaies that which is righteous. That from *Mars* they receiue
the abilitie and power to performe any exploit, to the end to bee fortunate in their enter-
prises. That the sunne bestoweth vpon all, generation, operation, and life; as charity (which
is appropriated to him) adorneth all the vertues, likelife, and forme. That *Venus* giueth grace,
cheerefulnesse, and loue; by which men being moued do performe all high matters
with delectation; because wee could not sustaine the labour, which is in the study of na-
turall and diuine matters, no not in temporall things, if loue did not thereto inuite vs;
wherewith being afterwarde recreated, we easily suppress the affliction which continuall
thought in profound matters and of difficult vnderstanding doth bring vnto vs. That
Mercurie maketh vs prompt, sharpe and subtil in euery businesse, but chiefly in searching
out of the truth, and in obtaining eloquence, musicke, and glory. That the Moone in the
foresaid effects of the other planets, giueth a more neere and variable motion; so that shee
causeth to bee correspondent to man (as to the end and image of the whole Vniuers) all
the loftie members of it. All these properties (I say) are attributed by sundry Astronomers to
the planets, in regard of the good which they cause to men. Againe, others acknowledge
some of them to bee the cause of many euils, and those they call ill planets, not celestially.
For they say that *Saturne* is foolish, niggardly, difficult, inducing to dangers, fraude, mis-
chiefe, treasons, violence, captiuitie, banishment, losse, perisurie, contumacy, wrath, hatred
of all good, feare, anguish, griefe, burials, sorrow, and losse of children; also that he causeth
sorceries, empoisonings, and theft, and maketh Magicians. Of *Mars* they say, that hee
prouoketh to treason, warre, murder, boldnesse, rashnes, pride, sedition, contention, ra-
pine, ambushments, woundings, flights, disloyalties, villanies, foolish loue, easie offending,
many cogitations, ill counsell; and that he maketh Princes violent, cruell, inhumane, de-
sirous of bloud and slaughter, periured, deceitfull, inconstant, cursing, and full of all vic-
kednesse, and that he foresheweth a mishapen and impudent man: and that he is pernici-
ous to birthes, causing abortiue fruit: Finally, that in all parts of heauen he menaceth some
mischiefe. For the rest, I passe them heere in silence, that I may not bee too tedious in this
matter, which some Mathematicians and Poets ascribe to other planets, making them

In French
the names of
the daies are
so, but in our
tongue not.

Properties
attributed by
Astrologers
to planets.

Euillnesse of
Saturne.

Of *Mars*.

cause of many other euills, according to the diuers constellations, where they doe contem-
plate them. But to speake my minde, wee like Christians must beleue, and not thinke as
many naturallists doe (who in stead of acknowledging a God, do forge to themselves an I-
doll of Nature, that it should bee the planets or starres, who like fountaines or Ladies of
vertues, properties and powers, giue influence to men of the foresaid qualities: but onely
that in disposing their bodies, beeing compounded of the elements, vpon which the pla-
nets worke, they serue to aide them to abound in vertues or vices, according as their
minde being moderatrix of all their actions, doth dispose her faculties, to intend good or
euill. For this cause we say, that to those which want the gifts and graces of Gods spirit, all
things cannot but succeed badly, and the influences of the speres hurt them rather then o-
therwise, yea some more then other some: as to the contrarie, the minde of the faithfull wel
instructed doth correct the nauities of the stars, and deliuereth himselfe from all peruerse
inclination. This is it, that the thrise great Philosopher *Mercurius* saith, entreating of those
whom the diuine power, whatsoever it was, had forsaken, leauing and abandoning them to
the euill (as hee speaketh) and all that, which was sensible in them. For thus saith hee. [Of
such the forces of anger and appetite, which beeing well directed would cause euery good
worke, turne into a nature deprived of reason.] So then wee learne, that very vaine is the
faith that is giuen to the palnets, to constellations, and to foolish diuinations and supersti-
tious prognostications of Astrologians. For true Christians feare not the signes of heauen,
nor their aspects and regards: but do wholly depend vpon the grace of God and of his pro-
vidence, which turneth all to the good of his elect.

Against iudi-
ciall Astrolo-
gie.

Jerem. 10.

Esay 47.

Against the
casters of na-
tivities.

Genes 25.

And therefore though we condemne not true Astrologie, namely Astronomie, yet must
we not approoue the superstition and curiositie, which is in many concerning that part of
this science, called iudiciall, which they holde for a certaine and infallible doctrine, by
which may be foreseene and knowne the euents of men. But let vs rather hold with that
which *Jeremie* teacheth vs, saying, [*Fear not the signes of heauen, according to the gentiles: for the
customs of the people are vaine.*] Which is as much, as if he had said, that such curious obserua-
tions, full of superstitions, are friuolous and false, belonging to pagans and idolaters, and
not to the people of God. For this cause also we haue in the bookes of the other prophets
many things spoken against the predictions and prognostications of the Chaldees and Ba-
bylonians, namely in *Isay*. For God, which is aboue all nature, hath meanes which men
cannot perfectly know, either by reason of their ignorance, or for that those meanes are
supernaturall. So that it happeneth, that things oftentimes succede cleane contrarie to
that, which the Astronomers haue forespoken and prognosticated, according to their con-
templation. But I would willingly aske them, what foundation they can haue, when (like
prophets) they enterprise to foretell men, good lucks & ill lucks, and all euents which they
must expect, and chiefly to kings, princes, and other chiefe personages? For where doe they
finde, when God created the stars and planets, that he gaue them commission to reueale to
Astrologers, what should be the nature and complexjon of euery one, according to the pla-
net vnder which they should be borne? And againe, how can such iudiciall science haue cer-
taine, seeing there are a thousand men that are borne euery day in the world, in one selfe-
same countrie, at one selfe same time, hower and instant, one sometimes to be a king, and
another a poore shepheard, being neither like in nature, nor like in manners, but sometimes
more contrary then fire and water? For this is much prooued in many twiannes, as the scrip-
ture giueth vs a notable example in *Iacob* and *Esau*. For they were borne so close to one a-
nother, that *Iacob* held with his hand the sole of his brother *Esau*'s foote: and therefore the
name of *Iacob* was giuen him. And by how much the one was humble, good and peacea-
ble; by so much the other was proud, wicked and warlike. And who can beleue that God
hath set markes in any of the signes in heauen, to signifie to men that, which he hath or-
dained concerning euery one in his eternall counsell, which is hidden from the angles
themselves? Surely whatsoever wee can learne, is through his holy spirit, which hee com-
municeth to such as he pleaseth, reuealing to them his secrets, as heretofore he did to his
most faithfull seruants. And therefore he that would haue most certaine prognostications,
must not goe away to seeke and aske them of other more true Astrologians then the pro-
phets and apostles, with their writings. For they haue surely foretold all that must come
to passe in the world, to the very consummation of time, and chiefly touching the mo-
narchies, empires, and kingdomes of the earth, namely *Daniell*. And I beleue that God
hath not created the starres and planets more for kings and princes and other great per-
sonages,

sonages, then for the simple & least. Too sound & true a prognostication haue we against them all in *Isay*, by which he prophesieth, that euery kingdome and euery nation which serueth not the Lord shall perish. So likewise all the blessings and cursings of the law, are so many most certaine propheties, of all that which good and bad men may expect for good or euill. Now I could in this present matter, concerning the influence of celestiall bodies vpon men, produce the testimonies of the most renowned amongst the ancient diuines, against those, who attribute so much vertue to the starres: but because the authoritie of a Christian is of no value with the Atheists and superstitious, which are willingly the greatest idolaters of nature, I will bring them the prooffe of strangers, yea of those, who first gaue the precepts of prognostications: by which they may easily finde their teachings thwarted by themselves, and to haue beene left otherwise by them, then the troupe of their followers do suppose. Let them reade the text of *Ptolemie*, prince of Astronomers, in the beginning of his *Apotelesmes* (which is as much to say, as the effects referred to the natiuitie hower) there shall they see that hee attributeth this to the starres, that to the manner of the birth, something to the seed of the parents, one thing to the diet, another to the place, and another to the orders: So that very little resteth in the planets. And the author concludeth his speech in this sort: [As we commend phisitions, who search out the originall of the disease, and the causes in diuers fashions: so must not wee be dispised, if to iudge vpon the infant borne, we inquire of the region, of the birth, diet manners, and other occurrences.] And in his booke entituled (*Alarba*) he saith. That oftentimes such accidents meete in the infant borne, that he cannot receiue the celestiall influence, sometimes very little, and sometimes much, which many are ignorant of. How then can any by the starres onely determine of that, which must happen to man from the hower of his birth, as infinite many doe beleene? But because some, who are abused by this iudiciall science, doe willingly reply, that Astrologians and prognosticators do oft foretell many things, which are afterward found true: I desire that wee may examine their reason, which (*A SER*) I leaue to you to discover.

*Isay 60.
Leuit. 26.
Deut. 28.*

Many things
to be conside-
red in horo-
scopes.

*Of the truth which is found in prognostications of Astrologers, and how the
starres are appointed by God for signes, and that from their
influences no euill proceedeth. Chapter. 29.*

A SER. **W**Ho diligently should marke in predictions and Astrologicall prognostications, the falshoods and truthes which therein are found, I doubt not but he should perceiue these much more rare, then the other. But people doe commonly take so great delight to be deceiued, that it sufficeth them, if they bee once told truth, for a thousand times wherein they haue beene foretold lies. And God knoweth, how the professors of this arte doe aduance that point as much as they can, and doe dissemble in all others, whereby their leasings may be discovered. And when they will most floute fooles, they vse ambiguous and and obscure manners of speech, like the answers, which long agoe the diuell made by oracles, both of *Apollo*, and other pagan idols. For such kinde of speech is fit to stricke the ignorant in a dumper: who though they vnderstand not the Prognosticators speech, yet according as things come to passe they will expound them to their minde, and chiefly, when among many things, some one doth stumble vpon some like apparance with that prediction, although the astrologer speakes at aduenture, and sometimes vnderstands not himselfe: yet this is certaine, and is daily seene by experience, that indeede the most cunning in this science foretel many things, which are after found true. And this may happen chiefly in three manners. The first is, when they containe themselves within the bounds of Astrologie, and will prognosticate nothing, but whereof they foresee the causes most manifest in nature: as in the eclipses of the Sun and moone, the changes thereof, in the courses of the planets, their aspects, and dispositions, and such like naturall inclinations, the knowledge whereof they may by their arte attain vnto. But when they passe farther, it happens to them which is sometimes seene in bad archers and bowmen, who though they take their aime badly, neither yet draw right, may neuerthelesse shoote so often, that by great chance, one or other may hit the white. But this comes not often; for if one should reckon the badde shoots, they would be exceeding few that had hit in respect of the rest. And in this sort haue we in the beginning of our speech meant, concerning the copious and ambiguous

how Astrolo-
gers may fore-
tell a truth.

manner

1. Sam. 28.

Genes. 1.

Now the stars
are given vs
for signes.

Genes. 1.

Against such
as assigne eu-
ill to the in-
fluences of
the Stars.
Plato in Epi-
menide.

manner of Astrologers writings and speeches, very proper for their intention. Finally God in his secret and most iust iudgement, doth many times permit that the things foretolde by such deceiuers do oftentimes succcede, to the intent to punish the curiositie and vanity of men, as it commonly falleth out, and hath in olde time beene knowne by the oracles of diuels, and by the predictions and diuinations of Necromancers and inuocators vpon euill spirits. For they who rather beleue such inuentions of the diuell, then the true and sacred word of God, deserue to be holden in error, by the euents which they expect, when they trust to the father of lying, to the end that they may afterward receive their due and condemnation. So came it to *Saul* when he went to the witch, to vnderstand the issue and euent of the Philistims warre against him. For he heard that which he desired not to know, and that which was prophecied to him came to passe. Thus in three manners do we perceiue that Astrologers may oftentimes prognosticate the truth. But because some suppose to haue a very good foundation for iudiciall Astrologie, in so much as *Moses* saith, speaking of the creation of the sunne and Moone and starres, that God set them for signes; I would desire them to consider, that the Prophet expoundeth himselfe in these words, [And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heauen, to separate the day from the night, and let them bee for signes and for seasons, and for daies and for yeeres: And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heauen to giue light vpon the earth.] Heereby it is apparent to vs, that God created the planets to distribute the light, and to distinguish and signifie vnto vs by certaine signes the times, seasons, yeeres, moneths, daies & nights, for all politicall, publike and private order. For it is most necessarie, that men should direct themselves according to times and seasons. But although the starres were giuen vs for signes in this respect, and that after the deluge they were in that estate reordained by GOD: yet must wee abstaine from superstition, and too much curiositie which abuseth many in Astrologie (as is aboue saide) and which often occasioneth that they not being able to prognosticate vpon euery cause apparently by the starres, according to their desire, do search and haue recourse to other meanes, to wit, to Necromancy, and Geomancy; by which they diuine what they list, leading men into double error, and prophaning the contemplatiue doctrine of the heauen, which is otherwise of it selfe good and profitable.

But beside all this I might likewise say, that if all things heere below were disposed and directed by the gouernance of heauen, and the influence of the planets, as our naturalists (better Philosophers then Christians) do maintaine: we should behold nothing saue what were good, as being gouerned by good causes. And in this case I demand what become of those euill influences of the starres, vpon which Astrologians do found their predictions? I will not heere alledge that which *Moses* teacheth vs, saying, that God saw that all things which hee had made were good (for perhaps they would not beleue it:) but let them giue eare to *Mercury*, whome the ancients called the thrice great and supreme in Philosophie, Metaphysicks, and Theologie. For hee left written vpon pillars in Egypt (as *Jamblicus* in a long discourse declareth) how that all influences of the starres are good: and if there chance any euill, it must bee imputed to the indisposed subiect, and not to the planets: demonstrating this by the brightnesse of the sunne, which of it selfe is good, and yet hurteth the bleare eie, because of the badde state thereof. *Plato* also saith, [God hath made the Moone encreasing and decreasing, and hath established the moneths in the yeere, and hath taught by a kinde of happie fortune, to bring in count the number of them. Whereupon ensueth, that the earth being most fruitful, conceiue and engendreth her fruite for the nouriture of man, at such times as the winds gently blow; and the raine prosperously droppeth into her lappe. But if any euill befall herein, we must not blame the diuine and celestiall nature but the humane, which leadeth an vniust life.] And the Stoicks *Hieracles* crieth out in the verses of *Pithagoras* in these termes:

- ;; Each one, through his owne euill, it will be;
- ;; For from the heauenly source no vice doth flow
- ;; To soile our soules; the cause are onely wee;
- ;; The blame of mischief then on mortals throw.

And *Plato* in the sixth booke of *Lawes*, and *Aristotle* in his *Politicks* doe testifie, that man hauing attained to the true doctrine, becommeth a very diuine and perfect debonaire creature: but not hauing beene well brought vp, he becommeth the most cruell of all creatures borne vpon the earth. What then remaineth for vs to attribute to the Starres? I demand of them also, who affirme some influences to be euill, from whence (will they say) that this malice

malice proceedeth? Whether from God which commandeth : or from the intelligence which mooueth the heavens: or from the heaven it self? Surely it cannot come from God, who is the soueraigne good, and the first cause ordaining all things. For that is euill or sinne, which is done against the will of the creator, or which declineth from his iustnes: and in nature, euill cannot proceede from the spring of goodnes. Wherefore it should be too foolish and absurd a thing to thinke, that euill should take originall from God: all good: and that from the soueraigne gouernour should proceede the violation of the law, seeing that his will is his owne law it selfe. For the intelligence or angel, which some say continueth in the rion of the spheres, and to whom some assigne the cause of euill influences: I would faine aske them, whether this intelligence doth so worke by the commandement of his Prince, which is the eternall, and soueraigne gouernour of the world, or else against his will and ordinance. If it accomplish any thing according to his precept, certainly that cannot be bad: for nothing is bad but that which is done contrarie to the order established by the prince of Nature. But if it operate against his will, it might seeme to turne to the scandall of the Omnipotent creator, to suffer his seruants so arrogant in rebellion vnpunished. For at the beginning he spared not those amongst the angels, who exalted themselves in pride: And for the rest who persisted in obedience, he in such sort confirmed them, that they cannot sinne any more. Whereupon also ensueth that the Intelligences, being loyall seruants of the Eternall, do not cause euill influences, neither yet do dispose any thing to euill, since they alwaies accomplish the ordinance of the Soueraigne good. And for those, who not beeing able to blame God, nor the moouing intelligence, doe accuse the heavens, as cause of euill influences: I desire them to tell me, if the heavens be malicious, whence cometh their malice? Whether haue they beene created euill, or else beene depraued by euill manners? Or else, their nature failing them, did they become euill? Certainly they were not created euill by the most good worker. Neither haue they beene depraued by manners or failing nature because they haue no choise in their workes, and for that their motions and influences are naturall and invariable, not of freewill, as all Philosophers affirme. Againe I aske them, whether the heavens giue influence, as second causes, or as instruments? If as instruments, then sith they neither mooue nor operate, but according to the will of the Prince, who created them; he should remaine in fault: which is already confuted. But if it be as second causes, seeing the worke is performed by that which liueth, the error should be referred to the intelligences, who mooue them, and are ordained for soules to the spheres: to which we haue also satisfied. I will farther adde this point. That the heavens do work either by nature or by will. If by nature, sith the order thereof is established by God, the sentence of *Aristotle* is worthe the remembrance, where he saith, [What wee possesse by nature, wee are therein neither praised nor blamed: for the praise belongeth to the worker, and the blame cannot be assigned to the order of the soueraigne Good. But if the heavens worke freely, being guided by an intelligence, it must needs follow, that being the causes of so many mischiefes, which abundantly light on man, they are guided by a furious, or else by a couetous soule. If by a furious, seeing there is a certaine planet, which (as these Astronomers say) doth alwaies designe violent influences, wherefore is it not consumed with such a sempiternall furie? Moreouer why say men, that a planet is inflamed sooner in one house, then in another? What meeteth it in his owne house or in another, that disposeth it to signifie euill? Againe, how is that inflamed with furie, which they affirme to bee immutable? But if the heavens be led by couetousnes, what profit or gaine do they attract from thinges here below? For this couetous desire remayneth onely in themselves. And whosoever coueteth euill, doth it (as the Philosophers say) because that hee is as it were intoxicated and overcome by inebriating matter. But sith the matter of the heavens is far from all change and error, it is neither inebriated nor subuerted. Wherewith then will they blame the heavens? If any say that by nature they are euill, how is it, that this euill should come into their nature? For the Sages collect these reasons and originall of euill in nature: either for that the efficient cause cannot gouerne the superfluitie of the matter; or else cannot supply where it faileth; or else cannot duly dispose it; and such other reasons as presuppose a feeble power of the cause. But for as much as the smith and carpenter of the heavens is of infinite power, how should hee faile in his workmanship? For there was no other cause which might encounter him, since that without any aide, hee framed the heavens: neither could any thing resist the infinite worker, who reduced all thinges into a due and proper estate, as wee haue heretofore amply declared. Yet notwithstanding so many reasons, how

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euill in nature

many

many are there which obstinately leauing to the vaine and curious obseruations of the starres, as an infallible rule of the life and estate of man, do about all things feare, least in the ascendant of the natiuitie, any euill planet should haue domination? And indeed doe we not behold that Astrologers, and about all Magicians, are so much sought after amongst vs, that many do (as one may say) hold him to be miserable, who knoweth not his Horoscope? To the end then that wee may better expell out of the braine of every one such foolish opinions, let vs (I pray you) stretch out this discourse in particular against such as accuse *Saturne* and *Mars* for most euill planets: the charge whereof (A M A N A) I commit to you.

Of the Planet Saturne, and how it is nor euill, nor any other starre. Chapter. 30.

A M A N A. **W**E shall doe very well, if keeping our selues from the superstition and curiositie, which misguideth many in the study of iudiciall Astrologie and Diuination, wee stay our selues in the most simple and most certaine Astronomie, which the spirit of God teacheth vs by creation of the world: that is, to contemplate the creator by his works. For so should we become good Astronomers and Christian Astrologers, if (I say) contemplating the heauens, and all the ornament of them, we propose them vnto vs, as vniuersall preachers of the glory of the Soueraigne, and consider them as the high workes of his hands, as the Psalmist doth exhort vs. And so by creation of the Sunne, Moone, Stars, and other celestiaall bodies, we shall learne to meditate, what light there is in him, who dwelleth in the inaccessible brightnes, and which is the father and fountaine of all lights, as also, what good wee are to hope for him. For by that good, which the corporall light bringeth vnto vs, for our bodies; and the Sunne, Moone and Starrs, for the life of men, we may somewhat iudge, what felicitie is prepared by the Diuine and spirituall light for our soules, and by God our Creator, in whom it abideth: beeing a sure meane not to feare the signes of heauen, nor the constellations and aspects of the starres, wherewith many do so menace men, as if in heauen, as in a court of tyrants, it were ordained, that so many mischiefes as should happen to the world, should be contriued.

But let those who so charge the starres of crimes, and therefore turne over the bookes of Pagan Astrologers, and Atheists, rather then diuine writings, lend a while an eare to some good witnesses, whom they themselves cannot reprove, and who doe euen praise the planet of Saturne, the malice of whom wee haue heard to be so great. Behold then first of all, how the prince of the Astronomicall doctrine deposeth and testifieth concerning this planet in these termes: [If Saturne be onely signifier in the estate of the minde, and Lord of the place of Mercurie, and of the moone, and blaseth towards the corners of the world good aspects and beames, the child shall be a lover of good things, of great and firme counsell, and a searcher out of secret things and diuine.] Likewise *Iulius Firmicus* adorning this planet with many great praises, saith, that from his vertue proceedeth a quicke and subtile spirit in the deliberation of affaires, a certaine word, a stable amitie, a long foresight, and a roiall counsell. There be also many moderne Astronomers, who say of the same Saturne, That euen as the common and ciuill life is designed by Iupiter, so likewise the solitary and diuine life is appropriated to Saturne: Yea the ancient Philosophers and Poets haue sung that he is most good, and that the golden world did passe vnder him: saying that Iupiter did afterward vlurpe the kingdome, having chased out Saturne, and that then beganne the siluer age. And let vs note in regard of the most famous Poets amongst the ancients, that they haue by their writings penetrated into the most profound cabinets of nature, and approached the secrets of the diuine thought. For they sung not iests (as some hold) which the old Fathers would not mention to their little children: but they haue beene acknowledged of the Sages for great Diuines, who hid the mysteries both of the one and other nature vnder the vaile of fables, and for this cause are they celebrated of such as vnderstand well their doctrine. That it is so, *Aristotle* doth plainly manifest, is that hee confirmeth great points of Philosophy by the testimony of *Simonides*, and of *Homer*. And *Archefilans* the inuentor of the new Academic, ascribed so much honour to *Homer*, that hee neuer went to bedde, but hee read some of his verses first, and said likewise in the day time

Psal. 8. and 19

A good and true vse of Astronomy.

Ptol. in 3 Apotel. how the planet Saturne is good.

Praise of ancient Poets.

(that

that hee might haue more leasure to reade (that hee went to his beloued. *Anaxagoras* also yea and our *Basil* with laud admire the excellent vertue in the writings of this Greeke Poet. And how many bee there likewise who esteeme *Virgil* the imitator of *Homer*, for a Doctour in all naturall and mortall Philosophie? For many referre all that, which hee hath fained, to an allegoricall sense. *Eucretius* also entreateth of all the precepts of Philosophy in verse. And *Orpheus* singeth more loftily then humane knowledge can extend to, the mysteries of Theologie and of the sacred ceremonies, which hee had learned out of holy letters, as himselfe confesseth. *Ouid* likewise hath covered many of the secrets of *Pythagoras*, and of the creation, and disposition of the Vniuers, in his *Metamorphosis*: but because hee depraue them with too lasciuious a discourse, he loseth very much of their dignity. Wherein hee hath bene imitated of many other Poets, as in this our age, wherein there are very many, who doe the office rather of bards, then of the true children of the chaste Muses, because they delight to weaue poisoning sense in the webbe of their faire words. Such indeede *Plato* commaunded to be chased out of the common wealth. But to returne to our purpose; it is most euident that these auncient Poets, great Philosophers and Diuines,, doe testifie that Saturne is an happy and willing Planer. And in so much as they accuse him for deuouring all his children, except fowre, they themselves interpret that of Time, by which indeed hee consumeth all things, except the fowre elements, which still remaine, because that out of them, and into them all nature is changed. And thereof it commeth, that they so call them, to witte, the fire *Jupiter*, the aire *Iuno*; the water *Neptune*, and the earth *Pluto*. Moreouer if wee will in excuse of Saturne, consider the cause of the malice, which commonly Astronomers attribute vnto him; it is certaine, that the euils wherewith they accuse him proceed from his cold and dry nature, by which he seemeth to fauour melancholie, whose property is to oppresse and stoppe the desiring power and naturall loue, whose seat is hotte and moist. And in that they separate Saturne from humane society, wee must vnderstand, that this is not the planet which properly they meane, but rather the childe disposed to such complexion and disposition, partly through the influence of the starres, partly through his birth and seede of the parents, or the place of his generation, or of his foode, and partly also through the disposition which hee may gette by nurture and manners: and especially if the said planet ruling in the nativity of the child, it be invaded with the drines of Mars, and coldnes of the Moone. But yet one may correct euery such euill influence. For the child increasing in yeeres and iudgement may addict himselfe to study and contemplation of high and diuine things, which are the delights of him, who leadeth a solitary life: and doubtles he shall perceiue that Saturne is not euill, but doth rather fauour him with a good influence. And if any find himselfe heauy by reason of his Saturnine complexion, let him meditate on that which is written, [Blessed are they which mourne,] if he be pensive or silent, let him hearken to that which is saide, [*Mary* hath chosen the good part:] if he haue desire to store vp riches, let him lay vp in heauen. For so may he easily correct euery euill inclination, which he shall naturally haue. And as much may we speake of him who shall be stirred vp with the inflammation of Mars. For if the Martial choler maketh him hasty, and subiect to anger, let him not vse it against the poore and little ones, but to repress vices. For as golden *Chrysolome* saith, [Where there is no wrath nor indignation, there science profiteth nothing; the iudgements are not constant, & crimes are not corrected.] Let then wars, murders, boldnes, magnanimity, spoiles, captiuities, flights, violences, and such like bee exercised against the enemies of God, and for the publike peace: and then this *Mars* will not be euill, but rather numbred amongst the saints and seruants of God, with *Phineas* sonne of *Eleasar*; commended for his zeale, and with *David* who fought the battels of the Almighty. But if among Warriours there happen deceit, periurie, fraudes, temeritie, furie, man slaughters, thefts, and such mischiefes; all this commeth to passe, because the rule of reason is broken. And then this gate being open, the winds of passions whiske out, and blow violently, like a great tempest. But so long as they remaine vnder the commandement of *Eolus*; to wit, so long as reason duly governeth; euery violent motion proceeding from Martial choller, is easily moderated, and turneth to profit. The like must be iudged of *Venus*, who is saide to induce men to a lustfull and lasciuious desire. For if we gouerne well the concupiscence or appetite heared by this planet, the Sunne and *Mars*, thereto ministring feruor; thereupon would ensue a good loue inflamed towards God and our neighbour. So

Against the poets of this age.

From whence the euils doe proceede, which are attributed to Saturne.

The meanes to correct all euill influences.

Math. 5.

Numb. 25.

then wee may conclude our speech, that men doe wrongfully complaine of their nature or the influence of the starres, when they should rather accuse the peruerseness of their ill inclined will, which causeth their voluntarie sinne, as in the second part of our Academic wee haue related. But this will bee more cleere vnto vs, if we consider how the stars worke in man, not in constraining, but disposing: which (A R A M) shall bee the subiect of your speech.

*Of the Planets in generall, and how they worke
in man, not in constraining, but
disposing. Chap. 31.*

A R A M. **M**Any holding opinion, that wee obtaine nothing by the influence of the starres, doe reiect the doctrine of Astrologians as absurde, and altogether from Philosophie. And amongst other reasons, they alleadge that there haue beene many graue philosophers, who haue applied their care and diligence, to search out the causes of things, borrowing their knowledge from Phisicke, from the Mathematickes, and from many other artes and sciences; and yet neuer looked after the causes in astrologie: namely *Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Plotin, Anicen, Auerrois, Hippocrates*, and others the most renowned auncient authours. But one may answere them, that as it was forbidden by the Mosaicall lawe, that any should reape his field all throughout, but should leaue some corner for the poore and needfull, whereof they might make bundles and fardles to sustaine themselves, and appease their hunger: so it may be, that the former philosophers haue left to their posteritie, in the spacious field of the secrets of nature, ynough for others to gather and to search out after them. And indeede if any one should set himselfe against vs, saying, [*Saint Augustine, Ambrose, Ierome, Origen, Damascene*, and other doctours both Hebrewes, Greekes and Latines, haue with most diligent labour founded the sense of the Scriptures, without touching that, which now you doe: wherefore that which you say, is not true.] What could this conclude against vs? For it is a common thing in schooles, that nothing is concluded of pure negatives. And the Sages condemne not that, which any one hath found out for excellent by the subtilty of his owne witte, though it neuer before had beene touched by others. Wherefore no man is to bee condemned, if he make a farther search of causes, then many ancient Philosophers haue done, who would not passe the bounds of the elementarie nature, being contented to sound the causes by the power and qualities of these inferiour bodies, as many of our age doe, whose theoricke and practicke doth too much faile. Let vs moreover adde, that the most renowned among the ancients accord in this point. [That the inferiour things, and such as are called naturall, doe drawe to them the fauour of the superiour and celestiall, rather by one aspect then by another.] Which skill is holden excellent to be knowne. But for the Peripateticks, who abased in their sensible objects, content themselves with the sensible qualities for the cause of all effects, saying, that if there be found any effect, ouer which such a quality hath no power, that this proceeds from a cause to vs vknown: we may evidently see, that they haue erred in all their teachings. For when *Aristotle* intreateth in the *Meteors* of the heate of the Sunne, he saith, that he proceedeth from two causes ioyned together: to wit, from his motion and place: not from his motion onely, as being quicker then *Iupiter, Mars, and Saturne*: which forasmuch as they are more remote, their inflammation in a very quicke motion, doth not attaine to vs. Neither also can the heate of the Sunne proceede from the Moone, *Venus* and *Mercurie*, because that though they be neerer vnto vs, yet being more slow in motion they are not so much inflamed. This reason he deliuereth, and this makes me to wonder, how a person so celebrated could imagine an inflammation in such things, as receiue no strange impression, for hee would attribute that to the distance and motion, which should be referred to the naturall vertue. Might not some other then, better sound the cause why the interiection of the Sunne beames doth bring heate, though *Aristotle* a more subtile searcher of naturall causes, could not attaine to it? Which perhaps he abstained to doe, because he would not passe the limits by him appointed in his basest Philosophie

Leuit. 19.
& 13.

Nothing
concluded by
denying.

Inferiour
things draw
faueur from
the superiour.

Error of *Aristotle* in the
cause of the
heate of the
Sunne.

phie, which he calleth naturall. Yet neuerthelesse mounting somewhat higher, in that which he writeth to *Alexander*, he teacheth, that in taking of medicines the aspect of the heavens must be diligently obserued. But *Hippocrates* proceeding farther, doth foretell the diseases, recovery & death, by the house of the moone, & the aspects therof, which the other planets. A Physitian must be an Astronomer. And *Haly* in the beginning of the worke of this author, and according to his aduise, saith that the phisition ignorant in astronomie, is like a blinde man that gropes for his way with his staffe. Besides, it would be too long to collect that which *Plato* in his obscure discourse, and diuers Academicks and vnkowne Philosophers, doe teach to be extracted from the heavens, both how, and when.

And what doe the heavens by their continuall motion, but onely worke in vs? Some may say, they giue influence to the elements and to plants. But I demaund, are not our bodies heated by the sunne, and altered, and (with cold) benumbed by the Moone? The simple vulgar is not ignorant hereof. Why then doe we not say, that the starres communicate other influences no lesse knowne to the Sages, then these of the saide lights are to the vulgar? And yet not that their power performeth entire effects. For with them (as we haue heard) concur the diet, manners, natiuitie, and place, but aboue all, the liberty of the minde is alwaies dominant, to moderate and gouerne all the inclinations thereof, which indeed proceedeth of the proper spirituall nature thereof, which moueth the body; and not the body the minde: and with this consenteth that which *Ptolimie* saith in the beginning of his *Apotelesmes*, and in his booke of fruite, speaking thus, [A good Astrologian may well preuent much euill, which otherwise might happen by the disposition of the starres, if beforeknow their nature, and forecast how to hinder that it happen not, and that the ill disposed subiect receiue no damage by the place, by which it should receiue profit. So then, wee should not impose vpon Saturne, an harmefull sadnesse, or wicked seuerity: nor vpon Mars, a cruell rashnesse: nor on Mercurie, a cautelous mallice: nor on Venus, lasciuious loues, nor an inconstant proceeding, on the Moone: no more then hee that hath bleere eies, should impute his infirmitie to the light, nor the flaming of an house to the fire, nor the bruite to the stone, nor bonds, prisons, and executions of malefactors to the seuerity of the iudge. For euery euill effect ensueth vpon the indisposition of the subiect receiuing, and not vpon the influence of the superiour powers: which (to the contrary) wee may maintaine (as already we haue done) to be of it selfe good still, yea by the particular ordinances of the starres, according to the doctrine of Mathematicians. For thus many of them say [Saturne disposeth the intellectuall vertue, he prouoketh to wisdom, and to contemplation of diuine and humane things, and pierceth to the brightnesse of true Philosophie. But if the Saturnist apply his profound thoughts to euill, to accomplish his disordinate appetite, then hee wholly intendeth to deceite, fraude and coggings, and yet the loftiest and diuine part thereof called Synteresis, resisting it in him, then full of melancholy, hee feeleth himselfe so oppressed with anxietie and tediousnesse, that he supposeth that most good and profitable, which is most noisome and damageable, and as he findeth himselfe more oppressed with the often remembrance of his wicked life, many visions do oftentimes present themselves vnto him, like semblances of the dead, shadowes of the deceased, horrors of sepulchers and tombes of such as are departed. To the inner eie of his thought presenteth it selfe the wrath of God, the assaults of the diuell, despaire and hate of saluation. And as much may we speak of the Martialist, who if he excite the violence and force of his courage, not to zeale of iustice as he ought to doe, but to accomplish his desires and carnall appetites: then commits he theeueries, rapes, and many other mischeifes. So that thereupon some will attribute euill to the planets which are called welwilling: For the ordinance of Iupiter, which by the hot and moist, or by a debonaire nature guideth to clemencie, might be so much augmented, that the curbed and peruered spirit might be forced to an entire dissolution. So the noble and milde influence of Venus, which maketh man benigne, if it be not moderated, will make him be effeminate, and a slave to all lustfull appetites. And the Sunne, father of life, and giuer of light, directeth men to true wildome and roiall dignitie, and yet if the splendor of the minde be abused, and that it be conuerted into pride, it mounteth into an ambitious presumption, arrogancy, and scorning of others. Thus then may wee say, that many euils may proceede from that which is good; as of the abundance of wine wherewith any man is glutted, doth arise the oppression of the heart, abating of vertue, and many such accidents: though being moderately taken, it reioiceth the heart, and comforteth the naturall powers. So the water likewise,

Of the power of the stars in men, not constraining but disposing.

How the stars become ill.

which is a good element, and very profitable for all, drowneth and choaketh those which take not heed thereof, and ouerturneth those buildings which are not very firme. Wherefore let vs conclude, that all influences are good, so that the subiects be well disposed, and can vse them: and especially, that the stars and planets operate in man, not in constraining, but in disposing his inclinations, the which by reason, the minde may alwaies moderate & correct. And taking occasion vpon this matter, let vs come to the true Astronomie and Astrologie of Christians, which is to contemplate the glory and greatnesse of God by the worke of the heauens: as (ACHITOB) finishing this daies worke you may relate to vs.

Of the true Astronomie, which the heauens teach vs, and especially the sunne in his admirable effects. Chapter 32.

Psal. 19.

ACHITOB. **I**T is not without cause that the Prophet saith, [The heauens declare the glory of God, and the earth sheweth the workes of his handes.] For there

Eccles. 43.

The heauens
are visible
words which
preach vnto
vs God.

by hee euidently teacheth; that the worke of the spheres, and their well ordered motion doe demonstrate, as with the finger euen to our eies, the great and admirable prouidence of God their Creatour, euen as if the heauens should speake to every one. In another place it is written, [This high ornament, this cleere firmament, the beauty of the heauen so glorious to behold, is a thing full of Maiesty.] Though then that the heauens haue neither voice nor speech like men, yet when the workmanship of them, and the goodly image: pourtraied and placed in them, doe present themselves vnto vs, it is as much as if God spake to vs. For sight belongeth to the eies, as hearing doth to the eares: and that which offereth it selfe to those, is as the sound is to these. Wherefore in every deede wee may call not onely the heauens, sunne, moone and starres, but all other creatures also, visible words, which speake to the eies, as those which are in sound and voice doespeake to the eares. If likewise wee can very well vnderstand dumbe folkes by the signes which they make vs, and say that they speake by signes: why then should wee not hearken to the language of God, speaking by the heauens, and by the signes, which hee hath placed in them? For may wee not truly say, that they speake vnto vs by signes? And if wee call booke (dumbe teachers) because they teach by the meanes of writing, which they lay before our eies, what fairer booke may wee see written in a fairer letter, and of more neate impression, and printed with goodlier characters, then this great booke of the whole Vniuers, and chiefly of the heauens? Again, if it be needefull for vs to seeke out images to represent God, that so he might become visible to vs, where may we finde them fairer and more liuely, and which speake vnto vs a language most easie to be vnderstood, if we be not altogether deafe? Wherefore it is not without good cause, that when God, willing to make his greatnesse, his magnificence and prouidence knowne to his people, saith by *Esay*, [Lift vp your eies on high and behold who hath created these things, which is hee, that bringeth out their armies by number, and calleth them al by their names. By the greatness of his power, and mighty strength nothing faileth.] This is it in all these considerations that *Dauid* in the place before alledged, after he hath acknowledged, that there is no language nor speech, where the voice of the heauens is not hearde, doth further, adde, that their line is gone forth through all the earth, and their words vnto the endes of the world: meaning by this line, the magnificent frame and excellent workmanship of them. For all is so well made and composed therein by the workemaster, that it seemeth to haue bene all drawne out by line, rule and compasse. And when hee speaketh of their words, he vnderstandeth the marke and impression which in is them; by which they preach vnto vs in stead of words. And for this cause also hee saith before: that one day vttereth speech vnto another day, and one night teacheth knowledge vnto another night: which is as much, as if he should say, that one day teacheth and preacheth another, and the night doth the same: because that from day to day, and from night to night, God manifesteth his power and glory.

Of the excellency of the sun and true testimony & prouidence of God.

And let vs note, that the Prophet proposing vnto the heauens thus in generall, as true preachers of his diuine prouidence, maketh principall and expresse mention of the Sun, because it is the most goodly creature, the most agreeable, most profitable, and necessarie for men,

men, and for all the rest of the works of God. For this cause also, every one giueth more heed vnto it, then to all the other celestiaall bodies. For it is by the course and means of the Sunne, that we haue ordinarily daies and nights, and that they be sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, and another time equall (as hath beene already tolde vs) and also, that wee haue the distinction of yeeres, and of the diuers seasons of them, as of the spring time, summer, autumn and winter, and of the time fit to sowe, plant, till the earth, and to gather the fruits thereof, and generally to performe all other workes necessary for the life of man. And then may very well be considered one the course and compasse of this goodly light, which is from the one end of heaven to the other ende, and how there is nothing that is hid from the heate thereof. Shall we let passe in silence the gallant course, which every day it maketh, compassing the whole world in the space of fower and twenty howers, with out being any whit weary? For from the hower, that God hath created it, it hath neuer desisted from worke day nor night, and hath neuer failed one iot, neither shall cease, so long as the world shall endure. And therefore it is also said in Ecclesiasticus, [The sunne also a marvellous instrument, when it appeareth, declareth at his going out, the work of the most high.] And presently after, [Great is the Lord that made it, by whose commandement it doth runne hastily.] Then speaking in generall of all the planets and starres, [It is a campe (saith he) pitched on high, shining in the firmament of heaven; the beauty of the heauens are the glorious starres, and the ornament that shineth in the high places of the Lord. By the commandement of the holy one they continue in their order, and faile not in their watch.] And who is it, except the blinde, that beholdeth not this goodly sunne, to passe out of his pavilion, like a magnificent king, that marcheth forth of his palace? Who seeth not the faire countenance that he sheweth to all, being as the eie, & mirror of the whole world? Who vieweth not his trim locks, and the golden and yellow beard of his raies, by which he spreadeth his light, and heate vpon all creatures? In such sort that as none can auoide his heate, so none can fly from his light. For as it is written, [By the word of the Lord are his workes: The sunne that shineth looketh vpon all things, and all the works thereof are full of the glory of the Lord. At noone when it burneth the country, who may abide for the heate thereof? The sunne burneth the mountaines three times more then hee, which keepeth a furnace with continuall heat: it casteth out fire vapors, & with the shining beames blindeth the eies. Hast thou commanded the morning since thy daies (saith the Lord to Iob) and hast thou caused the morning to know his place? That it might take holde of the corners of the earth, and that the wicked might be shaken out of it? For (as it is said in another place,) They are among those, which abhorre the light, and know not the wayes thereof, nor continue in the pathes thereof. The murderer riseth early, and killeth the poore and needy, and in the night he is as a thiefe. The eie also of the adulterer waiteth for the twilight, and saith, None eie shall see me, and disguiseth his face. They digge through houses in the darke, which they marked for themselves in the day: they know not the light. But the morning is euen to them as the shadow of death, if one know them, they are in the terrors of the shadow of death.] By which testimony: aptly agreeing with that, which is written euery man that doth euil hateth the light, we may know, besides the greatnes of the works of God, which principally shineth in the creation of the Sunne, how euen they, who would not behold the light thereof but flye from it as much as they may, because they hate it and feare it as the death, cannot for all that auoide it. To the ende then that wee may reape some profit by this discourse, and so finish this daies talke, let vs thinke, that if the most ignorant and most doltish, are inexcusable for their ignorance and ingratitude towards God; for the sermons of the heauens, which they continually make to all creatures: how much more are the learned, and chiefly Astronomers and Astrologians; if they know not very well how to vse their science to the glory of God. For they are called Astronomers, because they haue the knowledge of the lawes and rules, which the soueraigne creator hath established and ordeined among the Starres and their courses and motions according as their name deriued from the Greeke tongue importeth: as also the name of Astrologie will inferre as much, seeing that thereby is signified, that they vnderstand and can render a reason of the nature, and of the effects of the celestiall bodies. Wherefore then, sith they haue greater knowledge, then the ignorant and common people as well by the knowledge, as by the obseruations and continuall experience of the effects of the planets, they shall bee therefore found the more capable before God; if they vnderstand not the language of the heauens, thereby to learne how to glorifie him. And yet so farre are

Ecclesi. 43.

Ecclesi. 42.

Ecclesi. 43.

Iob 38.

Iob 24.

Iohn 3.

Of the names of Astronomers and Astrologers, and of their true intent.

714 Of the rising and setting of the sunne.

the greater part of them from doing that which we say, that contrariwise we see very many, which impute that to the spheres, that they should attribute to the spheres creator, and so draw men from God their Father, by the vanity of their humane dreames, vnder colour of their Astronomie and Astrologie, causing them to stay in regard of the creatures with them, and so make them Atheists, as they are, when they acknowledge none other God, but an idol of Nature. And therefore I desire that we may to morrow againe proceed to behold the admirable effects of the Sun, being most apparant to all, & most easie for to know, by which the rudest and most simple may learne to come to God: as among other effects is that of the rising and setting of this goodly light. For the providence of God shineth marvellously in this point, as (A S E R) we may learne of you.

The end of the fourth daies worke.

The fifth daies worke.

*Of the rising and setting of the Sunne: and of the providence of God,
which shineth in the commodities of day and night.*

Chapter 33.

A S E R.



With vnderstanding wee read the bookes of the heauens, we shall verily esteeme the celestiall bodies to be the chiefe naturall Phylosophers, Doctors, and Astronomers, by whom God dayly teacheth vs that the principall Astronomie and Astrologie, which hee will haue vs learne, and whereof wee must not be ignorant, without being conuicted, as well the vnlearned as the learned of very great vnthankfulness towards him, and of more beastly brutishnesse, then is amongst the bruite beasts. For he hath assigned vs teachers and masters which keep common schoole with vs day and night, as by our precedent discourse we haue already vnderstood. And yet the greatest part of men, yea almost all, doe no more profite in this schoole, then the very beasts, though indeede it standeth continually wide open to all: yea and they, which should chiefly learne out of this great booke of nature touching the knowledge of the creator of all things, are those which oftentimes are farthest to seeke. For in lieu of committing themselues to be guided by this booke, so to approach to God, as hee pointeth out the path and way to those, who haue eyes to see and a spirit to vnderstand; they rather take occasion therein, by the vaine dreames of their owne apprehensions to wander from the truth. And for this cause Moses, Dauid and the other Prophets and seruants of God, speaking of the workes of the creation, and of the diuine providence in them, doe propound vnto vs, but simply, those which are most apparant to all, and the most easie to be vnderstood, because they will not onely teach the most learned (who are they which willingly make least profit in their writings) but will also instruct the simple and ignorant, who God doth oftentimes make capable of his secrets. For which cause likewise these holy fathers speake not of the spheres, and heavenly bodies subtilly, as Philosophers in their schooles doe, but rather vulgarly; to the ende that the most rude and playnest may vnderstand their Philosophy, replenished with the doctrine of saluation. For is very necessary that every one should bee instructed therein, accordug to his owne capacity.

To pursue then our yesterdaies speech, begun concerning the Sunne, which the holy Scripture setteth so often before our eyes as an vniuersall Preacher of the Soueraigne Majesty, I pray you let vs first consider, what ioy and what good it is, that men receiue by it; so long as it distributeth his light, as we haue already heard, being like the chariot of God to bring it to them. Likewise how much pleasure and profite receiue they by his heate: Againe, doe we not see how he hath his determined time to make vs day? And how that after he

Villitie of the
light and heat
of the Sunne.

he hath lightened one part of the world, during such time as was assigned to him by God the Creator, he then transporteth his light to the other part? And when he hath performed his task on one side of the world, he returneth to the other without any ceasing, rest, or fainting. Wherin we must especially acknowledge Gods woonderfull prouidence, who hath created him neither greater nor lesse then is necessarie to performe the office, which hath beene committed to him. And for his greatnes wee may truly iudge that it is immense and admirable, because that in what place soeuer men may bee, whether in the East, or in the West, or in the North, or in the South parts, yet doe they all behold it, of one selfe same greatnesse. And therefore doth the prophet say [They which dwell in the vttermoſt parts of the earth, are afraid of thy signes, and thou makeſt them ioyfull with the going forth of the euening, and morning:] that is, with the rising and setting of the sunne, and other planets and ſtars. Wherein we must note, that though we commonly say of the sunne, that hee riseth and setteth, as if wee spake of a man, that went to take his rest in the night, after that hee trauailed all day: yet in truth hee neither riseth nor setteth, for that he is continually busie; bringing day to some, when others haue night. But men say commonly so, because that in regard of vs, hee seemeth, when hee retireth, as if hee went to rest at euen tide: and that he riseth in the morning, when he returneth vnto vs. Wherefore we say, that he is hidden and downe, when we see him not: and that hee is risen, when he appeareth at point of day. And so do the rude people and children, which dwell neere the mountaines, accustomably say, that hee is gone to hide himselfe behind them. And they which are neere the sea suppose, that hee goeth to plunge and wash himselfe therein as the Poets also say, accommodating their stile to the vulgar. And yet all may beholde that he riseth not on the same side where he setteth, but on the other quite opposite. Whereby is easie to be iudged, that hee hath not reposed all the while that men slept, but hath passed much way. And that he still carieth his light with him, for it is a most certaine thing that hee hath not deliuered night and darknes to those people and nations, by which he passed; but light, and day. But if there bee few amongst the rude and ignorant, which meditate these things so farre; there bee fewer, which consider of the prouidence of God, that manifesteth it selfe in this perpetuall changing of day into night, and of night into day. For there is nothing more contrary then light and darknes, and consequently then night and day? And yet hath God so well disposed, compacted, and reconciled these contrarieties together, that if things were otherwise ordained, there were neither man nor beast that could long liue vpon the face of the earth. And therefore *Ecclesiasticus* saith, [Oh how delectable are al his works, & to be considered euen to the very sparks of fire: they liue all, and endure for ever; and whensoever need is, they are all obedient. They are all double, one contrary to another: he hath made nothing that hath any fault. The one commendeth the goodnesse of the other, and who can bee satisfied with beholding Gods glory?] And indeed if the day should last perpetually, & equally alike in al parts of the world the heat of the sun would so scorch euery thing that it would drie vp and consume not only men and beasts, but euen all moisture and humiditie which is in the earth. Wherby all living creatures should faile, for they could not liue for two causes. First because that life doth principally lie in heate and moisture, and is conserued by them, according to the order that God hath set in nature, to guard and maintaine it. Wherefore as men and beasts loose their life, if their naturall heat bee altogether extinguished: so doth it likewise befall them, when their moisture is entirely consumed. For there must bee a very equall proportion in all those qualities, which are in the bodies of liuing creatures, to wit, in heate and coldnesse, in driness and moisture, according to the nature of the fower elements whereof they are composed; for the excesse of the one doth confound the other. For which cause God hath so disposed the course of the Sunne, that hee distributeth his heate in so good and iust measure, that he hindreth the too much coldnesse and moisture, which might quench the naturall heate: and yet doth not so consume them by the heat and driness which he causeth, but that there alwaies remaineth so much as is needfull for the life of all creatures. And for the other reason that they would faile, it is that neither man, nor any other Animal can liue without nourishment, to repaire in them that, which the naturall heat, like a fire incessantly flaming, hath consumed of radical humour in their bodies: and yet this heate must be likewise maintained that it be not extinguished, as wee haue amply discoursed concerning these things in the second part of our Academy. For this cause then God hath ordeined eating and drinking for the nouriture of all liuing creatures, and hath ap-

How the rising and setting of the Sunne must be taken.

Ecclesi. 42.

Manuels of the prouidence of God in the commodities of day and night.

Genes. 1.

Psalms. 104.

pointed to the earth, as to the mother of all, the charge and office to produce fruits, and other nourishments needfull for them. Which she cannot doe being by nature cold and drie, if as shee is warmed by the heat of the sunne, she be not also moistened by the waters both of heaven and earth. And therefore when that the sunne hath heated and dried vp all day long, the night (which is the shadow of the earth) doth afterwards ensue, and taking from vs the sight of the sunne and his light, doth by this meanes bring vnto vs darknesse, which causeth night, wherein the Moone who is colde and moist, hath her rule, as the sunne, who is hot and drie, hath his rule in the day time. And so wee must consider these two celestiaall bodies very neerely, according to their proper effects, which we perceiue and experiment heere on earth below, as also *Moses* testifieth vnto vs, saying, that God created two great lights amongst others, to bee as regents and rulers, the one of day, and the other of night. So then as the earth, and all that it beareth, together with all animals or living creatures that it nourisheth, are heated and dried vp in the day time by the sunne: euen so are they moistned and refreshed in the night time by the withdrawing thereof, and by the humiditie and coldnesse of the Moone. Wherein there especially hapneth a mutuall accord betweene heaven and earth, vnder which we comprise the aire, waters, and all creatures therein contained, with their natures and qualities. Moreover in this maruell, wee are to consider, that as men and animals cannot suruiue without nourishment, which God hath provided by the meanes aforesaid: so likewise could they not liue without taking some rest. For they are not of nature like the heavens, and planets which haue continuall motions, and yet weare not away. And therefore as God hath appointed the day for his creatures to travellin, so hath hee ordained the night for them to rest in. And as waking is proper to travell, so is sleeping peculiar to rest. In which, sleepe being requisite, and sleepe requiring humiditie and freshnesse, the better to dispose and induceliving creatures to sleepe, the night is much fitter therefore, and for rest because of the moist and colde nature thereof, then is the day, which participateth most with heate and drines. And because all repose is in the night, it is also more quiet then the day: neither is there so much noise, which may hinder sleepe and rest. Wherein wee haue yet another commoditie of the distinction and exchange of daies and nights, whereto we may likewise adde that which *David* declareth when he saith, [Hee appointed the moone to distinguish the seasons, the sunne knoweth his going downe. Thou makest, and it is night, wherein all the beastes of the Forrest creepe forth. The lions roare after their praie, and seeke their meate at God. When the sunne riseth, they retire and couch in their dens. Then goeth man forth to his worke, and to his labour vntill euening.] Behold heere goodly considerations; how God hath provided for the preservation of the life of his creatures, by meanes of day and night. For because that the wilde beastes, which liue by pray are dangerous and cruell, hee so guideth and governeth them by his providence, that hee keepeth them quiet, and shut vp all day in their caues and dens; in such sort, that they seldome come forth but in the night, to seeke their praie, euen then when men & domestical beastes retire themselves, and rest out of their dangers. Thus haue wee very many comodities by the day and the night: And more should be found out by a carefull search. For al that which we haue hitherto declared, is so euident before the eyes of euery one, that the most rude & simple amongst men must needes consider and vnderstand it. But I thinke it most conuenient that continuing the principall subiect of our discourses, wee should speake of the excellent instructions, which doe likewise present themselves in the consideration of the second course and motion of the Sunne and Moone, for the distinction of yeares, moneths and seasons, whereof wee haue heretofore made mention. Then to you (A M A N A) I commit this discourse.

Of the second course and motion of the Sunne and Moone, for the distinction of yeares, moneths and seasons: and of the providence of God in these things. Chap. 34.

A M A N A. **T**He Sunne as we haue heretofore heard, hath two sundrie courses: the one by which he bringeth vnto vs night and day; and the other by which hee distinguisheth vnto yeares and seasons. Now euery one seeth that the Sunne passeth and runneth

runneth through the heavens: and it seemeth to many that the heaven stirreth not, though in truth it be otherwise. For it is the heaven which turneth, and taketh, and carrieth away the sunne with it, so causing him to performe his course. So likewise every one knoweth that the daies, nights, yeeres, and times are divided and measured by the course of the Sun, but the ignorant and common people vnderstand not how this cometh to passe, neither doe they consider of it. For these causes then, there bee many, who cannot so well acknowledge the excellencie, magnificence and diuine glorie, which shineth in the heavens, as they doe who haue bene conuersant in the studie of Astronomie and Astrologie, considering that the celestially light continually lightneth their vnderstanding. And without this guide all science little auaileth for the true knowledge of God. It is then from Astronomers that wee learne, how that besides the course which the sunne and moone do ordinarily make, within the space of fower and twenty howers, which is commonly called a naturall day, as likewise all the other planets and starres make their course by violence of the course of the highest heaven, who comprising all the spheres within the concavities thereof, carrieth them away with him, and causeth to performe the same course which hee pursueth; like to a great wheele that should draw about other lesser ones that were conioyned with it: Besides (I say) this common course of all the heavenly bodies, the sunne, the moone, and the other planets, haue another course proper and peculiar to euery of their spheres, which God hath assigned them: according to which, the sunne performeth his in 365. daies, and sixe howres, and certaine minutes; as long obseruation and daily experience hath taught those, who haue diligently applied themselves to the contemplation of the heavens: who likewise haue knowledge of the proper course of the moone, and euery one of the starres; as hath bene already related in our precedent speeches.

Now as by the first course and motion of the sunne, wee haue a distinction of the daies and nights: so likewise by the second course thereof, is giuen vnto vs the difference of their length and shortnes, and the distinction of the yeeres and diuers seasons. For wee take the succession of the yeeres from this second course of the sunne, as from the moone we haue the distinction of the moneths, according to which shee encreaseth and decreaseth, as we ordinarily behold, by reason of the diuers opposition of the sun, from whom she receiveth her light in such quantity, as is sufficient for her to shine vpon the earth. So Ecclesiasticus saith, That the Lord hath made the moone to appeare according to her seasons, which should be a declaration of the time, and for a perpetuall signe: that the feastes are appointed according to her, her light diminishing to the last end; and the moneths take their name of her, and that shee groweth wonderously in her chaunging. Likewise each one knoweth that the moone declareth the times fit to sowe, plant, and loppe in, and to do other such like busineses, whereof one must iudge according to the state and disposition of her. So then these two great lights, the Sunne and Moone are most notable before all the world, for so much as euery one may see with his eyes (if hee bee not altogether deprived of vnderstanding) the excellent works which God performeth in them, and by them. And therefore also the holy Scripture doth propose them vnto vs more often, and more especially, to induce vs to consider of the maiestie of God in his workes, then any other of the celestiall bodies, which are infinite in number. VVhich, for this cause, none can knowe particularly, nor yet number them, nor name them, saue God alone, as his word teacheth vs by his prophet saying, [He counteth the number of the starres, and calleth them all by their names.] Whereupon we may affirme, that all that we shall heere discourse vpon and that the most subtile amongst men can describe, is a very small thing, in respect of the greatness & excellencie, which their creator hath engraue in them. But yet by this which is proposed vnto vs, we may easily consider, into what an admiration men should be rauished, if it might be permitted them to behold, view and contemplate fully, and in perfection all the stately worke of the heavens, and of all the lights in them contained, and to vnderstand their natures, effects and properties, and all the beauty and goodly order, which therein is, and the great vtility which thereby redoundeth to men and to all creatures. For all therein is disposed by an excellent order, like an host and army, whereof God is the leader and gouernour. And therefore this whole ornament of the heaven and of these faire lights is called in the Scripture the Host, Army, and Souldiers of heaven: and God, who is the Lord and Prince, and the great and soueraigne captaine, is likewise named the Lord of hosts.

Moreover, as we haue noted, that in the succession of the day and night, the providence

Of the two courses which the sunne hath.

Of the effects of the second course of the Sunne, and Moone.

Eccles. 43.

Psal. 147.

Deut. 17.
Psal. 24.
Iay. 60.

718 Of the second course of the Sunne, &c.

Diuerſitie of
the ſeaſons in
the yeare to
teſtifie the
providence
of God.

Power of the
moone vpon
all creatures.

Teſtimony of
the providence
of God in the
harmony of
the ſeaſons of
the yeere.

of God doth publiſhly declare it ſelfe: ſo haue we excellent teſtimonies in the diuerſitie of the monethes, and of the ſeaſons, which are throughout the yeere. For ſome are cold, others exceſſiue hot, ſome drie, and ſome wet, ſome temperate, and other ſome vntemperate. For according as the ſunne doth approach neere, or recule from vs, or as it is higher or lower, according as our ſight conſidereth it, and the ſituation of the places & countries, which we inhabite, doth preſent it vnto vs; and that his heate remaineth more or leſſe vpon the earth, by meanes of his proper and particular courſe: ſo haue we the daies longer or ſhorter, and the nights likewiſe, [and more or leſſe hot, cold, drie, and wet weather, and more temperatenes and vntemperatenes: So that it may ſeeme that the yeere is diſtinguiſhed by diuerſages, like to the life of man. And therefore many ſay that the ſpringtime is as the infancy and childhood of the yeere: the ſommer like the youth & virility thereof: autumn like the ripe age inclining to oldnes: and winter like the decrepite and laſt age, wherein it ſeemeth that all is mortified, and become dead: then we behold the ſpringtime againe returne like a new creation and reparation of the world, and conſequently all the reſt of the ſeaſons, not failing of the time ordained to them. For as the ſunne neuer faileth to bring the day in due time: ſo likewiſe doth it not faile to diſtinguiſh alwaies vnto vs the diuers ſeaſons in every yeere, in ſuch ſort as it hath done from the beginning. The moone alſo hath her proper effects in all theſe things, and is very powerfull as well among liuing creatures, as among the fruits of the earth, through the changes, which are in her. For it is ſeene by experience, that according as ſhe encreaſeth or decreaſeth, ſo do the humours in all creatures augment and diminifh, and are tender or firme, and change diuerſly. Moreouer, as this planet altereth his courſe, ſo doth the weather change in diſpoſition, turning ſometimes into raine, ſometimes being faire, and ſometimes tempeſtuous. But aboue all, the power which God hath placed in him, manifeſteth it ſelfe moſt euidently in the waters of the ſea, eſpecially in the flowings and ebbings thereof. And although that amongſt ſo many effects produced by theſe two goodly lights, there are great contrarieties and marvellous differences: yet God by his providence can reduce them to ſingular agreement, and make them all returne to one bound and point. For the exceſſe of the one is the temperature of the other. For as one ſeaſon is apt to ſowe and plant in, ſo is another fit to make the fruites grow, and ripen in: and another is proper to gather them in, and prepare them to ſerue our vſes. And as the cold and drought doe much hinder corruptions and infections, which might ariſe through exceſſiue heate and wetnes: ſo doth heate and moiſture temperate the great cold and drieſſe, and conſerue and repaire that which they would deſtroy: ſo that by the one of theſe qualities the defect of the other is ſupplied, & the exceſſe of the one is the tēperature of the other: as wee haue heard that there cometh to paſſe, by the ſucceſſion of day & night which cauſeth that many commodities doe flow to men and animals. By how much the more we coſider of theſe things, by ſo much the more ſhal we find occaſion to wonder at the works and providence of God. For whereas the propertie of one contrarie is to deſtroy another: hee hath ſo well tempered and reconciled them, that he cauſeth the one to be preferred by the other: yea that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the aide of his companion. Which taketh place not onely in theſe things, which wee haue already mentioned, but likewiſe in all creatures, which are in the vniuerſall world. For it is all compoſed of contrarietates. And yet God their Father maketh them to fit ſo well together, that he reduceth all diſcord into concord, and all enimity into amitie: as the example is notable in mans bodie being compounded of elements and qualities cleane contrarie one to another, and yet conioined by ſuch a vnity, that the compoſition and preſeruatiō is moſt firme and aſſured, ſo long time as it pleaſeth God to maintaine his worke. But this matter will be more clearly expounded, when wee ſhall diſcourſe of the elementary world. Yet before wee leave the worthy ſubiect, which hath bene given vs to diſcouſe vpon the celeftiall fires, it will not be a little fruitfull, if wee conſider of the image of God, and his eternall lights, which is propoſed to vs in the Sunne: and the felicity of mans life is represented by changing of the light into darkeneſſe. Which (A R A M) I deſire that we may heare of you.

*Of the image of God, and of his light which is proposed to vs in the Sunne:
with the felicitie of mans life in the changing of light and of
darkenesse. Chap. 35.*

A R A M. **T**Hose matters which hitherto haue beene by vs deliuered concerning the celestiall bodies, although they bee very briefly touched of vs, yet may they serue for a very good foundation, to giue vs some entrance into a more loftie and more excellent Astrologie, wherein wee haue the word of God for our guide. For it is easie for vs alreadie to vnderstand, if wee bee well instructed concerning the vnitie of God in trinitie of persons, and if wee haue in memorie the discourse which we haue helde concerning the creation of heauen and of the celestiall bodies; what goodly images of this diuine essence wee haue pourtraied in them, and principally in the sunne, who alone is in the world sufficient for the totall vniuers: euen as there is but one God, who is the sufficiencie of all creatures. Moreover as this visible sunne is a fountaine of light, which is neuer exhausted nor yet diminisheth in communicating himselfe with all creatures, but is perpetuall; so is it of God, concerning whom it is written, that hee hath garnished the excellent workes of his wisdom, being from euermore, and to euermore for euer; and that vnto him nothing can be added, neither can he be diminished. Moreouer, when it is said of God, that he dwelleth in vnaccessible light, by reason that it is incomprehensible to all creatures: and when hee is called the father of light, and his sonne Iesus Christ the sonne of Iustice, and the light of the world and his word, and likewise they who heare it, and who receiue it are called lights, candles, lampes, and burning torches: we must by so many testimonies, propound vnto vs in our vnderstanding another inuisible and spirituall world, of which this same visible and corporall one is nothing but a verie rude pourtraiture, and an image much differing from that which it representeth: and so conclude, that if this image and picture, and that which yet we behold not, but as in a dim glasse, bee a thing so goodly and so excellent, that indeede it may be couered with the vaile of this All, which we so much admire. For wee may say with Ecclesiasticus: That there are hid yet many greater things then these be, and we haue seene but few of his workes. For (as he addeth) who hath seene him that he may tell vs? And who can magnifie him as hee is? Consequently let vs set before our eyes all this inuisible and spirituall world, replenished with the soules and spirits as we behold this visible world replinshed with bodies: and let vs contemplate twice as many spirituall eies in this intelligible sphere as there bee corporall in all men, and in other living creatures: and then let vs mount vp to God, and to Iesus Christ our Lord, which is the Sunne that illuminateth and lightneth all: and so let vs consider how bright this sun must bee, and what is the light and splendor of him, considering that he is the great Sonne, eternall, infinite, and incomprehensible, who hath created that Sunne which we behold, the light whereof is not so much in proportion comparable with the least beame of the diuine light, as is the brightnes of the least star, yea of a candle compared with al this visible sonne or as one drop of water balanced with the huge sea.

Now let vs consider, that if the sight of this heauenly planet be pleasant to vs, and bring vnto vs ioy and comfort through his light and heat, being cause of so many profits & benefits to all creatures: how much more should the contemplation of the great euermore Son be delightful vnto vs? And what inexplicable benefits doth it bring to men, namely to their soules and spirits? For this is the true Sunne of iustice, which according to the prophet, Mal. 4. hath health in his wings, that is, in his beames, by which he maketh men enioy life eternall. And therefore verie fitly doth the Scripture compare, not onely the knowledge of God but also his fauour and grace, and the times of prosperitie, and of his aide and succour, to the light: as also it compareth mens ignorance of God, and the times of aduersitie, and of his furie and vengeance, to the night and to darkenesse. For this cause I say willing to declare a great grace of God to the people of Israel, saith amongst other things. [Thou shalt haue no more sunne to shine by day, neither shall the brightnesse of the Moone shine vnto thee: for the Lord shall be thine euermore light, and thy God, thy glory, thy sunne shall neuer goe downe, neither shall thy Moone be hid: for the Lord shall bee thine euermore light, and the daies of thy sorrow shall bee ended.] And when the prophets denounce

Eccles. 42.

1. Tim. 6.
James 1.
Mal. 4.
John 1. 3.
9. 12.
Matth. 5.
Ephes. 5.

Eccles. 43.

Mal. 4.

Isay 60.

Isay 13. & 24.
Joel 2.
Acts 2.
Math. 24.
Isay 34.

Isay 9.

Isay 60.

Isay 59.

Luke 22.
Ephes. 6.

Psal. 67.

Psal. 7.

Worthy instructions
concerning
the effects of
the sunne.

Eccles. 3.

vnto men any great and horrible and fearefull iudgement of God, they commonly say: that the sunne, the moone, and the starres shall loose their brightnes: that the sunne shall waxe darke, and the moone shall be turned into blood, and the stars shall fall from heaven; and the heaven it selfe shall rowle like a scrowle: so that the whole face of the world shall bee chaunged, as if it should bee turned vpside downe, and perish cleane. And though these things come not to passe iust so in respect of the creatures, yet doe the prophets by such manner of speech signifie the greatnesse of the iudgements of God, and of his wrath, when hee punisheth man. For though the nature which hee hath created, doth still remaine in one state, yet it happeneth commonly to men, according to the feeling which they haue of the wrath of God (except they be altogether obdurate against his iudgements) as if the whole frame of the world were onerturned, and as if all creatures should set themselves against them to warre vpon them and confound them, by rushing on them, and running at them. On the other side Isay declaring the grace which God would shew to his people, speaketh thus: [The people that walked in darkenesse haue seene light; they that dwelled in the land of the shadow of death, vpon them hath the light shined.] Againe, in another place: [Arise oh Ierusalem, bee bright, for thy light is come, and the glorie of the Lord is risen vpon thee. For beholde, darkenesse shall cover the earth, and grosse darkenesse the people: but the Lord shall arise vpon thee, and his glorie shall bee seene vpon thee. And the Gentiles shall walke in thy light, and kings at the brightnesse of thy rising vp.] But the prophet speaketh in another kinde of language to the people, when hee talketh to the wicked; and telleth them amongst other thinges: [Therefore is iudgement farre from vs, and iustice doth not come neere vs: Wee waite for light, but loe, it is darkenesse: for brightnesse, but wee walke in darkenesse. Wee grope for the wall like the blinde, and we feele with our hands, as one that were without eyes. Wee stumble at noone daies, as in darkenesse: wee are in solitarie places as dead men.] And therefore also the kingdome of the diuell is called in holy writ, the kingdome of darkenesse, and hee which is the king is named the Prince of darkenesse. But the people of God requesting that the knowledge of him might bee spread abroad throughout the whole earth, withall prosperitie and blessednesse saith in the Psalmes. [God be mercifull vnto vs, and blesse vs, and cause his face to shine amongst vs.] So likewise the author of these diuine Canticles chaunteth to the same purpose. [Lord lift vp the light of thy countenance vpon vs:] that is to say, thy fauour and benignitie, as afterwards he declareth.

Pursuing then this doctrine of the holy Scriptures, wee must learne by that which hath bene propounded vnto vs, concerning the image of God in the sun, & by the discourse of his light, and of the darkenes contrarie thereto, how the soueraigne and great eternall Sun hideth his face from vs, and how hee sheweth it vnto vs, and what good, and what euill doth thereby redound vnto vs, according as his word teacheth vs in the fore alledged testimonies. For as wee haue in the course of nature, one while day, and another while night; and those sometimes long, sometimes short; and as many of one as of another; in one season summer, in another winter; now hot, anon colde; then drie, and afterward wet; so at this time tempest, presently calme weather: even so runnes all the course of mans life. For wee haue therein the time of ignorance and aduersitie, of chastisements, punishments, & vengeance of God, which are the night and time of darkenes to men, & their winter and tempestuous seasons. And so haue we the time of knowledge & vnderstanding of God, and of prosperitie, of grace, of ioie, of felicitie, and of consolation, which are to men like the day and the light, and as the spring time and sommer. And as the daies & nights are some longer, and some shorter: so the Lord prolongeth or abridgeth the times of grace and of rigour; of his fauour and of his wrath, as he pleaseth, and in such measure as he knoweth to be expedient, as well for his owne glorie, as for the the good of his elect. Wherefore as we expect day after the night; the Spring-time and Summer after Autumne and winter: so in time of aduersitie we must attend in good confidence the time of prosperity, as wee are assured to haue light after darkenesse. Likewise as in the day time wee looke for the night; and for Autumne and Winter after the Spring time and Summer: so in time of prosperitie, we must prepare for aduersitie. For as it is written. [To all things there is an appointed time,] and therefore there is a time of ioy, and a time of sorrow, a time to laugh, and a time to weepe. Now if we could consider these things by the course of the Sunne, and by the change and succession of the daies and nights, of the light and darkenesse

Of the Eclipses of the sunne and moon. 721

nes, and of the diuers seasons, which succeed in each yeere: we should learne in this schoole, most profitable and laudable Astronomie, (which is not found in the books of *Ptoleme*, nor of all the Astrologers, how skilfull soeuer they were, which haue written concerning the knowledge of the stars. For when we should be in prosperity, we would take heed not to abuse our selues, to misgouerne our selues, and become too insolent, as it ordinarily commeth to passe, when we are too much at our ease, and thinke it will bee alwaies so with vs. And hereupon ensueth, that so soone as we are deceiued of our perswasion, we become desperate because that we find our selues in the danger and snares of mischance before wee thinke of it. But when wee shall consider the reuolutions and changes which haue been accustomed to come to the world, we shall foresee like good Astrologers and prognosticators, the tempest comming a far off, and the eclipses of the sunne and of the moone, and while it is day, we shall prepare for the night: and in sommer time for the winter, like good housekeepers. So likewise being in aduersity, we shall not loose courage nor despaire: but we shall comfort our selues in the hope of Gods helpe, and will patiently endure the bad season, vntill such time as he hath by the light of his fauor and grace chased away the darkenes of the scourges of his wrath and vengeance. Thus concluding the subiect of our speech, let vs in-treate especially of the eclipses of the sunne and moone, and of their nature and effects. For we may thereby againe receiue excellent instructions for this life: as (*ACHITOB*) you can declare vnto vs.

Of the eclipses of the sunne and moone: and of the image which we haue therein: of the constancie which is in God, and of the inconstancie of men, and of humane things. Chap. 37.

ACHITOB. The consideration of the eclipses of the sunne and moone hath opened to men the knowledge of many excellent secrets in nature, as the writings of the learned make motion. Now they concur all in this point, that the eclipse of the sun Cause of eclipses. happeneth through the diametral interposition of the moone betwene it and the earth, and that the shadow of the earth reaching out betwixt sunne and moone, causeth her also to be darkened and eclipsed. So that as the moone depriueth the earth of the brightnesse of the sunne beames; so likewise doth the shadow of the earth hinder the moone of the solary illumination. But the eclipses of these two planets doe differ greatly: for that the sunne Difference of eclipses. happeneth not through default of light in the body thereof; as it doth in the eclipse of the moone. For the sunne is neuer without light, inasmuch as it is the proper substance thereof. But when the earth is directly betwene these two planets, then doth the moone become thorough darke, because wee retaineth no light, at least that may appeare to vs, but onely so much as shee receiueth from the sunne. Therefore according as her discourse is direct, or opposite in respect of that of the sunne, shee doth augment or decrease in light, continually changing her estate in apparance, and according as wee behold her, though in that effect, and according to the verity of her essence, shee hath alwaies one halfe lightened by the sunne. For we must vnderstand, that the moone is round like a bowle, and that alwaies, except when she is eclipsed, she receiueth light from the sun into one halfe of her globe, the other halfe remaining without brightnesse. But inasmuch How the moiety of the moone is euer light. as shee mooueth continually, therefore according as shee retireth from, or approacheth to the sunne; so doth shee appeare diuers in her light, which notwithstanding doth illuminate at all times one moitie of her circularly, from one part to another, that is, from her superiour part to her inferiour part, or from her inferiour to her superior part. Now her inferior or lower part is that which looketh towards the earth, all of which, or any part thereof we behold then when it is lightned: & her superior or vpper part is that which is towards the sphere of the sun; which we cannot behold although it be illuminated by him. Now once a moneth all her inferior moitie receiueth the brightnes of the sun, & tho' doth she appeare vnto vs full of light; which comes to passe on the 15. day of the moones age, because that the

shee doth oppositely confront the sunne. Another time the superiour moitie is fully illuminated, to witte, when shee is conioyned with the sunne, which is ouer her; and then is her lower part darkened, not appeering to vs for two daies: which commeth to passe at the end of the moone: and all the rest of the moneth she hath diuers illuminations. For from her coniuunction with the sunne, the light in the vpper part beginneth to faile, and by little and little to come to the lower part towards vs, according as shee mooueth, reculing from the sunne: and so doth till the fifteenth day, wherein all the inferiour part towards the earth is shining, and the superiour part is cleane without light. After which time the light beginneth to conuey it selfe to the vpper moitie, decreasing by little and little towards vs in the lower moitie, which at last is left cleane without brightnesse, and the other which wee see not becommeth all shining. And it is to be noted, that the hornes of the Moone which her diuers aspect sheweth vs, turne their back parts towards the sunne: and if shee increaseth, they are turned towards the sunne rising if shee bee in the waine, they turne to the sunne setting. Shee shineth moreover, adding to each day three quarters and the fower and twentieth part of an hower, beginning from the second day, till the time she make full moone; and from that time forwards, vntill the like subtraction every day, till the time that she appeareth no more at all. And when she is within fouerteenth degrees of the sunne, she is seene no more. Whereby it appeareth, that all the rest of the planets are greater then the moone: for none of them is hidde or obscured by the beames of the sunne, except it be within seuen degrees thereof. But in that they are all of them higher then the moone is, they seeme to be lesse: so in the same consideration it commeth to passe, that the brightnes of the sun hindreth vs of the sight of the fixed stars in the day time, which neuertheles shine as well in the day as in the night time, as may be perceived at the eclipses of the sun, as likewise in a very deep pit, if one should descend therunto in the day time. Moreover all these stars are neuer eclipsed: For the shadow of the earth, which causeth the moone to loose her light, reacheth not beyond her beaue. And the night also, is no other thing but the shadow of the earth, which shadow is in forme like a Pyramis, growing still lesse & lesse taperwise towards a point, till at last it fadeth. For all shadowes waxe lesse & lesse till they be clean diminished by distance, as may evidently be seen by shadowes of birds, which fly in the aire. Now the shadow of the earth finisheth in the aire at the beginning of the region of fire, and aboue the moone all things are pure, wherefore it is not possible that the terrestiall shadow can hinder the brightnes of the stars, which are aboue the moone. And therefore likewise we behold them in the night time like a candle in a darke place. But the shadow of the earth is the very cause that the Moone is eclipsed alwaies by night. And it is to be noted, in that, that the eclipses both of the Sunne and moone happen not euerie moneth, that it is by reason of the oblineesse of the zodiace, and of the variable motions of the Moone, which being sometimes North and sometimes South (as wee haue heertofore declared) meeteth not alwaies in coniuunction, or in opposition every moneth, that it is by reason of the obliquenesse of the Zodiacke, and of the variable motions of the Moone, which being somtimes North and sometimes South (as wee haue heertofore declared) meeteth not alwaies in coniuunction, or in opposition in the knots of the Elipticke circle, which are in the head, or in the taile of the Dragon. We may note also, that the consideration of the shadowes and eclipses aforesaid, hath taught men to iudge of the greatnesse of the Sunne, of the Moone, and of the earth. For first it should be impossible that their had beene any vniuersal Eclipse of the Sunne, by the diametrall interposition of the Moone, if the earth were greater then the Moone. Again, this planet, and the shadow of the earth deliuereth vnto vs greater certaintie that the vnmeasurable magnitude of the Sunne is much more then their owne: in such sort that (as *Pliny* saith) there neede nothing more to be required to iudge of the immentitie of the Sunne by the eie, or by coniectures, sith that the trees planted by the way side haue all of them their shadowes proportionably equall, though there bee much distance of ground betwixt them: as if the Sunne were in the midst of them, and did give light to all alike. And during the time that the Sunne is in the Equinoctiall point, ouer the Southerne climates and regions, hee casteth his light downe right, without making any shadow: and yet on the North regions on this side the Solstice circle, the shadowes fall on the North side at noone, and toward the West at Sunne rising, which could not happen if the Sunne were not very much greater then the earth. But leauing this discourse wee must out of our spech learne some point of Christian Astrologie. Now

The moone
smaller then
the other
planets.

Things to be
considered in
the shadow of
the earth.

Why the E-
clipses happen
not euerie
month.

How one
may iudge of
the greatnes
of the sunne,
the moone,
and the earth.

Hist. nat. li. 2.

wee haue heard, that the moone hath no light of her selfe (at least that can appeare vnto vs) but so much as shee receiueth from the sunne, according to the disposition or opposition of their diuers courses: in such sort, that the Moone neuer persisteth in one estate, but changeth incessantly. But it is not so with the sunne, for hee hath alwayes as much light, at one time as at another, and is not subiect to any change. I say then that in him wee haue a goodly image of the constant and immutable God, who is alwaies one, and euer without any variation, and who, firme in his counsell, hath ordained concerning all things for euer, according to his endlesse light, and iust will. So contrariwise wee haue represented to vs in the moone a perfect figure of the creatures, by which is demonstrated vnto vs, that all things vnder heaven are mutable and subiect to continuall change: and also that according as wee receiue our saluation in Christ through faith, and as wee increase therein; in such degree are wee made partakers of his diuine light and of all his graces and blessings, euen as the moone participateth of the brightness of the sunne. Moreover wee shall haue learned a worthy point of Christian Astrology, when wee shall consider that these two celestiall planets haue perpetuall alliance and communication together: euen so the coniunction which is betwixt Iesus Christ and his Church is eternall. And therefore according as it is saide in the common prouerbe, (God keepeth the moone from wolues) the faithfull may very aptly speake this of themselves concerning their enemies, because they are much surer in the alliance of the Almighty, and vnder his protection. For as the Sunne shall neuer bee without the Moone, nor the Moone without the Sunne: so the eternall Sonne of God shall neuer bee without his Church, nor his Church without him, although wee see it sometimes increase, and sometimes decrease, and sometimes as if it cleane failed, and were vanished, like the eclipsed Moone. But as the Moone doth not faile by any eclipse that can happen, but that it persisteth to remaine a Moone still, though shee bee not seene of men: so the Church can neuer cleane faile, nor be so consumed; but that it shall euer be a Church, notwithstanding that it may well seeme to humane sight and exterior appearance to bee nothing at all, and without any vigour. For it is founded vpon the firme rocke which is Iesus Christ, and therefore all the power of hell cannot preuaile against it nor waste it. And the Lord can alwaies tell who bee his, though men knowe it not. Next wee must learne, that as the moone is eclipsed; when shee is so opposed to the sunne, that the shadowe of the earth, spreade out betweene them both, hindereth her to receiue that light from him, which shee is accustomed to attract: so cometh it to men in the Church when their sinnes are like an obscure cloude, and an obstacle, which hindereth the fauour and grace of God, that it cannot attaine to them; and when there bee mistes and darkenesses of ignorance, which doe detaine them from beholding of Iesus Christ the true sonne of their soules and to committe themselves to bee guided by the light of his word. But as the sunne faileth not though he bee eclipsed in regarde of vs, so the soueraigne head of the elect doth neuer faile to his Church; though he may seeme sometimes to be absent, & quite withdrawne, for he alwaies supporteth it by his power. And therefore also it is written that the woman (by whom the Church is signified) hath the Moone vnder her feete: which is as much to say, as that the conuersation of the children of God, which are members of the Church, is not in earth, but in heaven (as Saint Paul testifieth) and that they haue already put vnder their feete all worldly things, which are mutable and inconstant: inso much as they liue not after the spirit, and not after the flesh, and are illuminated by Iesus Christ, who is the true Sonne of Iustice, that by the brightness of his word and of his coming discouereth all things. It is most certaine, that the number of these is very small in respect of those worldly men, who following the nature of elementarie and corporall things, are subiect to greater changes then the Moone her selfe: which being lower then all the other stars and planets, and by so much neerer to the earth, receiueth likewise some mutation of the stars: as if God would represent vnto vs in her, the changings, whereto the elements and all creatures composed of them, which are vnder the celestiall spheres, are ordinarily subiect. And yet doth not the Moone change from her proper nature, which was ordeined by the Creatour from the beginning, as wee haue already declared: yea though that in regard of vs, and of our sight, shee haue the foresaid mutations; yet doth shee neuer faile, but doth euermore repaire himselfe, and presently renue: so that wee see her not weare away in such manner, but that shee persisteth without ceasing in her proper and naturall course. But it is not so with men, who change not onely from day to day, but also from

The image of God in the sunne.

Mal. 3.

In the moone is an image of the creatures.

Many worthy points to consider of in christian Astrology.

Apol. 12.

Phil. 3.

Rom. 8.

man subiect to greater changes then the moone.

hower to hower, from instant to instant, from age to age. For as they daily proceed in growth of body and of strength, from the hower of their conception & birth from time to time, vntill they be arriued to their full vigour like the full moone: so after they are ascended to this degree, they alwaies abate and decline, till their extreamest age, and to death, wherein they vtterly faile in respect of this life, as if they had neuer beene. For they cannot doe like the moone, who after her defect doth continually repaire and restore herselfe, till such time as she shew herselfe full and entire. But they are constrained to attend for that last day, which is called by Saint *Peter* the day of the restitution and restauration of all things foretolde by the prophets. So then in that day shall we be renewed in a permanent estate for euer. Behold then what (me seemeth) we must consider like christians vpon our discourses of the sun and of the moone. And hauing hitherto entreated of the heavenly world, and of the spheres sufficiently to content a Christian astronomer: we will now proceed to describe the elementary world: whereof (A S E R) you shall begin to speake, instructing vs in the principles of naturall and corruptible things.

Of the beginning of naturall and corruptible things. Chap. 37

Of the first
matter of all
things,

Nothing can
cleane perishe.

A S E R **A**LL Philosophers with one consent doe teach, that there haue beene at first (or at leastwise one must vnderstand so) some subiect without forme, capable of all formes, which they called (matter) or (Hyle) that is to say, the substance or stufte, which some also haue named (Chaos) and which is properly described by *Moses* in these Hebrew words (Tohu and Bohu) which is as much as to say, as I wot not what thing without forme, containing by possibility all that which could be formed. *Plato* in his *Timæo* calleth it a bosome without forme, a power which is mother of the world, a nurse, a subiect, and a receptacle of formes; and saith that it was not distinguished by any quantity, nor by any degree. And because that out of this first subiect innumerable thioges were to bee produced, *Anaxagoras* disputeth how that in the same were contained infinite formes and numbers not limited, which the onely vnderstanding and thought Creatour of all things had drawne out in effect. And this *Aristotle* attributeth to nature, though sometimes he seemeth to distinguish this nature from God, and maketh them companions, oftentimes repeating these words [God, & Nature made] or [made nothing without cause]. Now for vs we know, that that nature which the Philosophers called disposing and distinguishing, can be nothing else but God onely, as appeareth by sundry reasons which wee haue heretofore deduced. Wherefore holding this to be confessed, we must be sure, that the perpetuall generation of things, declareth that it is a matter which hath at first been made by some other meanes. For come commeth of the earth, and of humor, animals of seede, and of bloud or egges: athes are made by wood, and there is nothing so little but it is made of some subiect. But in all these generations, it is necessary that something remaine, from which they are drawne in their first originall. When then any creature is engendred by another, if the forme perish, and any thing doe remaine, it must (of necessity) be the matter: which the corruption it selfe doth manifest, because that nothing can wholly perish so long as it is corrupted. For the apple perisheth, and is conuerted into wormes, so is the wood into cinders when it is burned: so water changeth it selfe into vapors and smoake by the heate of the fire, or of the Sunne. Now all vapour and smoke is something, for it can stifle a man, and if it be receiued and gathered into a vessell, it turneth to drops of water. Behold then how manifest it is, that in all this Vniuers there is a certaine thing hidden vnder euery forme, which is not made by common generation, nor yet doth perish by corruption: and which like some prime subiect, being diuided vnder many and sundry formes, wee call, as wee haue already said, the first matter not engendred, permanent, because it perisheth not, but remaineth and consisteth according to the effect thereof. And when we compare it to the formes, we say that it is by power the same which they are, because that it can receiue all formes: so that the matter of a childe being formed, is said to bee a childe by power; and by effect it is the subiect, whereof the childe may consist: for it is a mixture so fashioned, and such as one may see it. But when it is compared to the forme of the childe, it is simply called a matter by power: for if it were such by effect, then were it a childe of it selfe, and not a subiect of him. So then by the consent of all Philosophers

Philosophers, there is a certaine grosse matter dis furnished of formes, but capable of all, though by nature it be deprived of all. For which cause also they establish with this matter, priuation, for a beginning of naturall things. And mounting higher, they consider of a changing or working cause, by force whereof, the matter being wrought and mollified, which is onely in power, is at length actually performed: even as waxe being plied and softned by handling and working in the hand is fashioned into diuers formes, according to the will of him that doth it. And because that nature doth nothing at aduenture, but all for some good purpose: thence it is that the finall cause is by them considered as a principle. And likewise because that the neereft end of the working cause is the forme, which it taketh out of the bosome of the matter, and that for this intent it worketh and mouldeth it, to the end to reduce it to a perfect estate to receive a forme: for these causes *Aristotle* constituteth the forme for the third principle. The which cannot be drawne out of the wombe of the matter, except it be first disposed, and prepared by convenient qualities, and therefore the Philosophers say, that about them the maker bestoweth and emploiet all his labour, and all the time of the action, to the end that the species may presently appeare in a point and moment vnseparable, as it were for the wages of his pains. But the Peripateticks call the worker the cause, rather than a principle. And the followers of *Plato*, being more cleere sighted in sacred mysteries, doe teach, that although the naturall causes do appeare to vs of themselves, forming, fashioning and moulding euery body; yet neuerthelesse are they not the prime and first causes of euery thing that is made, but rather instruments of the diuine art to whom they serue and obey: even as the hands of a cunning workeman, though they compose, place and change the whole matter of an house, as wood, stone, and morter and that nothing besides them may bee scene, whereto the fashion of the edifice might be attributed: yet are they knowne of vs to be an instrument obeying and seruiceable to the Idea which being seated in the minde of the Architect, hee performeth and acteth with his hands in sensible matter, the worke which hee hath conceived. And for this occasion the Academicks speake of these two causes (the instrumentall and the exemplarie cause) when they intreate of the framing of all things. Which mee thinketh is often confirmed by the Peripateticks, when this axiome is read in their writings. [Euery worke of nature is the worke of Intelligence.] And both the one and the other doe confesse, that God hath drawne all things out of the matter. But because that for to drawe them out, the matter must necessarily be presupposed, and the forme which thereof is fashioned must be conceived as also the power or application and disposition of the said matter: Thereupon are sprung the three principals of naturall things which *Aristotle* ordeineth; to wit matter, forme and priuation. Which opinion *Pythagoras* seemed to leane vnto; teaching that in the first production of things, there were present the Euen and the Odde: for the Euen (according to the doctrine of those which doe Philosophically discourse by numbers) and principally the binarie (or number of two) signifieth the matter, and the vneuen or odde betokeneth the forme. Moreover the degrees of formes and things composed, are excellently and harmoniously distributed by the Euen and Odden numbers, as by their writings we may easily learne. But let vs note, that that which the Pythagorians signifie by numbers, *Plato* doth abundantly describe by greatnesse and smalnesse, because all that which is, doth retaine a greater or lesse degree of essence and perfection, which neuertheles is distinguished by euen and odde numbers. And if one speake of bodies, euery one of them hath a great, little, or meane quantity: which likewise is by the same numbers limited and distinguished.

But to leaue the curious disputation concerning these things to the Philosophers, and so to grow to the conclusion of our speech concerning the principles of naturall and corruptible things, we must call that into our memory, which we haue already declared, how that the matter stood in need of a worker and ordayer. Now this same is none other, but the alone and onely principle of principles, and the cause of causes, God omnipotent, author of the Vniuers: who being a soueraigne worker, hath produced out of the subiect by him created all compound bodies. From whom likewise it is necessarie, that all formes doe flowe, whether they bee drawne out of the bosome of the matter (as some Philosophers affirme) or proceed without any means of the form-giuer, as many learned dispute, for he must alwaies be said to be engendring and producing, which draweth the matter into an effect by any manner whatsoever. Moreover, some subtile spirits do account among the principles of naturall things Motion & Place. For they say that the principle

Of priuation of the changing cause.

Of the finall cause, Of the forme

That naturall causes account principles.

Three principles according to Aristotle.

Of one alone and onely principle.

Motion, and place set by some for principles.

Motion seemeth to be naturally in all bodies; of which some, as light, are caried aloft; others, as heauy, descend downe: and yet are they not forcibly driuen; for then violently they would returue to their proper place. Neither are they drawen: for the place is an accident and draweth no Element at all. Then forso much as all motion is made in place, it seemeth very well that it must be for one of the principles of all things. Now place is the supreme superficies of every body, environing the same round about: which superficies remaineth, the bodie being separated. And every place is equal to the body therein contained. Every body likewise is in a place, and in every place is a body. For every body hath his extreme superficies, and the place cannot be without a body, considering that every place is the highest superficies containing a body. And when the place is taken in regard of the roundnesse of the heavens, it is immutable, inso much as it containeth the entire body of the Vniuers. But being considered as the superficies of any particular body, it is changed by the diuers disposition and alteration of the creatures, and remaineth not alwaies the same. Behold then that which I haue thought worthy to be noted in regard of the principles whereof the Philosophers dispute, and of which and by which, namely, of the forme and first matter, the sensible elements of all corruptible things doe consist and are composed. Whereof we are according to the course of our talke to enforme our selues as (A M A N A) you shall presently doe.

Of the Elements, and of the things to be considered in them, in that they are distinguished by the number of foure. Chap. 38.

A M A N A. **V**hen we take the heauen in his most proper signification, we meane thereby the firmament, and the celestiall spheres, which couer and encompasse all things that are in the vniuersall world. But heauen is likewise taken oftimes for the aire, and for the regions next to the spheres, because they approach neere to the nature of them, and for that they bee elements drawne out of the first principles for the composition of corruptible things. And yet in the diuision of the world, there are commonly mentioned but two principall parts: that is, the celestiall and the elementary part, as we haue heretofore related. Now vnder this last part, whereof our ensuing discourse must intreat, we must vnderstand all that, which is comprehended within the concavity or hollow vault of heauen. vnder the Moone, even to the center of the earth: that is, the lower simple elements, which are Fire, Aire, Water and Earth, incessantly employed in the generation and corruption of all creatures, vnder the which part we comprise all the diuers and innumerable species of all bodies, both perfect and imperfect, materially engendred by the naturall commixture and power of the said elements. Which cannot be in number aboue foure; that is iust so many, and neither more nor lesse then there are first qualities predominant in them, which are heate, moisture, colde and drinesse; which neuerthelesse alone and by themselves doe not constitute an element: for they cannot haue the power both to doe and to suffer; as it is needfull that there should bee in the generation and corruption of all things: neither can the foresaid qualities consist aboue two together, for feare least contrary things should be found in one selfe same subiect, but being ioyned two and two, they are correspondent the one to the other, as the qualities of heate and drines, which are in the fire, the heat and moisture, which are in the aire: cold and moisture, which are in the water: and cold and drines, which are in the earth. But heate and cold which are actiue qualities, and moisture and drines, which are passiue qualities, are altogether contrary. And therefore can they not consist both together in one selfe same element: wherupon it cometh to passe, that the fire & the water, the aire and the earth are clean contrary one to another, which causeth also that the fire, as the most subtile & lightest element tending naturally vpwards, is placed aboue the three elements, and environeth the aire round about, which agreeth in heate with it: which aire encompaseth the water, agreeing therewith in moisture: and the water is disperfed about the earth, and agreeth therewith in coldnes and the same earth, as the most heauy and hardest element, is heaped and compacted in the midst of the whole world, containing the center thereof. It is certaine that the water environeth not the earth cleane round about, but is spread abroad by diuers armes, branches, and lakes (which we call seas) as well within, as about the same:

for

Of the elementary region

The number & qualities of the elements.

Situation of the elements.

for so it was necessary that some parts of the earth might be vncouered, for the health and habitation of living creatures; so as it hath pleased the soueraigne king of the world to ordaine for the benefit of all things.

There are then fower elements and first foundations of things compounded, and subiect to corruption. And by this number of fower perfectly consonant, the elementary world is divided into these fower partes: the fierie, the airie, the watric, and the earthy part: so also is this terrestriall frame distinguished into fower points, to wit; East, West, North, and South, as wee know the like to bee in the celestiaall bodies. And by their diuers motions and courses we obtaine the fower seasons of the yeare, to wit, the spring, sommer, autumn, and winter. From whence likewise proceedeth all aide and fauour to the substance and composition of the creatures comprised vnder these fower kindes, that is, corporall, vegetable, sensitive, and reasonable creatures, which subsist of these fower qualities, hot, cold, moist, and drie. We likewise see that all quantitie is diuided into fower, to wit, into a point, into a length, bredth, and depth. There are also fower sortes of motion: ascending, descending, progression and turning round. Moreouer if we will heere draw out some mysteries of the Pythagorians, wee shall know, that all the foundation of euery deepe studie and inuention, must bee settled vpon the number of fower, because it is the roote and beginning of all numbers, which exceede fower. For a vnity being ioyned to a fower, maketh vp ten: and in this number all the rest to ten are found: as may appeere in this figure [1, 2, 3, 4.] Above which number of tenne (as *Aristotle* in his problemes, and *Hierocles* in his verses vpon *Pythagoras* reciteth) no land, nor language hath ever proceeded. For the Hebrewes, Greekes, Latins, and Barbarians themselves being come so farre as to tenne begin againe with the vnity, saying (11, 12.) and so forward, imitating nature guided by her soueraigne, who by the order of tens parteth the fingers of the hands, and toes of the feete, as the same creator would distribute the terrestriall, celestiaall, and supercelestiaall world by this number of tenne, as the diuinitie of the Hebrewes doth teach, and as wee haue heretofore made mention. The which number likewise doth containe all manner of numbers bee they euen, odde, square, long, plaine, perfect, cubicall, pyramidall, prime, or compound numbers. And thereby, that is, by denarie proportions, fower cubicall numbers are accomplished: so fower is the roote of ten, and ten of an hundred, and an hundred of a thousand. For as 1, 2, 3, and 4, make ten: so by tens are hundreds made, and by hundreds, thousands. Moreouer foure containeth all muscicall harmony, because that therein is the proportion double, triple, quadruple, of so much and an halfe, and of so much & a third: whereof resulteth the diapason, the bisdiapason, diapente, diatesseron, and diapason together with diapente. For this cause *Hierocles* the interpreter of *Pythagoras*, doth so extoll this number of fower, that he affirmeth it to be the cause of all things, and that nothing can be said or done which proceedeth not from it, as from the roote and foundation of all nature. And therefore did the Pythagorians sweare by this number, as by some holy thing, making (as may be easily coniectured) allusion to that great fower-lettered name of the Hebrewes, from whom they received their instructions. Which name of the holy of holies, God eternal and most good, requireth no fewer letters among the Greekes and Latines, no not amongst the most barbarous nations: wherein one may directly beleue that great misteries are hidden.

The name of
God foure-
lettered.

But not to wander farther from our elementarie region: as therein we acknowledge fower elements, so many likewise are therein the Metaphysicks, to wit, the essence, the estate, the vertue, & the action. The naturalist also teacheth fower nurses of nature, to wit, power, growth, the forme growne, and the composition. And the Mathematicians haue these fower elements, the point, the line, the plaine, and the solid. And that which the point is in the Mathematicks, the same is the seminarie power in the Phisicks: the line is as the naturall growth: the plaine or superficies as the forme perfect in greatnes, and the solide or cube, or deepe body, as the composition. There are amongst the morall philosophers also fower seedes of vertues, prudence, temperatenesse or temperance, fortitude and iustice. And there are fower faculties found to iudge of things, that is, vnderstanding, discipline, opinion, and the senses. Artificers likewise accustome to settle their buildings vpon fower corners, to the end they may be firme and durable: wherein they imitate nature, which worketh so in all this world. And the soueraigne gouernor thereof hath willed, that there should bee fower foundations of the most perfect, eternall, and firme law of grace, to wit, the fower Evangelists. It then plainly appeareth, that not without great myserie the creator sealed fower foundations of all this mundane frame: which in admirable proportion doe accord

That the
foure elements
doe found all
doctrine and
art.

Agreement
of the ele-
ments.

Of the har-
mony of the
elements.

together, as (all square numbers, which are inclosed by a proper number, referre themselves by a middle proportionall to both sides. For (as wee haue said) the elements are agreeable one to another, with their coupled qualities, whereof each retaineth one peculiar qualitie to it selfe, agreeth in the other, as by a meane with the next element. So that the fower elements are (as if each one of them had two hands, by which they held one another) as in a round daunce: or else, as if they were conioyned and linked together, as with chaines and buckles. And therefore the water is moist & cold, retaining the moisture as peculiar to it self and in coldnesse participating with the nature of the earth: by the moisture thereof, it is also allied vnto the aire, which also in some measure participateth in heate with the nature of fire. Wherefore as the earth accordeth in coldnesse with the water, so is water answerable in moisture to the aire, and the aire is correspondent in heate to the fire: retaining yet neuertheless each of them one proper and predominant qualitie. But aboue all, the Academicks haue inuented a goodly concord betweene these elements, in their discourses of the quadruple proportion; from which onely their muscalle proportions doe proceede: for if one passe farther, mens eares seeme to be offended. They say then, that the fire is twise more subtile then the aire, thrise more mooueable, and fower times more pearling. Likewise that the aire is twise more sharpe then the water, thrise more subtile, and fower times more mooueable. Againe that the water is twise more sharpe then the earth, thrise more subtile, and fower times more mooueable. And in this proportion haue they found out the harmonie of the elements, and shewed, that though the fire bee sharpe, subtile, and mooueable; the aire subtile, mooueable, and moist; the water mooueable, moist, and corporall; the earth corporall, immooueable, and drie; yet is there a certaine accord and vnion betweene them: because that betwixt the fire and the earth, the aire and water haue beene placed by such a couenant, that there is the same respect betwixt the fire and the aire, that is betweene the aire and the water, and betweene the water and the earth: and againe, that such as the earth is towards the water, such is the water towards the aire, and the aire towards the fire, in correspondencie of qualities, and harmonious contrarietie. Wherefore they conclude, that the harmonie on all sides so great among the elements that it is no maruell if in the proper places, and in their compounds, they maintaine and repose themselves with very great and friendly concord. Whereby it appeareth, that none can induce a goodlier reason, why the water doth not overflow the earth being higher then it; then to say, that it will not swarue from this agreement. But further concerning this matter, what shall wee say of those, which accept but of three elements; namely the aire, the water, and the earth; and reiect the elementarie fire? I would faine heare you (A R A M) discourse thereof.

*Of the opinion of those who admit but three elements, not acknowledging
the elementarie fire. Chapter. 39.*

Of such as
say that there
is no fire vnder
the sphere
of the Moone

A R A M. **B**etweene the lowest place and the highest it is necessary that there should be two places simply meane, to wit, the places not exactly lowest, nor highest. And for that consideration some of the learned conclude, that there be so many simple bodies made, and consisting of the prime and first matter, which are called by the Greeks (*στοιχία*) that is beginnings or Elements, & of those proceedeth the generation of all corruptible things. And if probable arguments may ought preuaile, each one must acknowledge foure elements in all compound bodies, as the most part of those who haue diligently considered the workes of nature, are of opinion. Now there is none that can doubt of the earth, of the water, and of the aire, because of their greatnesse and huge extension seene by every eie. But for the fire, wee onely see the increase, the power, and simple matter thereof, and his force or fountaine is esteemed to be in the concavities of the Moone aboue the aire. Yet some among the naturall Philosophers affirme and maintaine, that there is no fire vnder the orbe of the Moone: neither will acknowledge any other elementarie fire, but the fire of the celestiall bodies, and the heate of them, which they communicate to all the rest of the creatures. And therefore they assigne to these fires all the space, which is from the Moone to the highest heauen. Saying moreover, that sith the heauen

heaven is a thing most pure, it is not convenient to place a thing most burning vnder that which is exempt from all qualitie. For nature doth alwaies ioyne extremities with things of meane qualitie: as is found betwixt the flesh and the bones, where shee hath placed a filme or thinn skinne; and betweene the bones and the ligatures, she hath put the gristles: so betwixt the scull and the braine, because it is softer then flesh, nature hath placed two filmes, the hardest whereof is neere to the bone of the head. Thereupon then they conclude, that the aire is much fitter then the fire to bee next the heavens, and serue as a meane to ioyne them with the earth and water. And against it they argue, that swiftnesse of motion is the cause or argument of the heate, and there is no other fire: others againe avouch, that this cannot bee. For (say they) although that solide substances may by motion be heated (as stones, leade, and liuing creatures) yet those which disperse or scatter themselves abroad, become thereby so much the colder, by how much they are more lightly mooued, witnesse the aire and the water. For all strong and swift windes are colde, and rivers that haue a quicke course are very colde. Againe those that deny the elementarie fire, do bring this argument; to wit, that the comets and flames which oftentimes doe appeare in the heavens, do cause in the aire very great and as it were intollerable heats: Therefore they demaund, what might happen if the vniuersall world, especially the elementarie, were enuironed by fire, who could hinder but that that fire would inflame the aire, and after it all other things, sith the heate of the celestiall bodies would thereto giue aide? They adde how *Auerrois* doth esteeme that all brightnesse is hot, and that the aire is such: and that euery moist qualitie doth least of all other resist heate. How then (say they) shall the aire resist the fire which is the most vehement, and most sharpe of all elements? It is true that this Arabicke author hath said, that sometimes the fire is not actually hot: but what then shall be his possibilitie? We say that some medicines are hot by possibilitie, because that being taken they heat wondrously. But by what creatures shall the fire be deuoured, to the ende to reduce it to the qualitie of medicines? Moreover, if the fire be not hot, then is not the water cold: which should be to confound all reason, and the very order of the world. Againe, they demand what it is that letteth the fire, that it shineth not, and that it is not scene in elementarie region? Againe, if fire bee in the aire, why then, the higher we mount, doe we finde the aire more cold, and why doe snowes more abound on the mountaine tops, then in the lowest places, yea vnder the torrid zone? Which neuertheless might not seeme strange: if one should consider, how snowe falleth in winter onely, and very colde haile in midst of summer, the cause whereof we shall heereafter discover. But (say they) if one should obiekt that the highest places are farthest remote from the reuerberation of the sunne: this may bee an argument of lesse heate, but not of coldnesse. In fine they adde, that if heate were in the highest of the aire in an elementarie body, it should principally there rest, for to cause the generation of thinges. Now for this reason it cannot be there, considering that the celestiall heat is it that doth engender, as all Philosophers mainetaine. Thereupon they conclude, that this imagination of fire aboue the aire is vaine. It seemeth also that bee a thing neuer so light, as is the fire; yet can it not mount so exceeding high: and to say that it was carried aloft, onely coniecturing so, and that the place thereof must be there, such Rhetoricall arguments are not woorth rehearsing in serious matters.

Reasons of such as deny the fire to enuiron the aire.

There are some also, which to the reasons by vs before touched in the beginning of this speech, doe reply; that it seemeth they doe conclude that there be foure simple bodies, but rather the contrarie. For, for the first betwixt two extremes one meane (and not two) is commonly assigned: which being considered in regard of the elements, there should onely be three in number. And for this vulgar opinion, that in all compound bodies there are esteemed to be foure elements; the heat which is in mixt and compound substances cannot consist of the elementarie fire: For if the fire should remaine in them, it should more rest in the herbe called (*Euphorbium*) and in Pepper, which are of an extreme hot and drie nature; and therefore one might more commodiously get fire out of them then out of most cold stones, which yet wee finde to be cleane contrarie. Moreover, the distillations wherein many straine themselves to search the foure elements, doe demonstrate but three substances onely, to wit, water for water, oyle instead of aire, and the earth which is in the bottome. Now if that any doe say that the reddest part of the oyle doth represent the fire, because it is very sharpe and very subtile, we will answere, that such piercing sharpenesse of fauour proceedeth from the vehement vertue of the fire, which operateth in the distillation.

Answer to many reasons which are alledged to proue foure elements.

Which

730 Of those that allow but of three elements.

Which likewise doth manifestly appeare in the oyle extracted from mettals: every part whereof is of a very sharpe savour. Wherefore if every thing of such a qualitie representeth the fire, it must follow of necessitie, that in every such essence no portion of aire may subsist. But all the world doth alleadge, that there may fower humours be perceived to remaine in the bodies of all living creatures. And yet what availeth that to proove so many elements? Nay, what if I should say with *Thrusianus* expounder of *Galen* vpon the art of Phisicke; that there are but three humours onely? But wee leaue this disputation, and let vs speake of a more strong and forcible argument, taken from the combinations and coniunctions of the elementarie qualities which are in number fower, as we have heard in our precedent discourse. They alone then and apart doe not constitute an element; for they cannot have the power to doe and to suffer: neither also can they consist more then two together; for else, contraries should remaine in onefelfe same subiect. Neither can heate bee ioyned with cold without some meane, nor dry with moist: Whereupon doth follow that the qualities not contrarie, being ioyned two and two together doe declare vnto vs fower well ordered combinations or couplings, which doe argue vnto vs the fower elements. But hearken what the aduers part answereth: Such conjunctions and copulations done onely shew themselves in mixtures and compound bodies: for some things being hot in the first degree, are also moist; and some being cold, are drie: others hot and drie; others cold and moist; and so consequently of the rest. But for the elements because that heat and great drie-nesse had reduced all things to an ende, in steede of ministring a beginning vnto them; Nature, or rather the author of Nature, hath ordayned a celestiall heat well tempered, by which all thinges should be engendred: And by it, and by putrefaction and motion, the creature called Fire is incessantly produced. Whereupon ensueth, that though there be a fire, yet neuertheless it is no element: And therefore they conclude, that there are but three elements. The earth most thicke and heauie seated below: the aire most thin and light placed above and the water meane betwixt these qualities situate betweene both. They also affirme, that vnto these elements it is common to haue no naturall heate: because there is no heat, but from the heavens, and consequently from the soule, and from brightnesse: That the earth because it is exceeding thicke and solide, and the aire, because it is beyond measure thinne, seeme to be least cold: but the water which is of meane substance betweene both, seemeth to be most cold. That the earth, because of some certaine thinnesse thereof, admitteth heat: and therefore is esteemed lesse cold then stones. And the aire because of the temperate cleerenesse, and for that by the thinnesse thereof it is easily changed, is esteemed not onely not to be cold, but to be hot, though in truth all the elements are cold by their own nature. Which coldnesse is nothing else, but priuation of heate, which heat doth wholly rest in the stars, & which is proper celestiall qualitie moouing the bodie, which aided by motion produceth fire. But (say they) many be deceived by reason of the violent heat, which sometimes maketh impression in the elements. For by action of the starres, some parts of the elements are mixed and participate with the nature of the celestiall bodies, as Pepper becometh hot: And yet such mingling cannot be said to be an element, but a thing composed partly of elements. And for the fire which lighteth by the striking and beating of stones, that it is likewise an heat of the stars in a body rarified by the celestiall power. By these reasons then they conclude, that two qualities do onely appeare vnto vs, the heate of heaven and the proper moisture of the elements: and as for drie and cold, that they be the priuations of those qualities: and that therefore a thing very hot, or very cold cannot properly be called an element: but that that may be said to be an element, which hath no neede of nourishment, which of it selfe is not corrupt, neither wandreth here and there, but retayneth a certaine place in great quantitie according to nature, and is prepared for generation. All which things not agreeing with the fire, because it is alwaies mooued, neither can subsist without nouriture; and burneth the aire which is next it, whereby beeing inflamed: it is called a flame (for flame is nothing else, but the aire inflamed:) it followeth that it cannot bee called an element, but rather an accidentall and great heat. Behold then how Philosophers do diuerly dispute vpon this matter: but our intencion is not to giue sentence therein especially against the ancient, and generally confirmed opinion, which admitteth fower elements. Wherefore as leaning thereunto, let vs (*ACHITO*) discourse how they may be considered by the perfect compositions which are in the world.

Of the celestiall heate producing fire.

What an element is.

Of the perfect compositions which are in the nature of all thinges,
by which the fower elements may bee confide-
red Chapter. 40.

ACHITO. B.

According as we are taught by those, who have first diligently sought out the secrets of nature, we shall consider an elementarie fire, and the element thereof, approaching the heavenly spheres, by reason of the naturall agreement which they haue together, being much greater then there is of the heauens with the aire, the water and the earth. Now these fower elements doe demonstrate themselves by the like number of perfect compounds, which follow the nature of them: to wit, by stones, mettals, plants, and animals or sensitiue creatures. For stones haue their foundation or originall vpon the earthie corner of this worlds frame: because that agreeing with the nature of earth, they descend alwaies towards the center, except they bee such as are overdried and burned; as are the pumistones which are made spungie in caues full of aire. But when they are turned into dust, then resuming their proper nature of stones, they descende. Christall and the Beryll are also numbred among stones: because that though they may be engendred of water, they are neuerthelesse so congealed and in manner frozen, that being made earthy they descend downewards, which is not the manner of frost and snow. So is it with those stones that are bredde in the bladder, though they bee produced of a waterie humour. And all these kindes of stones become so close and solide in their nature, with such fastnes and binding, that they cannot be molten like mettals: although the said mettals descend downewards like stones. And therefore also vpon the second watrie angle of the elementarie world, mettals are builded: which though they bee said to be composed of al the elements, yet because they are principally made of water, they retaine the nature thereof, and will melt, as *Abubacher* doth excellently discourse, speaking thus [We see in mines, that by reason of the continuall heat of some mountaines, the thickest of the water steweth and boileth so, that in tract of time it becommeth quickesiluer. And of the fat of the earth so stewed and boiled together with heate, is brimstone ingendred, and through continuall heate also are mettals procreated. For gold that hath no default is ingendred of quicksiluer, and of brimstone that is pure, tough, cleere, and red. Siluer of the same liquid siluer, and of close, pure, cleere and white sulphur; wherein colour wanteth, and something of the closenesse and surenesse, and consequently of waight. Tinne, that is more vnperfect, is engendred of the same causes, and parts vnperfect because they are lesse concocted and attenuated. Leade, of the same terrestriall siluer, and full of filth, deprived of purenes and surenesse: and of grosse sulphur or brimstone somewhat red, whereto wanteth fastnesse, clearenesse and waight: which makes this metall vnperfect and impure. And Iron is procreated of the same quickesiluer, impure, tough, part earthy and burnt, white, and not cleere: which maketh this metall base and foule, failing in purenesse and in waight. All which mettals being made of quickesiluer which is waterie, doe (for this cause) retaine the nature of the water.] To this author accordeth *Auicen* in his Physickes, and in the epistle to *Hazem* the philosopher. But *Gilgill* the Spanyard supposed that mettals had beene engendred of cinders, because they smoke in water, and melt like the glasse, which is drawn from terrestriall cinders, and beaten stone. But this concludeth not: for metall sinketh and descendeth, by reason of that terrestriall part which it hath incorporated with the liquid part, and because that the pores which retaine the aire, are closed and shut vp. And for glasse, it is not extracted out of the earthy matter, but out of the radicall moitture, which is within the cinders and stones. For in euery compound are the fower elements, though the nature of one hath more domination therein. For this cause likewise plants are founded vpon the third angle of the world, called aire: for they doe not grow nor fructifie, but in open day, and doe properly retaine the nature of the aire, which they alwaies require, as being fittest and aptest for them. Yea the wood it selfe would presently corrupt and rot, being deprived of the aire, if the watrie humour do not succour it, which participateth with the aire. Finally vpon the fourth angle of this forwer faced edifice, to wit, vpon the fire, is the liuing sensitiue creature built, whose life (as many learned doe teach) is by meanes of fire, and obtained from the Emphyreall heauen, and from the spirit of life, which is a quickning fire, and distributeth

The agree-
ment of
Stones with
the earth.

Metals agree-
ing with the
water.

Concord of
plants with
the aire.

Animals ac-
cord with the
fire.

life

Ezech. 1.

life to all the mundane wheelles: as we may learne by the oracles of *Ezechiel*, saying, [And the spirit of life was in the wheelles.] Behold then, how vpon the fower bales of the elements are planted fower sorts of perfect compounds, to wit, stones, mettals, plants, and liuing creatures.

Diuersitie of the nature of stones.

Diuersitie of the mettals.

A different propertie of the plants.

Diuersitie of nature in animalibus.

Of the celestiall and super-celestiall elements.

True it is, that vnder every vniuersall kinde of these, there are diuers particular species distinct the one from the other: for although stones may be properly earthie, yet are they sometimes nominated of some other element, which most preuaileth in their composition. For doubtlesse all the elements doe meete together in the procreation of them, but chiefly earth and water. Whereupon obscure and thicke darke stones are called earthie stones; and cleere transparent stones, waterie; and some also are melted by a great fire, to be turned into glasse. Some also with raine falling drop by drop are engendred in the shells of oysters; as those pearles which are found in the Indian and Britaine sea. The chry stall and Beryll are made of water frozen, voide of pores or subtile passages, so that they can neither receiue heate nor be melted. It appeareth also, that there is fire in the composition of stones, which likewise is forced out of the flint being stroken with a gad of Steele. To which purpose *Hermes* amongst his secrets teacheth, that a stone doth sometimes spring out of the fire, mounting from earth too heauen, and then againe retaining to the earth, that nourished it. For mettals likewise, though they be waterie, some of them doe neuerthelesse retain the nature of fire, as gold and iron, one of which imitateth the fire of the sunne, and the other the fire of *Mars*. But tinne and copper are airie, this receiuing influence from *Venus*, that from *Iupiter*. Siluer agreeth with the Moone, Leade with *Saturne*, quicke-siluer with *Mercurie*: and yet all of them are endued with a waterie nature, and will melt, and doe differ in waight. For as one water doth differ in weight from another, so doth mettall, not onely in speciall, but also in vndiuisible proportion. For common gold differeth in waight from that which the Latines call (*Obrysium*) or else (*Ofrysium* of the Hebrew word (*Ofir*) which we call (fine golde) and which hath bene oftentimes purged and refined in the fire, and wasted not therein. The gold of Tharsis also doth differ from the golde of India and Hungarie, and of others. So likewise doe waters differ in goodnes and waight, according to the region and place wherein they are: and by how much they are neerer to the fountaine, by so much are they better and lighter. And by their waight (as *Vulcanus* will haue it one may know the goodnes of the aire: according to which he willett men to choose out places to build houses in. Concerning plants, although they may bee by nature airie: yet there are some, whose rootes, iuice, leaues, and blossomes are said to be hot in the first, second, third, or fourth degrees; and others are cold and drie; some also are moist: which diuersitie happeneth, according as the plant obtaineth, more or lesse of the nature of one of the elements. The like of liuing creatures. For though they may properly be said to bee of the nature of fire, yet are there some, which being more earthie, delight in the earth, as mowles, wormes, and commonly all creeping things. Likewise all fishes are nourished by the water: chameleon by the aire: the salamander by fire, as some affirme, because that hee long time indureth fire through his excessive coldnesse. There are some also which burne with great heate, as doves and lyons: some are cooled with moisture, as the lampe; and some are drie, as hares and deere. But neuerthelesse in regarde of their life they are all especially of the nature of fire distinguished by degrees: wherefore diuers names haue bene assigned to them, being borrowed from the elements or from their qualities.

And besides all this which wee haue heare discoursed concerning the elements, which may be found in the perfectly compounded substances of this elementarie world, many learned men affirme, that they are also resident in the celestiall and supercelestiall world. But that as they are heere thicke and grosse: so by a contrarie reason they are pure and cleaue in heauen, and in it liuing and every where well doing. They say then, that these celestiall elements are as the worthiest and excellent portion of those, which subsist vnder the moones sphere in the second degree, and which remaine also in the bowels of the earth as the most base and grosse lees of the elements. And that in heauen they are certaine vertues or powers; and in nature the seedes of things; and in the world below grosse formes. For (as they argue) if there were no elementarie powers in heauen, how then by the celestiall influences should these elements heere below bee engendred and transformed: in such sort that which now is aire may be conuerted into raine, the water exhaled into aire, the earth turned into wood, which nourisheth the fire, and from the wood riseth aire and ashes fall, which is earth? For these causes also it is very likely that the Astronomers distinguish

The agreeablenes of the elements, &c. 733

distinguish the signes of the Zodiack and the Planets by the elements, attributing three signes to euery of them, as we haue already declared. But we shall finde enough to content vs concerning this matter, when we discourse particularly as touching the firme concord which remaineth betwixt the terrestriall elements and the Planets. Which (A M A N A) let be the subiect of your morrow discourse.

The end of the fift daies worke.

The sixth daies worke.

Of the agreement betwixt the Elements and the Planets. Chap. 41.

A M A N A.



S the celestiaall spheres doe follow that vniuersal & common course which the first heauen that containeth and encloseth them all doth begin, beside the motions that are proper and peculiar to each of them (as wee haue already heretofore declared: (so must we in like sort note, that the elements do follow the heauens, and obserue an order after them, euery one in his degree, hauing their motions also agreeable to their nature. And that likewise there is betwixt them and the celestiaall bodies, a certain accord & answerablenes of powers and qualities aptly proportioned by degrees, even as is found in all creatures compounded of them. We will then first entreat of this agreement betwixt the elements and the heauens beginning with the earth, which is correspondent to the moone in diuers respects. For as the earth draweth the water to it, and soketh it vp, in such sort that it is numbred by the Sages amongst those things which are neuer satisfied; to wit, with water: so doth the moone with a perpetuall attraction draw the water, making it sometimes to rise, to wit, when from the orientall Horizon she cometh to the midst of heauen, from whence descending to the occidental Horizon she carrieth it away with her with such violence, that it seemeth to fly from vs. Again, when the moone runneth in the point opposite to the midde heauen, she draweth the water away with her; then returning againe to the easterne Horizon, she causeth it to follow after her in like sort. When she encreaseth also she draweth vp the humours in trees and mens bodies; when she waineth, she chafeth them downe. Again, the earth and moone doe agree in the first qualities of cold and dry, wherewith the earth is actually, and the moone operatiuely replenished, which also (according to her nature being somewhat terrestriall) doth suppe vp the celestiaall waters, and all the influences of the bodies aboue her, which as neere to vs, she doth communicate with vs. For she receiueth from the other planets, and principally from the sun, that which she distributeth here beblow. And therefore Plato in his Banquet saith. That the moone participateth with the sun and with the earth. Moreover, the Moone is singular in varietie: whence it cometh to passe, that one while shee is crooked with hornes, another time divided into equall porportions or halfes; then being full round, she is here and there bespotted: sometimes she seemeth vmeasurably great in her round fulnesse; presently after she appeareth very small: now she sheweth very faire towards the North; afterwards againe she is couched in the South: so within a few daies she submitteth her selfe to coniunction, and by and by is she ful and big; presently after she is deliuered of the fruit which she had conceived. Now in this great changeablenesse, the Moone doth shew vs that the earth is like vnto her. For now being disrobed of her ornaments, shee appeareth blacke afterwards being painted and adorned with herbes and flowres, shee seemeth very faire. One part thereof is stony another part is marish. In one place it is leane, in another place fat; here abated in valls, there lift vp in mountaines: here fertile, and yonder barren. One part is checkered with diuers spots, this red, that black, one white, and another browne. One portion is close and clammie; another thionne and laundie. Moreover the earth is sometimes void and emptie, and then she receiueth the con-

Agreeablenes
of the earth
with the
moone.

The moone
and earth sin-
gular in vari-
ety.

junction of the planets, whereby in short space being filled, she bringeth forth fruite. So then the moone amongst the stars, and the earth amongst the elements doe agree in many particulars.

The water cor-
respondent
to mercury.

Now as touching the water, it seemeth to be answerable to *Mercury* and to *Saturne* also. For the order of the planets, and the correspondency which they haue to things heere belowe, did require, that next after the earthly moone, watery *Mercury* should bee situate, whom poets haue named (the Arbitrer or vmpier of the waters) then followeth next airy *Venus*, and after her the sunne, which is of the nature of fire. Then againe *Mars* participating of the same force, hath his seat next about the sunne: airy *Jupiter* above *Mars*: watery *Saturne* over *Jupiter* and the signe bearing heaven about *Saturne*, as answering to the earth; then higher againe is the first moouable, of the nature of fire. It is certain that the nature of *Mercury* is by so much more hard to be deciphered, by how much his star is more hidden and hard to be seen, and that very seldome too. And therefore do Astronomers ascribe, that his influent power is secret, by reason that he easily accepting the nature of the planet wherwith he is conioined, or of the signe wherin he is resident, seemeth to operate. not according to his owne proper nature, but as the executor of the influence of another. Wherupon he is by them nominated (*Hermes*) to signifie, that he is as it were interpreter of the other stars intendements. For by the testimony of *Ptolemy*, he drieth vp being with the Sun, he cooleth with the Moone, he fauoreth the vnderstanding with *Saturne*, he bestoweth aduise & policy in warlike affaires, where stoutnes is required, with *Mars*, and conioined to *Venus*, he engendreth the *Anerogyne or Hermaphrodite, which must be vnderstood concerning him, who exerciseth subtilty of wit, which he receiueth from *Mercury*, in the second *Venus*, which is disordinate. For such a man is effeminate, retaining the property of both sexes. So that *Mercury* agreeing with the reasonable discourse and fauouring the same, as he is turned towards the inferiour; he likewise produceth diuers effects, in so much that his property cannot easily be comprehended. And yet may he very aptly be said to be of the nature of water, as many Philosophers are of opinion, considering that the order of the planets requireth (to obserue the harmonie and league of things heere below with those aboue) that hee should bee watery. Moreover, as water doth in washing, take away the spotte that couereth, in such sort that the naked bare forme doth appeere: so *Mercury* contributing fauour to the promptnesse and subtilty of mens wittes, is to them as an interpreter, taking away the vaile from strange languages, obscurenesse from riddles and parables, and difficulty from euery profound and mysticall speech: and opening that which is shut vp in the secret cabinets of God and nature, presenteth the naked truth to bee contemplated. Neither must wee thinke that the starre of *Mercury* performeth this, but so farre as it may operate in bodies by disposing, or else as an instrument of the diuine omnipotency, as we haue heretofore declared.

*One that is
of both sexes.

Concordance
of the aire
with *Venus*.

Let vs now speake of the aire. It seemeth to bee answerable in nature to *Venus*, which is hot and moist, and by the foresaid order of the planets succession in course, that it must be referred to *Jupiter*. For this cause the Astronomers haue dedicated to *Venus* the airie liuing creatures. For euen as the aire and winde coupleth and conioineth things seuered, so doth the Venerian power: wherupon we will note, that the Academicks taught how that there were two *Venuses*, the one Etherian, and the other Aerian: the highest, cleanest, chafest, and most temperate according with *Jupiter*, and conioining the superiour, diuine and spirituall things: the lowest, most disordinate, slipperie, variable, and laciuous, which conioineth in lust the creatures here below. Of this *Venus* so many rebouldries are sung by wanton Poets, because shee is cause of all euill; euen as the other is cause of all good. To which speech the saying of Saint *Augustine* hath relation: namely, that two loues haue made two cities. For the well desposed and good loue of God, and the loue of one neighbour to the despising of ones selfe, hath edified the citie of God. But the peruerse loue of ones selfe, to the forgetting of God, hath reared vp the citie of the diuell. Moreover, the Grammarians deliuer this reason, why the power of this Starre is called *Venus*: because it doth concur in all things, bee they good or euill. And surely all is filled with loue, and nothing is void thereof, as all things are full of aire, which filleth the naturall appetite that abhorreth emptinesse. By loue (saith *Boetius*) are the heavens conioined, and the elements agree with bodies compound. Through it creatures dwell together, the citie is preferred, and the common wealth increased. Through loue God made the world, & doth gouerne it: and the summe of all that, which he requireth of vs is loue. Saint *Denis* in his Hierarchie speak.

speake thus. [The loue of God hath not permitted that the king of all things should remaine in himselfe without fruit. And as through loue he is spread abroad in all things without himselfe; so he delighteth to attract all things to himselfe, & principally man, in whom all is inclosed. And therefore when hee shall bee vnited (with God) even so shall all other things be. Whether then that we speake of Diuine or angelicall, or spirituall, or quickning, or naturall loue, we meane a power engrafted, and conioyning, which moueth the superiorthings to providence and care, for the good of the inferiour, disposeth equall things in a sociable communion, and in fine admonisheth inferior things, that they turne themselves to those that are better and superiour.] Thus speaketh this great Doctor and Philosopher. But let vs pursue the subiect of our discourse. Wee haue declared, that the Academics haue taught double Venus. The like may be said of the Aire, for we consider it in 2. parts, the one thick and foggy, which is next the earth, and the other pure & ætherian next vnto the stars: which being heated by force of the winde which mixeth it selfe in all things seemeth to be very fit for the propagation and maintenance of nature: for which reason also the wind and the aire are called by one name of the Hebrewes, who call all things according to their properties.

Finally, the elementary fire is answerable to the Sunne, and to Mars, who are both of the nature of fire. For as the Sunne is the true and celestiall fire, boylng all that which appertaineth to the viands of this great animall the world; so this elementary fire causing all things to boyle by his great heat, doth perfect the nourishment of creatures liuing in the earth. Both the one and other fire heateth; but this driving the humours inward, and the other drawing them out. This imparteth his commodity to that onely, which is neere it, but the superiour bestoweth his vertue vpon the farthest remote bodies, in such sort that the force of his beames pierceth even to the bowels of the earth, where it boyleth & maketh mettals, which afterwards the elementary fire purgeth. Moreover, as *Apollo* (so named) as of a which is a primitiue letter in compolition, and of *ἄλλος*, which signifieth multitude, as beeing hee, who alone containeth the power of the heauens and of the starres; or else because that his vertue and power consisteth of many fires, by which hee giueth light to all the stars, whose naturall vigour produceth not their effects, till such time as they be filled with the powerfull seede of this faire *Phebus*, who is so called of his beauty and amiableness which shineth in him, at he is also named *Sol*, as holy shining, or else by a name amongst the Hebrewes, which one may interpret, that which properly doth subsist, because that the light and benefit thereof is proper and peculiar vnto him.] As this faire planet (I say) was acknowledged by the ancient Poets and Philosophers, for the inuentor of phisicke, because of the quickning heat and well disposing power thereof: so the fire here beneath doth aptly patterne him, by reason that heating the cold frozen creatures, it doth in a manner restore their life vnto them. So it is heate that giueth life and fruitfulness. For egges are not conuerted into chickens, nor the silkworme into a butterfly, neither do plants grow, nor yet are liuing creatures nourished and warmed; except either by the superiour, or by the quickning, or by the elementary heat, which by a certaine simpaty doe seeme to be of one selfe same kinde, as it were through correspondencie. Yea the fire is so fruitfull, that it engendreth it selfe, and giueth power to other naturall things to engender, not by the heat thereof onely, but by the force of the light, which it receiueth from him who hath said, [I am the light of the world.] Wherefore *Moses* being desirous to make manifest, that all things had beene produced by the benefit of the light after that the matter which hee calleth earth turned out of darkenesse, was made, he saith that presently the light was created: as that by meanes of which life, and forme must be giuen to all things, and aptnes to be seene. Which vitall vigour did no doubt consist in the diuine fire which is called (the which resting vpon the face of the waters, infused into all things the life and the formes, by which every thing might be discerned from other. But let vs now returne to our elementary world, and particularly behold the nature of the foure elements, and of things engendred in them and by them. Then haue we enough to stand vpon for the common opinion, of those, who establish this number of foure in that which hath beene already declared, and now also in this discourse. Let vs first then (A M A N A) heare you discourse of the fire and of the aire, and of their marvellous effects.

That the fire
agreeth with
the sunne.

Genes. 1.

*Of the fire, and of the aire, and of the things engendred in them:
and of their motions, and of the
Windes. Chap. 42.*

AMANA **M**Any Philosophers doe deuide all that, which subsisteth vnder the con-
caue of the Moone, into three parts) one of which they call the
highest, the other the middle, and the third the lowest part. The high-
est they place about the middle region of the aire, and make as it were the same element
partaker with the most pure fire, which the auncients nominated (Ether) because that there
the elements are pure, subtile, thinne, and rare, and for that the aire there is very tempe-
rate and cleere, agreeing with the nature of heauen: as to the contrary in the lower part,
which is that where we inhabite, there is not any sincere element (for a sensible element
is not pure) but all things are there compounded and mixed with the muddy and grosse
part of this mundane body. And concerning the middle region of the aire, it is that very
place where the meteors and high impressions doe appeere. So then about, the elements
are pure; beneath, the perfect and composed bodies doe faile, by reason of their mixture & of
the elementary simplicity: and in the middle they compound themselues vpperfectly, in
such sort, that one may say that they possesse the middle place betwixt the nature of the e-
lements and of things compounded. Now as we haue said before, and as the common say-
ing of people is, the heauen is often taken for this supreme and middle region of the aire,
and for the things which are to them conioined, and do depend vpon their effects. So that
in this regard we may vnderstand first two of the lower elements, to wit, the aire & the fire,
then all things ingendred in them, and by them: as winds, thunder, lightnings, haile, whirle-
winds, clouds, tempests, raine, dewes, frosts, snowes and all kinds of fire and such like, which
arise & appeere in the aire. And therein we may also comprise all the creatures which con-
uerse in it, as birds and all creatures that fly, even as the holy Scripture teacheth vs, when it
maketh mention of the birds of heauen.

Of the things
conioined &
depending vp
on the eff: of
of the fire and
of the aire.
Psal. 8.
Matthew 6.
Luke 8.

Of the pro-
per nature of
the fire, and
of the aire.

That the aire
is alwaies
moued.

What winde
is.

Now the element of fire is knowne to haue his place neere to the moone, being by na-
ture hotte and dry, and is for this cause lightest, hauing his motion quicker then all
the element, because that lightnes and quicknes is proper to these two qualities (heat and
drines) and therefore also the property thereof is to mount alwaies vpwards, vntill that it
hath attained to the place destinated vnto it, being most conuenient for the nature therof,
& which ioineth next vnto the spheres. Next to fire the aire possesseth the second place,
& agreeth in the nature with the fire, in that it is hot: but it is contrary thereto in that it is also
moist. And therefore the motion thereof followeth that of the fire, but it is not so light and
quicke by reason of the humiditie which maketh it more heauy and slow. And yet it ap-
peareth that it is alwaies moued, because that in narrow places small windes doe blow
without ceasing. For considering that the aire hath the motion thereof tending alwaies
vpwards, and that it is continually moued vp and downe, it bloweth in a great space very
gently: but passing through a creuise or straight place, all the violence therof being drawn
together by reason of the narrownesse of the place, driueth out and flieth vehemently vpon
vs: after the manner of the waters of great floods, which, when it seemeth that they can
scarce flow, being vrged through a narrow place, or through sluices are constrained to run
out by much force, with noice and roaring. Moreover, according as the aire is moued, ei-
ther by the heate of the Sunne, or by the vapours and exhalations which this heat causeth
to rise out of the waters, and out of the earth, or by the waves of the Sea, or by the causes
of the earth, and such like causes, we perceiue the aire diuersly agitated. For wee must note
that the windes are nothing else but the aire, which is moued and driven more violently
then ordinarie, and which hath his motion more sudden, more violent and strong, being
driven and pressed forwards according as the causes are more great or small, and according
to the places from whence they proceede. And this is the reason why the aire is some-
times so peaceable, that one cannot feele so much as one onely small puffe of winde:
but it is as calme as the Sea, when it is not tossed with any winde or tempest. As is
evident

evident by those vanes and weathercockes which are set in the tops of turrets & houses: for when the winde bloweth not, their plates are nothing mooued: and yet the aire doth neuer faile to blowe by reason of the perpetuall motion therof: but in so much as it is not hoisted vp and downe, it passeth and flieth lightly away, without any noise or bruite towards that part wherto we see the point of the vane enclined. Sometimes also one may feele some small pleasant and gentle winde to blow without any violence, which is very delectable, recreative, and profitable, not onely in regard of men and other liuing things, but in respect also of all the fruits of the earth. At another time likewise the violence of the windes is so great, that it raiseth vp whirlewindes, stormes and tempests, which driue the aire with such fury and roughnes, that it seemeth they would ouerthrow and confound heauen and earth together, beating downe and carrying away all that is before them: like a great deluge and water flood, which beareth away with it all that it meets with. But though one may suppose so, during such tempests, yet the course of the windes are not so confused, but that all of them obserue their order and certain places, out of which they issue and proceed, & their bounds likewise whereat they stay, and wherein they are confined, as the element of which they are engendred. And therefore by experience we see, that they follow the course of the Sun, and that they are distributed, and disposed according to all the parts of the world, as we usually diuide it, hauing respect to the moouing of the spheres. For as we diuide the course of the sun, and all the regions of the earth into East, West, North and South; so must we consider the fower principall winds, which proceed out of these fower places one opposite to another. Besides which there are certain others which are called collaterall windes, because that each of the first hath them vpon the one or other side of them, so that those who haue ordinarily written concerning the windes, doe appoint to the number of twelue common and ordinary windes, saying also, that there are others which are proper to certain regions and countries, according to the nature of their situations and places: as wee may hereafter find matter enough thereof amply to intreat.

Of the diuersity of the winds, and of the order and bounds of them.

But here it will be good to touch one difficulty, which may bee alleadged vpon our discourse, touching that which we haue saide concerning the qualities of the aire. For sith that it is hotte and moist by nature, and that the windes are nothing els but the same aire mooued and puffed forwards: what may be the cause that the windes doe not all of them retaine the nature of the aire? For we knowe by experience, that there are as many diuers qualities in the windes, as in all the elements: for some are hotte and dry; others hotte and moist; others moist and cold: and some cold and dry. Hereupon we may note, that all creatures which subsist of a sensible and corporall nature are commonly diuided into two kindes, which comprise them all. The one are simple, and the other compound; of the first sort are the elements taken euery one alone in their proper and particular nature, such as wee haue already declared. And all other creatures compounded of the elements conioined together, are of the second kinde. Wherefore if the elements were pure, not any way mixed one with another, then would each of them retayne his naturall qualities purely. But because they are intermingled one with another, they haue their qualities likewise mingled. And therefore by how much the higher the aire mounteth, by so much the more it is pure, neate, subtile, and thin; and by how much the lower it descendeth and approacheth the water and earth, by so much the more it is grosse and thicke, and partaketh more of the elements nere to which it remaineth. And according as it is warmed by the heate of the Sunne, or by any other heate, or else as it is cooled by the absence and default thereof; euen so doth it become either more hot, or more cold. The like also may be said concerning the naturall moisture thereof. For according as it is more or lesse mixed with water, or neere vnto it; so doth it receiue either a more moist, or a more drie qualitie. So therefore according to the places out of which the winds proceed and issue, and through which they passe, they are hotter or colder; drier or moister; pure or impure; healthfull and holsome, or pestilent and infectious, yea euen stinking. And for the same cause also it cometh to passe, that as the diuersitie of lands and countries is disposed, so winds, which are felt in one place warme, are in another place cold: and so it is of their moisture and drines. By the same reason also those that are healthfull for some, are vnholosome for others; and those which bring with them faire & cleare weather in one place, doe in another place bring raine and tempests. For the propertie of some of them is, according to the countries wherein they blow, to chase away the cloudes, and make the aire cleare

Notable things in the diuersity of the qualities of the windes & of the aire.

and the weather faire, whereas others doe assemble and heap them together. Whereupon ensueth, that some bring raine with them, other snowe, and others againe haile and tempests, according as God hath ordained the causes in nature, as the sequelle of our discourse shall minister occasion againe to speake of. Wherefore pursuing the order of our speech, wee wil consider those things which are conioyned to the fire and aire, and doe depend vpon their effects: as are thunders and lightnings. Whereof (A R A M) doe you discourse.

Of thunder and lightning. Chap. 43.

A R A M. **T** Here is a certaine vniuersall loue and appetite in all creatures, which inciteth them all to loue their owne kinde, to desire it, and search after it. But as their natures are diuers, euen so is the loue and the appetite which is in them. And therefore there are as many sorts of desires, as there are diuersities of natures. And thence it is that the fire and the aire doe naturally desire the highest places, and doe thither tend euermore, as the water and the earth doe require the lowest, and doe thereto descend incessantly: neither can these elements finde any stay or rest vntill they be arrived at those places, which are appointed vnto them by nature. And therefore what hinderance soeuer there may bee, yet every thing doth alwayes seek to returne to his naturall home, and therein doth all possible indeuour. Now heere wee are to consider the cause of thunders, lightnings, tempests, earthquakes, and such like motions and perturbations in the elements. For all these things happen, when the creatures, which by their contraries are hindered from pursuing their owne kinde, doe fight with those which keepe them backe, as if there were open warre betwixt them. Which causeth that that which by force can make way doth at last vanquish. But because of the resistance which there is, this cannot bee performed without great violence, and marvellous noise: from whence proceede many admirable effects, and namely, thunder, which hath ministered occasion to many great spirits to search out the causes somewhat neerely. But mens opinions, as in a very deepe matter are diuers hereupon. For some maintaine, that thunder is caused by the blowes and strokes that the fire maketh being inclosed within the cloudes, which it cleaueth, so making it selfe to appeare as is seene in lightnings. *Aristotle* in his *Meteors* writeth, that thunder groweth and proceedeth of hotte and dry exhalations ascending out of the earth into the supreme region of the aire, being there repulsed backe by the beames of the stars into the cloudes. For these exhalations desiring to set themselves at liberty, and to free themselves, doe cause this noise, which is often stopped by nature, whilest they fight with the cloudes: but when they can gaine issue, then doe they make the cloude to cracke, like a bladder full of winde that is broken by force. Moreover *Pliny* imitating the opinion of the *Epicure* teacheth, that those fires, which fall from the starres (as wee see often in calme weather) may sometimes meete with the cloudes, and fall vpon them and that by the vehemency of this blow the aire is mooued. And that this fire plunging it selfe into the cloudes causeth a certaine thicke and hissing smoke, which maketh a noise like an hot iron thrust into water: From whence the whirlewindes which wee see in the aire doe proceede. But when the winde or vapour inclosed in the cloudes, will needes get out by force, then this causeth thunder. And if there come out fire which breaketh the cloude, then is it lightning. But when these inflamed vapours do shew forth a long traine of their fire out of the cloud, then this is that which we call a flash of lightning. Whereupon ensueth that these lightning flashes cleaue the cloudes: but the fire of thunder teareth and renteth them, and causeth them to cracke.

But referring these arguments to Philosophers, wee may fitly say, that the true cause of thunder is the winde inclosed, which seeketh to issue out. But that which is most admirable therein, is the great violence of the flashes thereof, and the strange accidents which happen by the fire thereof. For it doth not onely pierce more then any other fire, by reason of the passing swift motion thereof: but it is much hotter then all other fire. For it is to be noted that there is a difference in heate; and that not onely by reason of the matter one fire is hotter then another, as that which is in the iron is hotter then that which is in straw; and that which is in oken wood is hotter then that which is in willow; but euen as in ice we find some scarcely frozen, other some hard; and other againe very hard: so is there in fire that is scarce

Of the causes
of thunder.

Plin. hist. na-
tur. lib. 4.

Of the differ-
ence of heat.

Of thunder and lightning.

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scarce fire, as when the iron beginneth to waxe somewhat red, and another fire that is shining, and other that shines very bright. Wherefore we must note that fire exceeds in heat and in force sixe manner of waies. 1. By nature as I haue said (for the most ardent burneth quickest & soonest.) 2. By the soliditie of the matter (as that which is in iron.) 3. By motion (for thereby it is made more piercing.) 4. By greatnes either proper to it selfe, or caused by continuance of time, (which is common to every fire.) 5. By hindrance of respiration, and by constraint together, (as is manifest in lyme, which is kindled with water: for the heate being gotten in, and hid in the fornace, being of the kinde of fire, is enclosed and gathered within the lyme, so that it returneth into fire, by the motion and mixture of the water.) Now the constrained motion must not onely penetrate very much, but also it enkindleth heat, and (as I haue declared) it maketh one fire hotter then another. And therefore it may be no great wonder, if the lightning of thunder be of very much force and violence, and that the fire thereof being very different from the nature of other fires, doth effect strange things. For it is not onely more pearcing by reason of the quicke motion thereof, but it is also much hotter then all other fire. Whereupon it commeth, that it can kill any kinde of creature by the onely touch thereof. And sometimes the purse remaining whole and sound, it melteth the money that is therein: which is not fabulous as many thinke, nor yet on the other side very much to be admired. For that which hurteth, doth corrupt either by meanes of the quantity, or for the long continuance thereof. And therefore the thunder fire which is most subtile, breaketh not the purse: for by reason that it hath very quicke motion, it staieth not on it, and therefore cannot it endamage it so. Moreover, as the aire doth demonstrate vnto vs, that by reason of the subtiltie thereof, it passeth through the purse, without any resting vpon it, and entreth thereinto, filling it when it is emptie, though it be fast shut (which coulde not bee, if it found not passage through insensible waies and holes, sith the mouth of the purse is very close shut.) So likewise one little sparke of thunder fire, farre more subtile then the aire, may easily enter into the purse, where finding metall it fasteneth therein, causing it to melt by the extreame violence and sudden force thereof.

Of the violence and force of thunder.

So then the solid bodies, as iron, siluer, and gold are by so much the sooner spoiled and molten by the lightning, by how much they doe more withstand, and make resistance against it. But in those bodies which be rare, full of holes, soft and weak, the thunder passeth quicke ouer them, without hurting them, as is seene in the garments that men weare, and in very drie wood. For other wood burneth, by reason that the moisture which remaineth therein doth resist and kindle. Whereupon it followeth (if we beleue *Plutarch*) that such as sleepe are neuer stroken with thunder: because that the sleeping man is loose, and becommeth soft and vnequall, and in manner dissolued, with his pores open, as if his spirit failed, and left him: so that the lightning findeth no such resistance in him, as it would doe if he were awake. Whereunto this may be also added, that he which sleepeth, hauing no feare, astonishment, nor dread in him, is by this meanes oftentimes defended from thunder. For it is certaine, that many haue died with feare onely and apprehension which they haue taken thereof, without suffering any violence. Wherefore considering that the sense of hearing is of all other senses the most subiect to suffer violent passions, and that feares and dread which proceede of noise, doe bring the greatest trouble to the soule: thereupon hee which waketh and apprehendeth very much, becommeth bound and thicke in his body: so that the lightning falling vpon him, giueth a greater blow and a ruder stroke, in so much as it findeth greater resistance.

It is wonderfull to consider the strange cases, that many authors report to haue hapned through thunder. But amongst all, that is very admirable, which *Julius Obsequius* reciteth of the daughter of *Pompeius* *Lionis* a Knight of Rome. For shee returning from certaine plaies and turnayments celebrated at Rome, was suddenly stroken from her Palfrey with a thunderclap, starke dead, without any apparance of any wound, or fracture of member. But when her father caused her to bee stript to burie and interre her, they perceiued her tongue to come forth at the bottome of her wombe: whereby they knew that the thunder and fire had stroken her directly through the mouth, and so had issued out at the lower passage: a thing exceeding fearefull, and worthy of great maruell. That which *D. Bartas*, the honour of the poets of our age, hath written in his nolesse learned then Christian weeke, to haue bene scene of the effects of thunder by a woman, though it may rather minister cause of laughter then of sorrow, yet is it very maruellous. For he recounteth

Maruellous effects of thunder.

that

Colomnes
and the keeles
of Ships ex-
empt from
the danger of
thunder.

Why the
lightning of
thunder is
preceiued be-
fore the sound
be heard.

that the flame singed away all the haire about this womans secrets at one instant, without doing her any harme. But omitting these discourses, I will note certaine particularities, which some philosophers affirme touching thunder. They say then, that it neuer or very seldom toucheth pillars, nor the keeles of ships, by reason of the depth of the one, and roundnesse of the other. So that the blow thereof running along the pillars doth very seldom strike them: as also not being able to descend aboue five cubits vnder ground, and the bottoms of ships being very lowe it scarcely euer falleth there. And therefore it is a sure remedie against lightning to hide ones selfe in deepe caues. It is also to be noted, that although the brightnesse of the lightning be seene before the noise of thunder bee heard, yet proceede they not one before another, but are both together. And the reason hereof is easie to vnderstand. For because that sight is quicker and sharper then hearing, the eie doth sooner behold the brightnes of the lightning, then the eare doth heare the sound of the thunder; as we see plainly when a man cuts downe a tree, or beateth vpon any thing that resoundeth, especially if we be farre off. For we shall see him stricke the stroke sooner then we can heare it: as likewise we proue in ordinance, and in all guns and peeces, whose fire we shall see, before we heare the noise of their shoot; notwithstanding that they are both performed together. But we haue dwelt long ynough on this matter, concerning that which philosophers doe teach. We must now consider what the true meteors of Christians are, as we haue already discoursed of their Astronomie and Astrologie: wherein we shall learne the supernaturall causes of those thunders and lightnings, which God sendeth when and how he pleaseth: as you (ACHITOB) can relate vnto vs.

*Of the true Meteors of Christians: and of the supernaturall causes
of thunder and lightning. Chapter. 44.*

Of the profit
which the
knowledge of
the meteors
bringeth to
Christians.

Psal. 29.
Psal. 18.

Psal. 104.

Luke 17.

2. Pet. 3.

ACHITOB. **T**HE Philosophers call Meteors, by a Greeke name, that part of naturall philosophie, which entreateth of the aire, and of the things engendred therein, and appertaining thereto: as namely the cloudes, raine, snow, thunders, tempests, lightnings, and such like, because that they are ouer and aboue vs. For the signification of the Greeke word (Meteoron) importeth so much. But the principall profit that like Christians, we must desire and purchase from this part of Philosophie, is, that we learne by the contemplation and consideration of the workes of God, of which we now intreat, what is his power, wisdom, bountie, and benignitie towards vs, and how it manifesteth it selfe before our eies; not onely in the highest heauens, wherein the sun, moone, and stars are contained (as we haue heretofore shewed) but also in the aire and in all the elements placed vnder the spheres. For by this knowledge we may reape very great fruits. First, in that we are assured, that all these things are in the power of our father, who is the creator of them: & that they are all created for our good like the rest of his workes, and not for our ruine and perdition. Then we learne by so many rare workes and marvellous effects, to feare and loue the author of them only, and nothing else, except in him, and for the loue of him; acknowledging and firmly believing that he alone is the author and governour of all nature. For wee beholde how terrible and fearefull he sheweth himselfe by thunders and lightnings. And againe, how louing, gracious, and benigne hee declareth himselfe to be, by raine, dewes, and such like blessings, by which he giueth nourishment to men, & to all other creatures. For these causes also the kingly prophet calleth thunders, lightnings, tempests & great inundations of waters (the voice of the Lord) & in another place he speaketh of the Lord, as of a magnificent and maiestical Prince, speaking great, like the sound of thunder, and casting fire out at his mouth, with great floods and deluges of water: saying againe in another place, That the Almighty maketh great cloudes his chariot, and that hee walketh vpon the wings of the winde, that he maketh the spirits his messengers, and a flaming fire his ministers. By which fire, no doubt, but the Prophet meaneth the lightning, which the Lord sendeth, when, and where it pleaseth him, to cause men to loue him, and to punish them like their iust iudge: as he declared in effect, when he rained downe fire and brimstone vpon them of Sodome and Gomorrah, and the other Cities round about them: which are proposed to vs in the Scriptures for examples of the iudgements of God, as that of the flood.

For this cause also David addresth his speech to the great and mighty, to the proud and

Of the true meteors of Christians.

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and loſtie, which haue God in contempt, ſaith [Gine vnto the Lord ye ſonnes of the mightie, giue vnto the Lord glorie and ſtrength: giue vnto the Lord glorie due vnto his name: worſhip the Lord in his glorious ſanctuarie:] conſequently deducing the wonders that God doth by the voice of his thunder, and how that it ſparkleth with flames of fire, by reaſon of the lightnings, which proceede out of the cloudes when they open, and rent themſelves with ſo great noiſe, whereat the deſerts, and mountaines tremble: the hinds calue and bring forth before their time for feare and dread, and the foreſts are diſcovered, their teeres being ouerturned and broken, as they are very oftentimes with tempeſts, and whirlwinds, as if the Author of all nature did blow through them. For it is he (as is written in *Eccleſiaſtics*) that ſendeth out the lightnings as hee liſteth, who hauing opened his treaſures, the cloudes flie out like birdes; at ſight of whome the mountaines leape, and the ſouth winde beloweth according to his will: and the voice of his thunder maketh the earth to ſuffer: which is as much to ſay, as that it is mooued and trembleth in regard of men. Whereby wee may learne what ſhall become of them all, if they enterpriſe to ſtand vp againſt God. For ſurely their force cannot but bee much leſſe then that of the high mountaines and great trees, which might ſeeme to the ignorant able to oppoſe themſelves againſt thunders, whirlwinds and tempeſts.

Plalm. 29.

Eccleſ. 43.

For this cauſe alſo *Elihu* ſaith in the booke of *Iob*. [At this alſo mine heart is aſtonied, and is mooued out of his place. Heare the ſound of his voice, and the noiſe that goeth out of his mouth. Hee directeth it vnder the whole heauen, and his light vnto the endes of the world.] Now he meaneth by this light, the lightnings which our God cauſeth to appeare in one moment and inſtant from the eaſt to the weſt, and from the one ſide of the world to the other (as the Scripture declareth otherwhere) and it is eaſie to note, by reaſon that

Iob 37.

Matth. 24.

he proceedeth, ſaying: [After it a noiſe ſoundeth: hee thundreth with the voice of his maieſtie, and he will not ſlay them, when his voice is heard. God thundreth maruellouſly with his voice: hee worketh great things, which we know not.] And who (I pray you) would not wonder to ſee the fire and water, which are of contrarie natures mingled one with another, and lodged both in one lodging, and proceeding out of one place together? For where remaineth this fire, which ſheweth it ſelfe in lightning? commeth it not out of the cloudes wherein it is encloued before they be opened, and burſt by the thunder? And of what ſubſtance is the cloud? Is it not of water maſſed vp together, which couereth and keepeth in the fire, as in an harth? For doe not wee oftentimes be hold while it raineth, and great ſtoudes and ſtreames of water do fall, ſo that it ſeemeth that all the cloudes, and the whole aire ſhould melt and reſoule into water, that great lightnings of fire flaſh, appeare, and run euery where about like burning darts and arrowes? For while the hot exhaltations are in- cloued in the cloude, and retained therein perforce, with the violence & contention which is betwixt theſe contraries, the noiſe of thunder is made. And when the matter is ſo abundant in the cloude, that it maketh it to breake and open, and that it may reach to the earth then is there not onely thunder and lightning, but alſo thunderbolts, and which are of diuers very marvellous and fearefull kinds. For ſome bring with them that fire which is not eaſie to bee quenched, as we haue already declared: others are without fire, & pierce through the moſt ſolid and firme bodies, ſo that, there is no force which can reſiſt them. And ſometimes alſo it happeneth, that thoſe which are ſtroken therewith, be they men or beaſts, remaine all conſumed within, as if their fleſh, ſinewes, and bones were altogether molten within their ſkin, it remaining ſound and whole, as if they had no harme, ſo that it is very hard to finde in what part the bodie was ſtriken.

Maruels to be conſidered in the fire of thunder.

Causes of the noiſe and of the lightning of thunder.

We are not then to hold in ſmall accompt that the holy ſcripture propoſeth God vnto vs ſo often thundring, and lightning, when it would declare vnto vs his maieſty and how terrible hee is, and to bee feared. For it is certaine, that he hath many weapons, and of diuers ſorts, very ſtrong, and ineuitable, when he will puniſh men, and that his only will is ſufficient to ſerue him, when, & how he pleaſeth. And therefore alſo we muſt acknowledge beſides theſe naturall cauſes which make and engender thunder, the prime, eternall and ſupernaturall cauſe of all things, from which proceed ſo many ſignes of the merueilous iudgements of God through the miniſterie of his creatures, oftentimes contrarie to that, which ſeemeth to be ordeined by the lawes of nature. For when hee will thunder vpon his enemies hee breaketh and ſuddenly conſumeth them in ſtrange manner. And therefore it is written, that the Lord ſhall deſtroy thoſe who riſe vp againſt him, and that he ſhall thunder vpon them from heauen, and in the battell which the children of Iſrael had againſt the

Supernaturall cauſes to be conſidered in thunder.

2 Sam. 2. & 7.

Philiftims

Exod. 9.

Philistims it is said, that after the praier of *Samuel* the Lord in that day thundred a great thunder vpon his enemies, and scattered them and slew them before the host of Israel. When *Moses* also stretched out his rod towards heaven, it is said, that the Lord caused thunder, and haile, and that the fire walked vpon the ground: and that haile and tempests stroke many men and beasts in Egypt.

Job 1.

Ephes. 2. & 6.

Psal. 78.

Against A.
theists and
Tirants,

Moreover we doubt not but that euill spirits doe sometimes raise vp tempests, thunder and lightning, because that the principall power of them is in the aire. And therefore when it pleaseth God to slacke their bridle, they raise vp terrible and wondrous stormes. Which is apparently demonstrated vnto vs in *Job*, whose seruants and cattell *Sathan* burned with the fire, which he caused to fall from heaven: and by a great winde that hee raised, he ouerturned the house vpon his children. And therefore also the scripture calleth the diuel, Prince of this world, and of darkenes, and of the power of the aire: teaching vs also, that wee must fight against the euill spirits which are in the celestiall places. It is no maruaile then, if euill spirits ioyne themselues with tempests, to hurt men to their vttermost abilitie. For which cause *Dauid* calleth the inflaming of the wrath of God, choler, indignation and anguish (the exploit of euill angels.) Wherefore it is certaine that when God hath a meaning, not onely to punish the wicked, but also to chastice his owne, or to try their faith constancie, and patience, he giueth power to diuels to this effect: yet such, as that hee alwaies limiteth them, so that they can do nothing, but so farre as is permitted them. Now he permitteth them so farre as hee knoweth to be expedient for his glory, and for the health of his: or so much as the sinnes and infidelity of men deserue, that he may chastice and punish them, and bring vengeance vpon them for their iniquities. And therefore mee seemeth that to such meteors the Epicures and Atheists should be sent, who mocke at the prouidence of God; as likewise the tyrants of this world, who treade all iustice vnder foote, to make them thinke a little, whether there be a God in heaven, & whether he be without power, and without meddling in the gouernment of the world. For I cannot beleue that there is any one of them, but would be waked out of his sleepe, how profound soeuer it were, when he should heare God shoote out of the highest heavens, and should vnderstand the noise of his cannons, and should behold the blowes that hee striketh. For hee is in a place so high, that all the wicked together cannot make battery against him, nor yet auoid his ineuitable strokes, who can slay them with the feare onely which they shall haue of his noise, without touching them. But though they cannot assure themselues in their hearts against this soueraigne maiestie and power of the eternall, yet are they so peruerse and wicked, that rather then that they will render to him the honour and glory which is due, they forge vnto themselues a nature, to which they attribute his works or else beleue that they happen by chaunce, as things comming by hap hazard, without any diuine prouidence. But leauing such manner of people, wee will pursue our discourse concerning things engendred in the higher elements, entreating of Snowes, Mistis, Frosts and Haile, the discourse whereof (A. S. E. R.) I referre to you.

Of snowes, mistis, frosts, ice, and haile. Chapter 45.

Job. 38.

A. S. E. R. **S**ith that God is not subiect to the nature which he hath created, but doth euer rest the Lord and master thereof, who can performe both without it, and with it all that he pleaseth: it therefore followeth, that we must referre, not to the creatures or to nature, the workes, which hee hath done in them, and by them, but to him alone, and must attribute to him the total glory thereof, and to depend wholly vpon him and vpon his prouidence. Now if wee shall consider all creatures in their originall and ende ordained by God, we shall finde that they are all good, and ordained by the creator for the benefit of the good. And yet it might seeme that he hath established some things, principally to take vengeance on the wicked, as by this text of scripture, where the Lord saith to *Job*; [Hast thou entred into the treasures of the snowe? or hast thou seene the treasures of the haile, which I haue hid against the time of trouble, against the day of warre and battell?] In which text is deliuered vnto vs a goodly doctrine of the forme, and of the place, wherethe snow and haile are engendred, to wit, in the chambers builded by God among the waters, which hee gardeth as treasures, and congealeth them

to serue him for scourges, to chastice and punish the froward. For it is hee (as the Psalmist chaunteb) who giueth snowe like wooll, and scattereth the boare frosts like ashes. He cast. Psalm. 147. eth soorth his Ice like morsels: who can abideth the cold thereof? He sendeth his word and melteth them: he causeth his winde to blowe, and the waters flow. This is he also (as saith Ecclesiasticus) which hasteneth the snow by his commandement, and strengtheneth the cloudes with great force to make the haile stones cracke. The south winde bloweth according to his will: the storme of the north, & the whirlewind flying out like birds, scatter the snowe, and the falling downe thereof is as an heape of grasshoppers or locusts that light downe in any country. The eie hath the whitnesse thereof in admiration, and the heart is astonished at the fall of it. The Lord powreth out the frost vpon the earth like salt, which when it is frozen sticketh on the tops of pales. The cold north winde bloweth, and the water is frozen: it abideth vpon the gatherings together of the water, and clotheth the water as with a breast plate. It deuoureth the mountaines, and burneth the wildeernes, and destroyeth that that is greene, like fire. The present remedie against all this, is a cloude, and the dew comming before the heate, appeaseth it. It is also written in the booke of Iob, Iob. 37. [The whirle winde commeth out of the heape of cloudes, and the colde from the north winde, at the breath God the frost is giuen, and the bredth of the waters is made narrow.] Iob 38. And therefore the Lord saith to Iob, Out of whose wombe came the ice? who hath engendred the frost of the heauen: The waters are hid as with a stone: and the face of the deepe is covered. Which is as much to say, as the waters take to them the forme of a stone, when they are conuerted into haile and ice, and that the sea is frozen ouer: for when the water is frozen, it seemeth to be hid and lost, and to be no more water.

Surely in these discourses we haue much to consider concerning the wonders of God. For is it not an admirable thing, that the water, which is soft, and runs so swiftly, should become as hard as stones, and that it can fall from heauen in such forme, yea sometimes so great that it doth not onely spoile the fruites of the earth, but doth also breake the branches of trees, and kill men and beasts. Hereof that is a certaine testimonie which we reade concerning the haile, which God sent vpon the Egyptians, by the ministerie of Moses, and Exod. 9. vpon the Amorites in the time of Ioshuah, in the warre of the Gibeonites. Indeepe this was Ioshu. 10. done contrarie to the course of nature, in respect of the Egyptians especially. For their land is not moistened, nor warred with raine from heauen, but onely by the riuer Nilus. And Deut. 11. therefore the power of God was evidently shewed, when hee caused so great haile to fall downe vpon the enemies of his people, that no man could iudge it to be naturall. For haile is made of raine frozen in the aire: and is different from snow and mists, in that the haile is engendred of raine more hard frozen: snowe of moisture more softly thicked: and mists and fogs of cold dewes. So that when the congealed water is frozen by a strong colde, it becommeth haile: if a small cold, it engendreth small drifling haile, such as falls commonly in the spring time, as in March and Aprill. But this me thinketh is worthis of greatest wonder, that the water in sommer time should bee congealed into haile; and that during the great heate of the sunne, the greatest congelation should bee made, from whence cometh this word amongst the Latines (*Grando*) which is as much to say, as a great drop of water: which is not seene in winter, when euery thing, through the exceeding colde, freezeth heere on earth: or if so bee this happen in such a time, it is spoken of as a newe and strange thing that comes not ordinarily in this season, like the snowe and mists, which are proper to winter and colde weather. For though the Naturalists trauell much to shew that all thinges are produced by inferior and naturall causes; yet must we principally acknowledge a diuine puissance aboue all, who hath causes hidden in his incomprehensible treasures from men, by which the haile, thunder, lightning, tempests and stormes Exod. 16. are disposed and dispersed according to his good pleasure. For as God made knowne to his people by the Manna which he sent them in the wildeernes, wherewith he nourished them for the space of fortie yeares in a barren and vnhabitable place, that hee could euermore very easily finde meanes enough, both ordinary and extraordinary, to nourish and maintaine them: so hath he made manifest by the rods and scourges wherewith hee hath beaten the Egyptians, that he can euermore very easily inuent meanes enow to punish his enemies, so often and whensoever he pleaseth, yea euen then, when there shall be no appearance thereof amongst men.

Now as God, when he pleaseth, conuerteth the water into stones, and so hardneth it that by great cold he doth (as it were) paue, not onely riuers, ponds, and lakes, but also great seas;

Of the frozen water, & how it is thawed.

Of the true profit that must be reaped concerning meteors.

Rom. i.

Heb. ii.

Ephes. 4.

seas; which he maketh so firme, that one may passe over them, yea and draw ouer great and heauy chariots, as it were ouer bridges, and firme land: so when it pleaseth him, he causeth all this water so hardned to returne into the proper kinde thereof, as if it had neuer benee frozen. And as there be windes to congeale it, so there are windes to dissolue and thawe it. For we must note, that yce doth not dissolue and thaw by the heate of the sunne onely, but also by the power of the windes ordained hereto, yea and much sooner so, then otherwise. Concerning all which things, and the causes of them, which God hath created and established in nature, we shall heere make a brieft and generall discourse. For if we should speake as the Philosophers haue written and disputed, we should haue matter enough to compose a great volume. But we will content our selues simply to propound heere the admirable workes of God, by which euery one may learne to feare, and honour him: which is the only, and the greatest profit that we must make of meteors, whereof our speach hath hitherto benee, and which do yet rest for vs to consider of. For our intent is to manifest in them, not onely the workes of the creation, which are therein proposed, but those also of the diuine providence, which are in the same after diuers sorts declared: and not to do as many, who are esteemed very learned in naturall Philosophie, and in all other letters and humane sciences, who are so badly aduanced in the knowledge of God by them, that instead of acknowledging and glorifying him as it behooueth them, they rather become Atheists and Epicures, contemners and mockers of his Maiestie, and of all religion. But the iudgements of God shall therefore light very grievous vpon them, because they shall be by so much the more inexcusable. For they are of the number of those of whom Saint Paul saith that by their infidelitie, and iniustice, they detain the truth in iniustice, because they vniustly and wilfully suppress the knowledge of the Eternall: for hauing knowne him in the workes of the creation of the world, which are as a mirrour and shew of inuisible things, they glorifie him not as God, neither are thankfull: but become vaine in their imaginatons, and their foolish heart is full of darkenes, and when they professe themselves wise, they become fooles; because it hath pleased God so to punish their proud presumption, and the vanitie of there vnderstanding. Wherefore likewise as the Apostle saith in an other place: They haue their cogitations darkened, and are strangers from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardnesse of their hearts. For by reason that they abuse the gift of knowledge, which they haue in a more ample measure then others, therefore doth the Omnipotent by his iust iudgement make them more blinde then the simple and ignorant, so that they are rather worthy to be accounted as beasts then as men. And yet the science and knowledge which they haue of the workes of God more abundant then others, is not cause of their blindnesse, considering that it is an excellent gift from above, profitable for all those, which can and will well vse it: but their malice, ingratitude, and peruersenesse of heart and vnderstanding pulleth this euill vpon them, through their owne fault, and by the iust vengeance of God. So that whereas their skill should open their eyes to guide them by the knowlege of the creatures, to that of the Creator, it is rather an hinderance vnto them, and deprieth them of that great and Soueraigne good. But we shall haue worthy arguments against their impietie in that which remaineth for vs to view, concerning other things engendred in the highest elements, amongst which many comprehend Comets, saying that they are of the number of sublime or high impressions, which are made in the region of the fire and aire. Wherefore pursuing our purpose wee will heare you (A M A N A) discourse vpon this subject.

Of comets. Chap. 46.

A M A N A. **A**Lthough we haue hitherto spoken of sondry sorts of the creatures & workes of God, by which he manifesteth and declareth his power, glory, maiestie, and eternall providence, and chiefly in the region of the aire, neuertheless there doe yet a great number remaine, which wee haue nothing at all touched either particularly or in generall, no not so much as cursorily. For there are so many sorts of fires of diuers formes that appeare in the skie above, that it is impossible to distinguishe them all particularly. And amongst them there are some which sometimes seeme to fall from heaven or as if the stars did snuffe themselves, as men snuffe a candle: so that the most part of rude and ignorant

rant people suppose it is so. Many others thinke that sometimes the starres sparkle. But the cause of such appearance is, for that the substance of heauen being very cleere, their beames shining towards vs, are euermore broken perpendicularly. For the aire beeing mooued, even as wee see the stones in the bottome of a riuer seeme to tremble, because of the running motion of the water; so doth the starres seeme to sparkle: and when the middle of the aire is vehemently stirred aboue, then they seeme to sparkle both more and oftner. But we wil leave this talke to speake of certaine heauenly fires, which we call comets, and which are worthy of great consideration, and of much maruell. For they appeare like bearded and hairy starres, hauing their motion with the heauen as if they were very starres: and certes we might wel suppose them such, and placed in heauen like therest, if they should long time continue. But the opinion of many is, (as *Aristotle* likewise writeth in his *Meteors*) that they are naturally made of an hotte exhalation, which attaineth to the supreamer region of the aire, where it is enflamed by the element of fire: so that of such an exhalation are fires kindled in heauen of diuers sorts and fashions. Neuerthelesse some learned moderne writers haue diligently obserued the height, whether these vapours may mount, doe thinke cleane otherwise: for they affirme that comets cannot be engendred in the region of the elements and are not affraide to giue sentence to *Aristotle*, who in truth being an Ethnike and Pagan, hath failed in the resolution of many particular questions. For hee hath strained himselfe to affirme many generall propositions, which our experience sheweth to bee vtterly false: as these. (That no living thing apprehendeth by sense that which is good; that a thing poized can incline neither to the one side nor to the other; & that the earth is in no part higher then the waters, and sundry others.) Now it hath bin permitted him to abandon the opinion of his master *Plato*, who taught the truth, yea and to reprehend him: it shall bee also lawfull for vs, and very laudable to separate our selues in opinion from him, & to contradict his writings for the truth.

They then that doe not acknowledge comets to bee conioyned vnto, and depending vpon the effects of the elementary fire, and aire, by meanes of exhalations and vapours arising from the earth, do alleadge among other reasons, that the place which is seene by the inhabitants of Milan vnder the circle of winter or the Tropicke of Capricorne, is distant from the earth tenne times more then the height that the vapours attaine to. And therefore the comets beeing seene there higher then the place of the vapours, it necessarily followeth, that they are not there engendred, neyther yet in the highest of the pure aire called (*Aether*) considering that there is no matter, which may bee kindled. But if any one alleadge that the combustible humour is rauished and attracted thither by the power of the starres though that this place be higher then the common place of vapours; wee may answere, that for as much as we behold many comets to continue more then two moneths, and some three, that this their long continuance may be an impediment thereto: because that the totall masse of the earth would not be sufficiēt for such an inflammation. Moreouer there is a means to know, whether the comet be in the region of the aire, or else be engendred in heauen. For if it be quicker in motion from West to East, then the Moone is; then of necessitie must the place of the comet be vnder the lowest sphere: but if it bee more slow, then without doubt it is bread in heauen. Now it is common to all comets to be mooued with three motions: namely, with the first from East to West in the space of foure and twentie houres, like all the Starres: with the second from West to East, almost in like space of time with the planet Venus. For a Comet which appeared the two and twentieth day of September 1532. and ended the third day of December, proceeded (as *Fracastrinus* writeth) in 71. one daies from the first part of Virgo, to the eight part of Scorpio. Which maketh manifest that it could not be vnder the Moone: for then it should haue been more swiftly mooued then this planet: which retrogradeth thirteenth parts of the Zodiacke in foure and twenty houres, according to the ordinarie course of the first motion: and the comet had proceeded but 63. degrees in 71. daies. But for the third motion peculiar to all comets, which is considered according to the latitude, it is such and so great, that if the foresaid Author be not deceiued, one is now mooued with incredible speede towards the North, and another in an instant towards the South. Which cometh to passe when the comets are neere to any of the Poles, for then a little varietie of place conferred to the zodiacke doth greatly change the latitude. Besides, it is to bee noted that the beard of euery comet doth directly stretch out that way, which is opposite to the Sunne: and when it setteth, the same taile is straight Eastward: As the like may bee dayly seene in the darke part of the

Why it seemeth that the stars doe sparkle.

Of comets and of the place where they are engendred.

Some propositions of Aristotle false.

Reasons of those who say that the comets are situated in heauen.

Comets mooued with three motions.

What a comet properly is.

Of the prodigies which are attributed to comets.

Of diuers kinds of comets.

Hist nat. lib. 2.

Moone. Moreover the comet doth most vsually accompany the Sunne and appeareth not but at euentide, and at the shutting vp of the day. Which giueth vs to vnderstand, that a comet is a globe placed in heauen, which being enlightened by the Sunne doth plainly appeare: and when his rayes passe farther, they shew like the fashion of a beard, or of a tayle. Whereupon it appeareth that this flaming globe may be made in the midst of the spheres, if the generation thereof be in them: or else we must say (and that seemeth true) that the heauen is full of many starres, not very massie, which (the aire being dry and attenuated) doe present themselves to our sight. For Venus her selfe is sometimes seene in broad day, which none can say to be newly engendred. Then through this drines of the aire it commonly happeneth, that the seas are much turmoiled with tempests, and that great blustering windes doe follow thereupon, and that Monarches and great Princes, who are most dry through cold and watchings, or else through abundance of hot and delicate meates and of strong wine, doe thereupon die: So likewise the dry and attenuated aire causeth the waters to diminish, fishes to die, and scarcity of victuals, which oftentimes stirreth vp seditions, and the change of lawes, and finally the subuersion of states. All which things (I say) doe seeme in some sort to proceed through the great tenuity and drines of the aire: and therof the comet then appearing may be a signe and token, but not the cause. But if we will meditate vpon these things like christians, wee will say, that what naturall causes soeuer Naturalists and Astrologers can render concerning comets, signes and wonders which appeare sometimes in heauen, [that they should be so often vnto vs, like so many trumpets, heraulds, & fore-runners of the Iustice of God, to aduertise men that they remaine not buried in their filth and sins, but to returne to the infinit goodnes of God, who reacheth out his hand, & calleth to vs through such signes to change our life and leaue our execrable vices, to the ende that through his mercy, we may obtaine pardon for our faults.

But let vs likewise note, that although sundry sorts of comets are seene, yet the greekes call them properly starres that haue a sanguine bush of haire, and are bristled at the toppe. And those which haue vnder them a long beard made like haire, they call (*Pogonies*). *Pliny* reporteth of sundry other sorts: and saith, that the shortest time that euer comet was seene to appeare, hath bene seuen daies, and the longest time eighty. Hee maketh mention also of one, which seemed terrible about the clime of Egypt and Ethiopia. For it was flaming and wreathed round like a serpent, hauing a very hideous and dreadfull aspect: so that one would haue said, that it had rather bene a knotte of fire, then a starre. Afterward this author concludeth his speech, with the opinion that many haue (as is aboue said) that comets are perpetuall, and that they haue a proper and peculiar motion: saying also, that none can see them, except they be very farre distant from the sunne, in such sort that they may not be couered with his beames. And yet the opinion of *Aristotle* is cleane contrary thereto, and so are a great number of other Philosophers, who affirme that comets are composed of a certaine fire, and of an humour which it lighteth one by chance, for which cause, they are subiect to resolution. But we will proceed no farther in this argument, nor yet concerning the situation of them, whether they be vnder the spheres, or amongst them: but will pursue our purpose concerning things vndoubtedly engendred in the highest elements, as namely, the Cloudes. The discourse whereof (*ARAM*) I referre to you.

Of Cloudes and Vapours. Chap. 47.

Psal. 19.
How cloudes
are made of
vapours.

ARAM. AS the Lord and Father of this great Vniuers doth publish his glory by the motions of the heauens, and the marvellous courses of all the lights in them, so doth he likewise in the aire after many sorts, as we haue already heard, and as we haue yet good proofes in that which is presented vnto vs for the matter of our discourse. And therefore the kingly Prophet saith, that the heauens report the glory of God, and the firmament doth declare his workes. For the Hebrew word, which we call firmament, doth properly signifie (a spreading abroad) and comprehendeth both the heauen and the aire. Now let vs first note, that there is nothing more weaker then the aire, nor any element that can worse sustaine a charge, if it haue no other prop. Then let vs consider of what matter the cloudes are made, and what firmenesse they may retaine. It is certain
that

that they are nothing els but vapors attracted out of the waters by the power of the sun, as we behold after a great raine, when the heate of the sunne striketh vpon the earth. For we perceiue the water to ascend vpwads like a great smoke: and we see an other cleere experience hereof in wet clothes and linnen, when they receive the heat of heauen, or of the fire. So it is then, that the water ceaseth not to mount from earth vp into the aire, and then to descend downe againe, so the course thereof is perpetuall, as if there were a sea mounting from earth to heauen, which we call (Aire,) then descending from thence down hither to vs. For after that of vapors, which ascend from the earth, the clouds are gathered together, which like sponges doe receive the steame of the waters, whereof they themselues are engendered; then doe they carry them like chariots, to distribute them through all the quarters of the world, according as is ordained by the providence of God. And therefore *Elihu* saith in the booke of *Iob*, (Behold God is excellent, and we know it not neither can the number of his yeeres be searched out, when he restraineth the droppes of water, the raine powreth downe by the vapor thereof, which raine the clouds doe drop and let fall abundantly vpon man. Then proceeding to shew, how God spreadeth out the light of the sunne vpon the waters of the sea, to draw out and produce vapors, he addeth: [Who can know the diuisions (that is varieties and diuersities) of the clouds, and the thunders of his tabernacle: Behold he spreads his light vpon it, & couereth the roots of the sea.] Meaning by roots the waters of the sea, as well because they are deep, as for that they are diu-
 ded by diuers waues like the branches of rootes. Moreouer, we must consider that to carry
 and conuey the cloudes hither and thither, God hath created the winds, which blow from
 all the quarters of the world: some to gather the clouds together, and to bring raine & snow
 or haile and tempests, by means of the same cloudes, according as pleaseth the Creator to
 dispose them: other winds on the contrary do disperse them and make the aire cleere and
 pleasant, bringing faire weather. Hereof then it cometh, that aboue in the aire, betweene
 heauen and earth, there is, as it were an other heauen made of cloudes spread out like a
 cortaine, or like a vault of couering ouer our heads, which hindereth vs of sight of the sun,
 Moone, and Starres. But as the masse of cloudes is made by meanes of windes ordai-
 ned thereto, so when it pleaseth God to giue vs faire weather, then doth hee send vs
 other winds, which chase away all these cloudes, and cleere the aire, as if they had been swept
 away, and the heauen sheweth another countenance to the world, as if it had bin changed
 and renewed.

Property of
the windes in
regard of the
cloudes.

Now while the aire is filled with cloudes, this may very well bee considered by vs, that
 men haue then (as it were) a great sea of water ouer their heads, containd and held with
 in those cloudes, as the waters of the sea are within the bounds which are assigned them
 for their course. Which seemeth that *Moses* taught, when hee sheweth that God crea-
 ting all things separated the waters, which are vpon the earth, from those which are in
 the aire, saying thus: That there was a stretching out between the waters, and that it sepa-
 rated the waters from the waters. God then made the firmament (or spreading abroad or
 stretching out) and separated the waters, which are vnder the firmament from those which
 were aboue it, and it was so. And God called the firmament, Heauen.] It is sure that by
 these words, many haue thought that the Prophet would teach, that there were waters, both
 vnder and aboue heauen: which seemeth to be confirmed by the Psalmist, saying [Praise ye
 the Lord heauens of heauens, & waters that be aboue the heauens, praise his name.] Neuer-
 thelesse it is not very easie for vs to vnderstand, what waters may be aboue the heauens, if
 we doe not take the name of heauen in these two texts, for the aire, as wee haue heretofore
 shewed, that it is oftentimes so taken. For what shall wee answer being demanded to what
 vse the materiall waters may serue, either among the spheres, or aboue the planets and stars?
 And for to take the name of waters here, for spirituall waters, not corporall, as many haue
 argued: me seemeth, (vnder correction of the wiser) which we preferre in all our discour-
 ses, that this cannot fitly be affirmed; because it doth evidently appeare that *Moses* speaketh
 of materiall waters. For he accomodating himselfe to a grosse people, among whom he
 conuersed, maketh no mention in all the creation of the world, but of the creating of
 visible and corporall things; That there is small likelihood that hee should speake of o-
 ther waters, mixing spirituall things with corporall. But because the Latine translator of
 the common version of the Bible hath vsed, it in this text, the word firmament, following
 the translation of the Greekes, and not the proper word (spreading abroad) as the Hebrew
 phrase doth signifie; some of the learned haue obserued, how that many Latine Diuines
 haue

Genes. 1

Psalm. 148.
Whether
there be any
materiall wa-
ter aboue the
heauens.

Of the chry-
stalline hea-
ven.

Of the separa-
tion of the
terrestriall &
celestiall wa-
ters.

Psal. 104.

Iob. 26.

Exod. 13. 14.
16. and 40.
Acts 1.

Matth. 24.

have bene hindered from the vnderstanding of this doctrine. For they have taken the name Firmament, for the starry heaven (as also the Greekes haue iudged) imitating their translation. Whereupon the imagination is sprung of waters about the heavens, and of a chrySTALLINE heaven: which I suppose to have bene so called, by reason of these waters, which were supposed to be about the firmament; because that chrySTALL is made of ice, and ice of water. For it had bene very difficult to conceive how materiall waters, which by nature are corruptible, might be about the celestiall spheres, except they were hardened and conuerted into chrystal, because that from the moone vpwards, there are no creatures subiect to corruption and to such changes, as those that are vnder the moone. Behold then, why these men haue supposed such waters to have bene made partakers of the nature of heaven. But what neede is there to trauell in such disputations, and to take paines for to haue recourse to allegories, when one may be easily satisfied with the literall sense? For there is nothing more easie, then to make the words of *Moses* cleere and euident, beeing thoroughly considered. For first hee hath declared, how that the earth was couered all ouer with water, and that there was a great deepe overwhelmed with darknes, so that the earth did in no wise appeare, til such time as God had commanded the waters to retire themselves into their places, which he hath assigned for their perpetuall residence. And then the earth was discovered, even so much thereof as was needfull for the habitation and nourishment of men, and of all the creatures, which God did afterwards create. Therefore *David* (as the expounder of *Moses* words, saith) That the Lord hath set the earth vpon her foundations: adding straight after, That he had couered it with the deepe, at with a garment, and that the waters did stand about the mountaines; but as his rebuke they fled: which is as much to say, as when God hath commaunded the waters to retire and to discover the earth, they suddenly obeyed the voice of their creatour. Now *Moses* having spoken of those waters which are resident here below on earth, gathered as well into the sea, as into fountaines and rivers, he afterwards declareth, how God would assigne vnto them another abode in a certain region of the aire, which hee first calleth a spreading abroad, and after that heaven, which the Psalmist also signifieth when he saith of God, that hee couereth himselfe with light as with a garment, and spreadeth the heavens like a curtaine, which is to say: that the light is to the creator like a stately garment, wherein we behold his glory to shine and glister euery where, and that he hath spread abroad the heavens like a pavilion for his habitation. Moreover, he addeth, [The Lord doth lay the ioules of his high chambers among the waters: he maketh the great clouds his chariot. He holdeth backe (saith *Iob*) the face of his throne & stretcheth out his cloud vpon it.] And therefore the Scripture doth also teach vs, that God hath oftentimes declared his presence, and manifested his glory both to *Moses*, and to all the people of *Israel* by the cloudes. And when *Iesus Christ* ascended into heaven a cloud taking him, bare him vp in the sight of his Apostles, to declare vnto them, and make them sure of the place whether he went, vsing this cloud as a triumphat chariot, which hath giuen testimony of his soueraigne and eternall maiestie. And therefore it is also written, that he shall come in the cloudes of heaven with power and glorie. Wherefore if we were well instructed in the sacred word of God we should haue a very cleare doctrine concerning Meteors, and which were much more profitable then that which Philosophers teach. For the cloudes would excellently declare vnto vs the magnificence and maiestie of God, so often as wee should behold them, and would represent vnto vs all the wonders by vs here mentioned: as wee shall also bee induced to admire them, considering more neerely the great miracle of the waters sustained and hanged in the aire, as pursuing our purpose I leave to you (*ACHITO*) to discover.

Of the waters sustained and hanged in the aire, and of the Raine-bowe. Chap. 48.

ACHITO. I Will beginne my speach with the saying of the kingly Prophet, who after that he had appointed the heavens for the pavilion of God, and ordeined the cloudes for the planchers thereof, whereupon are raised the loftie chambers (that is to say, the great and spacious waters amassed vp within the cloudes, which hee also proposeth vnto vs as the chariot, vpon which the Eternall is borne) being consequently

willing

willing to shew what the horses are, by which the chariot is drawne and driven, he saith, [He walketh vpon the wings of the wind. He maketh the spirits his messengers, and flaming fire his ministers:] which is as much, as if in some he would declare, that men need not labour to mount aloft into heauen there to contemplate and behold God, sith that he so cleerely manifesteth himselfe throughout the whole world, principally by the celestiall creatures, and then by the magnificent and marvellous workes, which he daily performeth heerein the aire neere vnto vs, and before our eyes. So surely, if wee must account as great miracles, the coming of the Sunne vnto vs and his returne, which daily continueth, and the courses and motions of all the other celestiall bodies, wee haue no lesse occasion to account as a thing miraculous and and worthie of great wonder, that we so often behold here below, a great cell of waters ouer our heads in the aire, sustained by the water it selfe, & by vapours like to smoke, as if they were hanged in the aire, and were there borne vp without any stay and prop, but by the inuisible vertue and power of God, For otherwise, how could the cloudes sustaine so great heapes, and such deepe gulfes of water, considering that they are nothing else but water, and do also come at lenght to resoluue into water? Againe how without this diuine power could these cloudes be supported in the aire, seeing that the aire it selfe seemeth to consist of waters most subtilly distilled, being very light, and in continuall motion. For it evidently appeareth, that the aire retaineth much of the nature of water, because that so ordinarily it conuerteth therein, being inclosed in a cold and moist place: so that many fountaines are by this meanes engendred of aire, if we will credit Naturalists. And therefore as *David* saith of the waters, which runne about the earth, that God hath appointed a bound vnto them, which they may not passe, nor returne any more to souerflow the habitation of men: so may we likewise say, that he hath bounded the waters that hang in the aire, within the cloudes, to the end that they may not runne loosely a-frey. And therefore *Iob* saith: (He bindeth the waters in the cloudes, and the cloud is not broken vnder them.) For else it is most certaine that so often as these waters should fall vp on the earth, they would drowne vp all things whereupon they powred, like as when the sea and riuers ouerflow the banks, or like a great deluge, as come to passe, when God punished the world by waters, in the time of *Noah*. For it is written, that not onely all the fountaines of the great deep were broken vp, but that the windowes of heauen were opened, and that raine fell vpon the earth forty daies and forty nights. For which cause also the Psalmist singeth [The voice of the Lord is vpon the waters, the glory of God maketh it to thunder; the Lord is vpon the great waters. He was set vpon the flood, and he shall remaine king for euer:] which is as much to say, as the Lord hath executed his iudgement vpon the wicked, by the waters of the flood, and that as then hee tooke vengeance, so it is he, that doth for euer remaine iudge of the world, & that maketh all creatures to tremble before him. Where wee haue great matter of feare and trembling, if wee beleue the word of God, and the testimonies which it deliuereth of his iudgements, when I say, wee diligently consider the effects of the nature of the higher elements. Therefore whensoever wee see close weather, and the aire filled with cloudes, threatning vs with raine and tempests, the sight thereof should alwaies refresh and renew in vs the memory of this iudgement of God, so terrible and vniuersal in the flood, to teach vs to walke in more feare of his Maiestie. But there are few, which think thereupon, and can make their profit thereof: and many to the contrary, doe but iest and scoffe at it, as if it were a fable, and a fantasie.

I know very well, that the Scripture saith, that God set the Raine-bow in the cloudes for signe of an accord and attonement betweene him and men, and every liuing creature, to the end that the water might neuer after increase to such a flood as should roote out all flesh. But we must note, that the Eternalldoth not here promise, neuer to send any deluge vpon the earth, but onely not a generall and vniuersall flood, as the first was in the time of *Noah*. For how many times hath he punished particularly many people with great inundations and deluges of water: signifying vnto all, that he hath all his creatures at commandement for euer to make them serue, either to his wrath or to his mercy, according as he will intreat men? and hereupon wee shall learne, that though it seemeth, that in the place before alledged, the Raine bow is named, as if it had beene spred in the aire at that time onely, when it was giuen by GOD as a signe and Sacrament of his couenant renewed: yet neuertheless wee must not doubt, but that when GOD created the causes of this Bowe in nature ordayned by him, hee did also create it in the establishing of the world with other creatures. But it was not vsed by God for a testimonie of

Wonder of
the waters ca-
ried in the
aire.

Iob 26.

Genes 7.

Psalm 29.

Genes 9.
Many goodly
things to be
considered in
the rainebow.

his attonement with mankinde, till after the flood. So likewise it is certain, that this heavenly bow hath naturally had at all times the significations which at this present it retaineth, to presage raine or faire weather, according as it diuersly appeareth. But since that the creator hath accepted it for a signe of his covenant, it hath had this vantage, to be ordained as a gage and witness of the promises of God. And therefore whensoever we behold it in heaven, we must not onely consider of it, as of a naturall thing, and as a prognosticator sometimes of raine, sometimes of faire weather: but likewise as a witness and memoriall as well of the iudgement of God, as of his grace and mercy, and of the assurance of the conseruation of all creatures by his providence. But though it should teach vs nothing of al this, but should onely retaine the beauty and naturall signification thereof, yet might it serue as for an excellent testimony of the maiesty of God, and incite vs to giue him praise. For which cause *Ecclesiasticus* saith. (Looke vpon the rainebow and praise him that made it: very beautifull it is in the brightnes therof. It compasseth the heauen about with a glorious circle, & the hands of the most high haue bended it.) For what man is so dull, but doth admire the great variety of so faire colours as appeare in it, even in a substance so fine and subtile, that it cannot be perceived by any corporall sense, saue by the sight.

Ecclef. 43.

Of the cause
of the diuers
colours that
appeare in the
rainebow.

Hi& nat. lib. 2.

*2. Pet. 2.
Against A-
theists.*

2. Peter 2.

I know that the philosophers doe teach, that as a droppe of water, which one seeth in the sunne, representeth many goodly colours like those in the rainebowe, which is made of a thicke watery cloud full of droppes, in the middle region of the aire. For every darke obscure thing is, as it were, almost blacke, as the shadowes doe demonstrate, which by reason of their obscurity seeme to be blacke. And when an obscure thing is illuminated, if it be bright, it passeth in colours, according to the abundance of the brightnes. Now the cloud is obscure, and the drops of water are bright, and for this cause they represent vnto vs colours according to the variety of that light which shineth vpon them. And forasmuch as the innermost circle of the bow is neere to the obscure or dark cloud, it seemeth commonly to be blew, that to the middle, which is more illuminate, appeareth greene, and the vpper circle, which is greatest, and most lighted with celestially brightnes, is yellow. Forasmuch then as there is a cause of euery thing, the Naturalists do much endeavour themselves to render reasons, concerning the diuersities of these colours: as Astrologians doe also, to argue vpon the diuers predictions of this bowe, as presaging sometimes raine, sometimes faire weather, sometimes winde, and sometimes calme and cleere weather. Yet *Pliny* saith; that it is often seene, when it doth not prognosticate any thing, and that no heede is taken of it, for the time to come. But let every one ascertaine himselfe, that it is caused by the beames of the sunne, which striking into an hollow cloud, are constrained to reuerberate, and returne vpwards towards the sunne. And that the diuersity of colours, which are therein represented, is made by the mixture of the clouds, of the aire, and of the fire, which are found there together. Moreover; that this bow neuer is, but when the sunne is opposit to that cloud & that it exceeds not the forme of a semicircle: also that it appeareth not by night, though *Aristotle* saith that it hath sometimes been then seene. But we will leaue the philosophers to dispute vpon these things, and to search the depth of their naturall causes; and will conclude this speech, and make an end of this day with a point of doctrine, concerning the meteors of Christians: which is, that wee must take very good heed, not to be of the number of those, who boasting of the knowledge of humane sciences, haue despised the spirituall and diuine: and of whom Saint *Peter* hath prophesied saying, That there should come in the last daies mockers and contempters of God, walking according to their owne lusts, which should say, [Where is the promise of his comming? For since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the creation.] Which is as much as they should say, that there is a common and continuall course of nature, which hath hitherto continued from the beginning of the world, and shall endure for ever, without end, and without any iudgement of God to come. For thus prate our idolaters of nature, who do altogether denie the providence of God. And therefore the blessed apostle doe also adde, that they willingly knowe not that the heauens were of old, and that earth, that was of the water, and the water by the word of God. By which things the world that was, perished, being overflowed with waters. Likewise saint *Peter* had before concluded; that if God had not spared the olde world, but saved *Noah* the eight person, a preacher of righteousness, and brought in the flood vpon the troupe of the vngodly: it cannot be that the wicked, which are borne since into the world, may thinke that their condemnation sloweth, and that their perdition sleepeeth. For a thousand yeres are but as one day, & one day is as a thousand yeres before the

the Lord. And the long terme that God alloweth to men, to preuent his iudgement by repentance and amendment, shall not hinder him to execute his iudgement, yea by so much the more rigorously, by how much the more long time, and more viely they haue abused his stay and patience. Let vs then imprint this at this present in our memorie, concerning our discourse of the waters sustained and hanged in the aire, which haue serued God for so terrible ministers in the execution of his iustice, when it pleased him to punish the iniquitie of men: and to morrow, pursuing our subiect, wee will speake againe of raines, and heavenly waters, to the end to consider of the admirable providence of God, which shineth in them: euen as you (ASER) shall giue vs to vnderstand.]

The end of the sixth day.

The seauenth dayes worke.

Of Dewes and Raines. Chap. 49.

ASER.



He providence of God hath so disposed the nature of the aire and of the water, that these elements seeme to repaire and maintaine one another. For there is a place in the aire where water is, as it were, converted into the nature thereof: there is another place againe, wherein water returneth into his owne naturall kinde, saving that whilest it hangeth and is sustained in the aire, it is much more light and subtile then that which runneth in the earth, for it retaineth

more of the earth. Although then that water is by nature more heauy then the aire; yet doth not the heauinesse thereof let it from mounting vp from the earth, because that by the the heat of the Sunne which attracteth it, and other such like naturall causes, by which it may be eleuated into the aire, this waightinesse is taken from it, or at least is so diminished, that it doth then retaine more of the nature of aire, then of water, and so doth till such time as it hath ascended, and attained to the place which God hath assigned to it in the aire. For the heat of the sunne doth conuert it first into vapors, which are drawne out of the least terrestriall and most subtile parts thereof, which approach neere to the nature of the aire. For which cause these vapors are more easily converted into aire, the which resolue it selfe againe into water, then when such vapors are arrived at the middle region of the aire, which is the coldest part thereof, as well by reason that it is farther distant from the sunne and from all the other celestiaall and atherian fires, then the supreme part thereof is; as likewise because it cannot be heated like the lowest part thereof, by reuerberation of the sunnes heate, which scorseth the earth. Wherefore *Moses* declaring vnto vs, how the Lord made the water mount from the earth, and converted it into vapors, saith: [The Lord God had not caused it to raine vpon the earth, neither was there a man to till the ground, but a mist (or vapor) went vp from the earth, and watered all the earth.] For we behold every day, how that after the aire hath beene refreshed by the choolenes of the night, the dew falleth in the morning vpon the earth: and if the colde hath beene great, it is turned into mist, and white hoarie frost, from which proceede the frosts that doe often times spoile vines and trees, which are most tender in colde weather, when their branches, are yet feeble, and they beginne to budde.

How the water ascendeth vp from the earth and changeth nature.

And let vs note, that there are two sorts of vapors, which do commonly rise from the terrestriall towards the celestiaall region: the one is fat and thicke, wherof the dew is made: and the other is subtile and thinne, which turneth into raine. Corne fields are fatned by the dew, which by reason of the thickenes thereof mounteth not very high: and if that any part of it be better concocted (as doth happen ordinarily in hot countries) it resteth condensate through colde vpon the plants, and is called Manna. Of this it is that *Pliny* speaketh, when he saith, that the great starres being risen in sommer, and specially the most excellent, or else when the raine bow is ouer the earth, and that it raine not, but only make a small dew, which

Of two sortes of vapours which make dewe and raine.

Hist. nat. l. 11.

Why it raineth but little in Summer, and diuersly in other seasons.

Difference of raine water, and earth water.

Cloudes are the aire: as ships are vpon the waters.

which is heated by the sun beames; that which then falleth is not home, but is an heavenly gift and singular medicine for the eies, for vicers, and for those accidents which may happen in the nauell and interior parts. Which Manna is plentifully gathered in Targa, a wilderness of Libya, neere to the citie Agades, especially when the nights are very faire, partly for that they are colder then the day; and partly for that the dewes cannot conuert themselves into the substance of clouds: because as I said it is condensate by the colde. Whereupon ensueth that when the raine is ingendred of vapors, the colde cannot bee great: for then such vapors are attracted by the heate, and are presently after thickened by the colde in the region of the aire. And therefore there is but little Manna found when the night is cloudie, and lesse when it is rainie, for then it melteth. Behold then how the fattest part of vapors turneth into dew, and that which mounteth vp, is condensate through colde in the subtilie aire, and is afterwards conuerted into raine. And because that in sommer the heate doth drie vp very neere so much as it attracteth in vapors, there is therefore very seldome little raine therein: for considering that in our countries the heate is weake, it attracteth by little and little the vapors, which the driness doth oftentimes consume before they can be conuerted into raine. Wherefore it commeth to passe, that if it raine in summer, the raine is suddenly engendred: for when the cloudes are too slow, they are consumed by the driness of the sunne. And there where the aire is very colde, and consequently thicke and grosse, the vapor, which is thither drawne, being very light, cannot be condensate, because of the thickenesse of the aire and the thinnesse of the vapor. Which causeth, that in stead of raine, snow is engendred: for snow is a congelation of a vapor not condensate for the subtilie of his proper substance, and for because of the thickenesse of the aire. Wherefore when the cold is great in winter, it raineth little. And for the spring time, because that the succeeding day doth consume more vapor, then the precedent day had attracted (for in the spring time the latter daies are still hotter, and haue shorter nights) for this cause it raineth then lesse then in autumn, and oftner then in sommer or winter. But in Autumn showres of raine are commonly great, and of long continuance: For the sunne being as then still powerfull vpon the earth, many vapors are drawn vp. But because the succeeding day hath still a longer night then the precedent, and for that it was also warmer it is necessarie that the vapor should thicken, and afterwarde descend. And when the earth is moistned, then that which did descend, is againe attracted, lying then not onely raine, the earth, and being still somewhat deeper then before. Whereof are made vpon the superficies of but also rainie and windie cloudes.

Thus haue we in summe then the forme of dewes and raine, and the diuersitie of course, and how the earthly and heavenly waters differ from one another, the raine water retaining more of the aire, and being much purer and lighter, then that which doth alwaies remaine in the earth. For in comparison of terrestriall water it is like water distilled through a Limbeck. And yet how light soeuer it be, it must neuertheless be heauier then the aire, and especially, when it is frozen within the cloudes, and conuerted into snow or haile, which is like stones of ice. Wherein it seemeth that this rule of nature and naturall Philosophie is not generally true, which affirmeth, That every heauie thing doth alwaies drawe downward, considering there are waters hanged in the aire, which is much lighter then the waters that it sustaineth. Wherefore wee must say, that cloudes are in the aire in the region that is assigned vnto them, in such sort as ships are in the water. For none doubteth, but that stones, iron, lead, and all other mettals, yea, infinite other things of lesse waight, are heavier then the water; yet we neuerthes doe behold, that there is no burthen so waightie, but the water doth easily support it, by meanes of a Boat, or a wooden Shippe, or a Galley, which shall be euen of it selfe a great and heavy load. And yet the water, which will sustaine such a charge, cannot beare vp a pinne, or a naile, or a small peece of gold, or silver, or a little stone, but all shall sink to the bottome. Now the cause of all these effects is the participation that the wood hath with the aire, which maketh it much lighter then the other bodies, which are more solide and massie. For by reason that the wood is more open, and more loose to giue way to the aire, it receiueth lightnesse thereof, which causeth it to float vpon the water, whereas the other more terrestriall bodies doe sink thereinto. So then the aire sustaineth by meanes of the cloudes, the waters which they containe inclosed within them: euen as the sea and great rivers sustaine grosse and heavy burdens, by meanes of Ships. For though the cloudes doe consist of water themselves, and are engendred of it, being drawne into the aire, through blowing of the windes, and afterwarde massed vp in

Of fruitfulness caused by raine.

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in one bodie (as we have already vnderstood) yet do they subsist of a water lesse terrestriall and more aerie, then those waters, which flow here below: for which cause they are also more light, and more easily sustained by the aire, vpon which they floate, like ships vpon the sea and other waters. And afterwarde when the cloudes returne into their first nature of water, and when they be opened to let fall the waters which they containe, the water which proceedeth from them doth resume also his proper course, according to the naturall heaviness thereof, and returneth downewards, descending to the earth. And as ships sinke downe into the water, when they are overchagred, as likewise the charges and burdens, wherewith they are ladden, when they are split or broken by violence of windes or by some other force which maketh them dash one against another, & against the rocks: so is it with the clouds, & with the things which they beare, and with the windes also wherewith they are driven, or else are inclosed with them, which make a great noise, when they strue to issue out, so that the cloudes are rent and cracke, as the thunders testifie vnto vs, and the tempests, lightnings, and thunderclaps which proceede from them, as also the great deluges of water, which shewre downe with great violence and furie. But we haue staied long enough in this matter: let vs now consider of the marvellous prouidence of God, which shineth in the dispensation of the raine and heavenly waters. As (A M A N A) I leaue to you to discourse,

Of the fertilitie caused by dewes and raine, and of the prouidence of God therein. Chapter 30.

A M A N A. I N vaine shall we consider in meteors the workes of nature, which are therein proposed very great and excellent, as our precedent speech doth manifest; if we doe not learne in the same to consider and acknowledge the prouidence of God governing all things, as it revealeth it selfe in sundry sorts. For all these goodly visible works must serue vs as images of the inuisible and spirituall things, so that all the creatures of God may be competent iudges to condemne vs, if by them wee doe not learne to acknowledge their and our creatour, and to obey and honour him as becometh vs: we neede no other iudges, I say, to make vs vnexcusable before the throne of Gods iustice, according to the testimonie of Saint *Paul*, sith he hath as it were, made visible to the eie his diuinitie, his power, his bountie and wisdom through his works, and that so neere vnto vs, as almost to be touched with our owne hands. For (as this holy apostle in another place saith) he is neere to euery one of vs: so that howsoeuer we be blind, yet should we at least finde him by groping like those that want sight. For hee neuer wanteth very euident witness amongst men, in conferring benefits vpon the, & namely in giuing them raine from heauen, and fruitfull seasons, according to the subiect we are now to speake of. Let vs know then, that it is he who distributeth the raine & heavenly waters by an admirable prouidence & who also keepeth them hidden when he pleaseth, in such sort, that there is no cloud seene in the aire, and sometimes for so long space, that the earth becommeth drie, and as it were burnt vp with the beames of the Sun, for want of moisture from heauen, as it was in the dayes of *Elias*. And then hee executed the sentence wherewith hee threatned the transgressors of his Law, when he denounced to them by *Moses*, that hee would make the heauen as brasle, and the earth as iron: that is to say, that there should come no more raine from heauen, then if it were of brasle: whereupon doth also follow, that the earth not being moistened with water from heauen, should become barren, bearing no more fruit, then if it were of Iron. For as it is written, [The earth, which drinketh in raine that cometh oft vpon it, and bringeth forth herbes meete for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing of God. But that which beareth thornes and briars is reprooued, and is neere vnto cursing, whose end is to be burned.] And therefore likewise the Prophet saith in the Psalmes, that God turneth the floods into deserts, and springs of water into drinnesse, and the fruitfull ground into saltnesse: which is asmuch as if he should say, that hee maketh it altogether barren, as if one had sowed salt there. Adding also afterwards, that it is for the wickednesse of those that dwelt therein, and that contrariwise hee turneth the deserts into pooles of water, and the drie land into water springs, making it an habitation for such as were famished, who there sowe the fields and plant vines, which bring forth yearly

Rom. 1.

Acts 17.

1 King. 17.

& 18.

Leuit. 26.

Deut. 28.

Heb. 6.

Psalm. 107.

I say 7.

yeerely froite. For this cause the Lord being angrie with his people, saith by *I say*, [I will command the cloudes that they shall distill no raine vpon my vineyard.] Meaning by this kinde of speech, his people whom he hath elected. And surely the holy spirit would giue vs to vnderstand this one thing more in this text, that as the earth waxeth barren, if it bee not watred by raine from heauen; so men cannot performe any thing, if God powre not downe his grace vpon them, as he caused the raine waters to shewre down vpon the earth. Wherefore as it is vnfruitful, not being watred from heauen: even so is mankind, when God withdraweth his blessing. For we are all cursed by nature, as the earth is, as wee euen now heard the Apostle giue euidence.

Psalm. 65.
Of the fertility
caused by
raine.

When therefore it pleaseth the creator, he commandeth the clouds to distribute their waters, to the end that the earth may be moistened and watred, to make it fertile. And therefore the kingly Prophet saith againe. [Thou visitest the earth and watrest it: thou makest it very rich; the river of God is full of water; thou preparest the corne, for so thou appointest it. Thou watrest abundantly the furrowes thereof; thou causest the raine to descend into the valleies thereof; thou makest it soft with showers, and bledest the bud thereof. Thou crownest the yeere with thy goodnesse, and thy steps drop fatnes.] Meaning by the steps or paths, and walkes of the Lord, the cloudes, for that the Scripture proposeth him vnto vs, walking vpon them: and by fatnesse hee vnderstandeth the raine which droppeth vpon the earth, as it doth also serue therefore. And in another Psalme he againe recordeth: [The Lord watreth the mountaines from his loftie chambers:] which is as much to say, as God causeth it to raine vpon the mountaines to make them fruitfull. And therefore hee further addeth, [That the earth is filled with the fruite of his workes.] Wherein the Prophet doth also expound his owne meaning, saying before, that the Almighty laide the planchers of his high chambers amongst the waters, and after that hee hath generally entreated of the fertilitie which God bestoweth vpon the earth, by meanes of the raine, hee doth declare it more particularly, saying [He causeth grasse to grow for the cattle, and herbe for the vse of man, that hee may bring forth bread out of the earth; and wine that maketh glade the heart of man; and oyle that maketh the face to shine, and bread that strengthneth mans heart. The high trees are satisfied, euen the Cedars of Libanon, which he hath planted: That the birds may make their nests there: the Storke dwelleth in the fir-trees.] Where we cleerely behold how God sendeth his blessing vpon the earth, by meanes of the raine, to the end that it may bring forth fruits, not onely for the nourishment of men; but also for the commoditie of beaſts. Which may serue vs for a certaine testimonie of his providence towards mankind. For if he hath care of the bruite beaſts which he hath created for men; there is no doubt, but he hath much more care of them whom hee hath created after his owne image and semblance, and aboue all, of his children and elect. And for this cause also the Psalmist signifieth, how that God hath not onely bene carefull to provide for their necessities, as for the necessities of other creatures; but it hath also pleased him to bestowe vpon them pleasures and honest comforts, conuenient both for his Maieſtie, as also for the nature of man: when he saith, that GOD hath given wine to man to make him merrie; and oyle to make his face shine. For although hee already had the waters for drinke, and which might suffice him to stanch his thirst, and for his necessarie beuerage, it hath neuerthelesse pleased him through his great liberalitie to bestow wine vpon him also, which is as much more delicious drinke, and which doth so comfort him, that it bringeth ioy and pleasure to him. And for oyle, it doth not onely serue in meats and medicinall ointments; but also to make compositions and sweete saouours, to beautifie and refresh mans countenance. Which specialities the prophet would not omit: because that in his dayes oyle was in great vse, to make such precious ointments, as the ancients vsed to annoint themselves withall, as is nowadaies done with oyle of Spike, and other such odouriferous oyles and sweete waters. And if God hath at some times multiplied by the hands of his faithfull ministers the poore widowes oyle (as his word teacheth vs) hee causeth it to abound much more every day, when he maketh it encrease in the lands which hee hath destinated to that purpose, converting the water, which runneth vpon the olive trees into oyle: yea and that water, which droppeth vpon the earth into corne and bread which he daily doth much more abundantly multiply then in times past hee did the poore widowes meale by *Elias*, yea then Iesus Christ did multiply the loaves in the wilderness. And therefore if wee shall consider how the Almighty creator of heauen and earth causeth so many fruites to grow in this round masse through the distillations of raine, and through

Psalm. 104.

Testimony
of the provi-
dence of God
towards men.

2. King. 4.

1. King. 17.
Math. 14.
& 15.

Of fruitfulness caused by raine.

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through the heate of the Sunne, we holde in great admiration this worthy naturall Alchimie, which he hath set before our eyes in the nature by him created. For all this world is to him as a fornace, and a limbecke wherein he maketh so many goodly and profitable distillations, that it is altogether impossible to expresse in words their worth and value. The earth is this fornace, and all the plants and trees so many limbecks. And if we have in such estimation the distillations made by men following some imitation of nature, this surely is a kinde of Alchimie very worthy of great reputation and wonder. For let vs consider onely what it is that he extracteth out of a vine stocke and the branches. There is no doubt but that this is a plant of no great shew, so that many have doubted whether it might rightfully bee counted amongst trees, for besides that it is crooked, it is so weake that it cannot stand vpright, nor sustaine not onely the branches thereof, but euen it selfe, if it be not alwaies propped, at leastwise when it riseth neuer so little high: And yet this is a marueilous and very rare Limbecke, wherein God conuerteth water into wine, and maketh it to distill out. The like may we say of Oliue trees, figge trees, and many other fruit trees, saying that they make more shew, & retaine more of the nature of a tree, then the vine doth. For all the excellent liquors and fruits, which we draw out of these plants, and all others, are principally caused by the heate of the sunne, and by the waterings of raine from heauen, which by this meanes seemeth to change nature, and put on diuers formes. And yet this sunne, by meanes of whome, as by a fire, God performeth so many sundry and admirable conversions and distillations, hath not his face smeared with coles, to kindle and maintaine his fire, nor yet his faire eye soiled therewith, or with any smoake. So then I hold them very wise, who profit in the contemplation of this Alchimie, and employ their time and cunning therein, as husbandmen doe whotill the earth, attending in good hope after their travell, the blessing which is promised them of God, as he also doth daily send vpon the earth by the effects of the sunne, moone, starres, and planets; of the aire, clouds, raine, and such other meanes which it pleaseth him to vse for the same purpose. For we may fitly say with *Salomon*, that without this blessing, it is in vaine for those, which eate the bread of their travell, to rise early, and to goe late to bed. For it is he, that hath promised the first and the latter raine, as well for the time to sowe in, as for to ripen and gather fruits in: vsing for this purpose (according to the testimonie of the prophet) great cloudes in forme of chariots, wherupō being borne on the wings of the winde, he maketh the winde his messengers. And sith we are in this talke, before we deale with any other subiect, let vs acquit our selues of that which we haue promised, to entreat in a particular discourse concerning the winde: the charge whereof (A R A M) I impose vpon you.

Of true naturall Alchimie

Psalm. 127.
Deut. 11.

Psalm. 18. &
104.

Of the winde and of their kindes and names: and of the testimonies which we haue in them of the power and maiestie of God. Chapter 51.

A R A M. According to the testimony of *Pliny*, there are more then twenty Greeke authors and manie other auncients, who haue entreated of the nature of the winde. But to knowe from whence they proceeded, the difficulties and doubts are great and vncertaine amongst them, and amongst all the Philosophers. Yet that is the onely truth, which the diuine Poet teacheth vs, saying, [That the Lord draweth the winde out of his treasures.] *Aristotle* in his *Meteors* maintaineth that the winde are produced by the heate of the Sunne: which it seemeth that the author of the naturall historie doth contradict when he saith, that there are certaine caues wherein the winde are ordinarily engendred, as may be seene in a deepe pit, which is in the coasts of Dalmatia at Senta, wherein if one cast any thing, how light soeuer it bee, there issueth sodainely out a whirle winde, although the weather be neuer so calme and faire. And in many obscure places in houses, one shall commonly feele a certaine small winde, as if it were enclosed therein. But we must note that there is much difference betwixt these particularities, or small puffs caused by exhalations, which proceede out of the earth, and that, which is properly named the winde. For they are not felt in one place onely, but haue their course generally through all the earth, and their meanes limited therein to exercise their power. And therefore whether the winde be engendred by continuall motion of the heauen, or by the crosse motions of the Planets, which goe contrary to that of the firmament, or else

Hist. nat. lib. 2

Psalm. 134.

Diuers opinions concerning the generation of winde.

that

that the winde bee an aire driven by the sundry turnings of the spheres, and by the multiplicitie of the beames of the celestiaall signes, or else that it proceede from starres particularly appointed to ingender it, or from the fixed starres (for all these opinions are found amongst Philosophers:) yet neuerthelesse we see by experience, that the winde is subiect to the rules and lawes of nature, and that it hath his determinate course, although mans wit cannot pierce to sound the reason of this secret.

Of the names
and kindes of
the windes.

But for the names and species of these windes, they haue amplie entreated thereof. True it is that the ancients made mention but of fower windes, which they comprised vnder the fower parts of the world. And then the naturall Philosophers appointed twelue, giuing them names taken partly from the regions from which they proceeded, & partly from the effects and qualities which they cause vpon the earth. But the Hydrographers and mariners account sixteene. To haue the vnderstanding of which, wee must note that euery horizon is diuided into fower quarters by two right lines, which crosse in the center thereof: the one of which is correspondent to the Meridian circle, and the other to the verticall circle, which diuideth the same Meridian at right angles, which lines demonstrate the fower principall parts of the earth, that is, the East, West, North, and South part: of which proceed the fower principall windes, to wit, out of the Septentrionall part, the North winde: from the Meridionall the south: from the Orientall the East: and from the Occidentall the West: Betweene which are other middle and notable windes, whose names are compounded of those of the fower foresaid windes, and are therefore called North east, North west, South east, and South west. Then againe each distinction of these eight windes, is consequently diuided into two equall parts, which make the distinctions of eight other windes, called subprincipall, and which compound their names of their two next collateral windes, expressing the most notable first: to wit, Northnortheast, North northwest, South southeast, South southwest, East northeast, East southwest, West northwest, West southwest. Moreouer they that frequent the Mediterrant sea (as Greekes and Italians) doe call the north Transmontano: the south, Austro: east Levante: west, Ponate: northeast, Greco: north west, Maestro, southeast, Sirocho, southwest, Garbin, and so of them compound the names of the other eight windes, which are betwixt them, as hath bene before declared. And wee must note that the windes haue commonly euery one their turne in such sort that when one opposite winde ceaseth and is laid, his contrarie riseth. But if at any time the next winde to that which ceaseth, beginne to blowe, it runs byas-wise from left hand to right, as the sunne doth, and one may know the fourth daie of the moone, what winde will raigne longest during her time. But the easterne windes do longer endure then those which rise towards the west. And the sunne doth strengthen then winde, and also appease it, for at his rising and setting they are commonly greatest, at noone he calmeth them, especially in summer. The winde is also commonly found to lie still, either at midday, or at midnight, for it doth alwaies cease either through great cold, or through vehement heate. Likewise the raine doth make it cease, whereupon this prouerbe sprunge vp, that litle raine allaieth much winde.

Notable
things in the
windes.

But it is wondrous, that the windes, which are as it were but a puffed, should performe such thinges as men could not doe with their hands, yea though there were a multitude together. For how many people neede there bee, yea horses and oxen yoked together to breake burst, and pull vp the great and mightie trees, which the winde abateth, ouerturneth, breaketh, and rooteth vp, with a blast onely? And herein we haue goodly matter againe, whereby to profite in the acknowledgement of the soueraigne maiestie and almightie providence of the creator and gouernour of all nature. For it is certaine, that as the Lord manifesteth himselfe to men, such as they may comprehend him to bee, when hee calleth the sound and noise of thunder (his voice) that hee performeth admirable thinges, as we haue already noted, wee may perceiue that hee doth the like also by violence of the windes. And therefore the Prophet saith, [I know that the Lord is great, and that our God is aboue all gods. Whatsoever pleased the Lord, that did hee in heauen and in earth, in the Sea, and in all the depths. Hee bringeth vp the cloudes from the endes of the earth, and maketh the lightnings with the raine; hee draweth forth the windes out of his treasures.] It is hee (saith *Jeremy*) that giueth by his voice the multitude of waters in the heauen, and hee causeth the cloudes to ascend from the endes of the earth, hee casteth out lightnings in the raine, and bringeth forth the winds out of his treasures. [The winde (saith the Preacher) goeth toward the South, and compasseth toward the North: the winde goeth round about

Testimonies
of the diuine
omnipotencie
in the windes.

Psal. 135.

Ierem. 10.

Eccle. 1.

ACHIT

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and returneth (by his circuits. Now if the blasts of the winds be so strong, it must needs be that the bellows out of which they are blowne must be puissant & mighty. For although it is written of the wicked, that they are so proud and doe presume so much of their force & power, that they seem to be able to ouerthrow men, towns, & fortified places only with a blast; yet neuertheless it is the Lord, who hath the power to abate them, and al the lofty and stout with all their forts and bulwarks: For all the winds together, are but as one little puffle, which passeth from his mouth. Wherefore if in breathing onely, hee driueth and remooueth heaven, earth, and the sea, and all this world; performing acts so great and wonderfull: what may we esteeme of his soueraigne force, when he would employ his whole power? For there is neither winde nor thunder, nor deluges of water, nor any thing that is comparable to the wrath of God, and to the power which he hath to execute his vengeance vpon his enemies. But he employeth his creatures, as the ministers of his wrath, when, and how he pleaseth. And therefore the diuine poet in his canticles, wishing liuely to describe the assistance that God had shewed him, in deliuering him out of the hands of the wicked, and in punishing of them; hee proposeth him comming accompanied with fearefull thunders, with thicke cloudes, with vehement windes and stormes, with lightnings, tempests, great raine, and hails, and darke weather, so that the foundations of the sea, and of the earth couered with waters, were discovered, and the earth was mooued and trembled, the mountaines shooke and bowed because of the fury of the wrath of the Lord. For indeede who is God but the Lord, and who is mighty but our God? Now it is certaine, that because men cannot comprehend the greatnes of the power and wrath of God against the wicked, the holy Ghost doth oftē speak of natural things, by the Prophets for to make them vnderstand by that, which is visible in nature, and which may most astonish and affray them. So then if we shall consider so many excellent points of doctrine concerning the providence of God, as are taught in the schoole of nature, by means of the meteors (as we haue hitherto discoursed) of the clouds, thunders, lightnings, storms, fouds of water, winds, whirlewinds, and tempests, they will serue vs no lesse for preachers, then the celestially bodies do, to manifest vnto vs especially the iudgements and heavy plagues of the almighty, and to make vs oftner thinke thereupon then we do: as also the raines, by the fertility which they cause in the earth, will minister matter vnto vs to acknowledge his blessing, and perpetuall grace vpon those, who feare and honor him. Wherefore we haue rested long ynough in that which particularly concerneth & is dependent vpon the 2. higher elements, the fire and the aire: sauing that, before we entreat of the earth, and of the water, & of the principall things worthy of consideration, in them, we will say somewhat concerning the birds of the aire, seeing that we haue already comprised them, as in truth they must be, amongst the things conioyned and depending vpon the higher elements; I will leave you then (ACHITO) to discourse vpon their nature.

*Of the fowles of the aire: and namely of the Manucodiata, of the Eagle,
of the Phenix, and of other wilde fowle.*

Chapter 52.

ACHITO. H Aving discoursed (though simply like disciples of Christian doctrine, & not like masters and professors of naturall Philosophie) vpon the two higher elements the fire & the aire, and hauing considered their nature and effects; and the things engendred in them, and by them: It falleth very fitly for vs, to entreate of the visible creatures, which conuerse in the aire, and of which the holy Scripture speaketh in diuers places, vnder the name of the fowles of the aire: considering also that *Moses* teacheth, that the fowles & fishes were created before any of the terrestriall creatures. For as there is a greater accord between to the two elements of water & aire, then of aire and earth; even so is there a more correspondency of nature between fishes & foules, then between beasts of the earth & fowles. For the flying of birds in the aire is like the swimming of fishes in the water. Moreover, there are many water-fowles, which are as it were of a middle nature between those which couerle but only in the aire, or in the earth, & which therein receiue their nouriture, & between the fishes that liue in the waters. For these birds flye in the aire like other birds, & swim also in the water like fishes, & liue partly in the water & partly in the aire. For

T t t

Before we

Psal. 8.
Matth. 6.
Luke 2.
Genes. 1.

Of two prin-
cipall kinds
of beaſts.

Of nine kinds
of perfect
beaſtes.

Of the birde
named Ma-
nucodiata.

Of Eagles.
Hiſt. nat. lib. 10.

Of the Phœ-
nix.

Hiſt. nat. l. 10.

intreat particularly of theſe things, it ſeemeth good to me to note vpon the beginning of our diſcourſe concerning living creatures, that there are 2. principall kinds of living creatures, the firſt are thoſe, which have life in every part being diuided and cut aſunder, called in Latine (Inſecta) becauſe of the inciſions which they ſeeme to have vpon their bodies, and which are engendred of putrifaction. The ſecond ſort is of perfect creatures, to whom the former properties agree not, but they have their generation through propagation & race. Now we muſt hereafter ſpeake of inſect creatures. And for the perfect, there are found nine principall kinds of them, wherof ſome remaine onely in the aire, & have no feet, as the bird called (Manucodiata) other conuerſe in the aire and in the earth, as (the Eagle) and ſundry other birds: ſome are earthly, and yet like foules neuertheleſs, as is (the Eltridge) ſome inhabite both in the earth and in the water, as (the Beauer) called in Latine (Fiber): ſome foules ſwim as (the ſwan): ſome creatures are flying fiſhes: others are altogether earthly (as the dogs): ſome keep vader ground as (the Mole): others liue in the water onely as (the dolphin): our ſpeech then ſhall be concerning theſe nine kinds of creatures, and we will briefly diſcourſe of ſome of the moſt excellent of them.

Now to begin with the birds according as the order of our treatiſe doth require, we will ſpeake of the Manucodiata, comonly called the bird of God, or of paradife, according to the interpretation of the Indian name, which bird is found dead vpon the earth, or in the ſea, in the Iſles named the Malucos, becauſe it is neuer ſeene aliue out of the aire. For this bird onely hath no feet, for that it abideth aloft in the aire, and far out of mans ſight, hauing the body and beake ilke a ſwallow, both in bigneſs and forme. The feathers of his wings and taile, are longer then thoſe of a ſparrow hawke, but very ſlender, agreeable to the ſmaleneſs of the bird. The back of the cock is holow, whereby reaſon ſheweth, that the hen layeth her eggs in this hollowneſs, ſeeing that ſhe hath the like creuiſe in her belly, ſo that by meanes of both theſe pits ſhe may hatch her eggs. The meat of this foule is the dew of heauen, which ſerueth it for meat and drink, it neuer faileth, but through age onely, & ſo long as they liue they ſuſtaine themſelues with their owne wings, and their taile being ſpred out in a roundneſs, by which meanes it doth more commodiouſly inhabite in the aire.

Next I proceede to the birds which conuerſe in the aire, and in the earth, of which the Eagle for greatneſs and ſtrength beareth away the price. *Pliny* ſetteth downe ſixe kindes, of which the leaſt in body, called the blacke Eagle, is ſtrongeſt, and it of all others doth onely nourish her eaglets. For all the reſt chaſe and drive away their young ones, becauſe that when they haue them, their nailes and claws are turned vpside downe, as if nature would declare herſelfe very prouident in this, to deprive the eagle of all meanes to helpe it ſelfe with any more purchaſe, then will euen ſerue her owne turne, for otherwiſe it would deſtroy all the young veniſon of a countrey, therefore through hunger which by this occaſion they doe then ſuſtaine, they become white and hate their yong ones. But the Oſtfragi, which are another ſort of wild eagles, do, as diuers affirme, gather together the yong eaglets which their damme hath expelled, and doe nourish them with their owne. And eagles neuer die through age, or any other malady but for hunger onely, their vppermoſt beake growing ſo great and ſo crooked, that it is impoſſible for them to open their mouthes to feede themſelues. Their feathers being mingled with the feathers of other birds, doe deuoure and conſume them.

The Phenix is ſaid to be found in no other place of the world but onely in Arabia, and is very ſeldome ſeene. It is as big as an Eagle, and the plumes of her taile are gilded, being intermixed with certaine blew and carnation feathers, the reſt of her body being of a purple colour. Shee hath her head decked with exquisite plumes, and with a tuft of very goodly feathers. Shee liueth ſixe hundred and ſixtie yeares, as *Manilius* a Senator of Rome recordeth, and ſo *Plinie* doth make report. And feeling herſelfe aged, ſhe maketh her neſt with pieces of Cynamon and Incenſe, and hauing filled it with all ſorts of aromaticall odors, ſhe dieth thereupon. And out of her marrow and bones there cometh firſt a worme, which afterward turneth to a little birde, that in time prooueth another Phenix.

Some report almoſt the very ſame of a bird called Semenda, which is found in the miſt of India, which hath her bil clouen into three parts, boared & pearced euery where through, and ſhe ſingeth at her death as the Swan doth. Afterward by beating of her wings ſhe kindleth a fire made of the twigs of a vine, which ſhe gathereth together, wherewith ſhe is burned, and of her aſhes there is a worme engendred, of which ſpringeth againe another like birde.

Swans are birds cleane white, and differ but little from geese, except in bignes. They sing sweetlier then any other foules. Their property is to teare their young ones in pieces and to deuour them, for which cause they are very rare to be found. And some say, that they pre- sage their death by their songs.

Of Swans

Cranes come from the farthest orientall seas of India into the regions of Europe: and do neuer part from any place, but that they seeme to do it with counsell, and by the common consent of all: and by the same meanes they elect a king to conduct them. They alwaies soare very high, so to make a farther discovery of the countrey. Every troupe hath a captaine who is alwaies in the reereward: at which only cry al the rest do obey & do keep their ranks and order; and each of them taketh his place by turnes. They doe also set their night watch and keepe sentinell one after another. The sentinell standeth vpon one foot only, holding a little stone in the other, to the end, that if hee happen to sleep, the stone which falleth out of his paw might waken him. All the rest do this while sleepe, hauing their head vnder their wing, keeping watch neuertheles, sometimes vpon one foot, sometimes vpon another. But their captaine holdeth his head alwaies in the aire, to make signe to the rest, of what they are to doe.

Of Cranes.

The Storkes are resident in winter in Egypt & in Africa: & in summer many other warme countries. When they will passe to any countrey, they do all assemble in one place at a day appointed, & so depart in a troupe. Some say they haue no tongus. In Thumenstia this kind of foule is had in such respect, because they rid the countrey of serpents, that no man dare kill any one vpon paine of hanging, & to be punished as an homicide: for such are the lawes of the countrey. And in Suesstia the like is almost vsed. The storkes do neuer change their nests: and do retaine this property by nature, that the young ones nourish the old so long as they liue.

Of Storkes.

Wild geese are a kind of wild foules as the foresaid birds, they make their squadrons pointed like a beake of a ship, (for so they cut the aire better then if they should fly in a square) and they spred themselves abroad by little and little behind like a corner, the better to gain the wind, which guideth them. The hindermost do commonly rest their heads vpon the foremost, and when the guide is weary of going before, he commeth hindmost, to the end that every one may keepe his turne.

Of wildgeese.

Quailes are also a kinde of flying foules, very small of body, but singular in diuers properties. They soare not very high in the aire in these countries, but fly neere to the ground. They fly in troupes, and that sometimes to the great danger of those which saile vpon the sea, or are neere the ground. For these birds do perch in so great number by night vpon the sailes, that they oftentimes sinke barks and small vessels. They know their ordinary pearches, and do neuer fly abroad in a south winde, because it is too heavy, and too moist: and yet they must of necessity be aided by the winde, to performe their voyage, by reason that their bodies are more heavy then their wings can sustaine. And therefore they hang their wings, as if they were pained with flying. So then they make choice of northerne winde for their comming: And when they retire themselves, they assemble their troupes. If the wind be contrary to them, they swallow much grauell, and take little stones in their tallents, to make themselves more heauie, that they may not be carried away by the winde.

Of Quailes.

Swallowes also are a kinde of wilde fowle, for they goe away in winter. But they retire not themselves very farre off, but keepe in those coasts, which are warmed with the Sunne, many are seene bare and vnfledged. This bird onely of all those that haue not crooked claws, doth feed on flesh. One may put in the number of wilde fowles, Blacke birdes, Thrushes, Stares, Ringdowes and Pigeons, although they vse not to returne to farre countries. But they mew not as others do, neither keep themselves close, for they are vsually seen in the countrey where they winter. The property of Stares is to go in a great troupe together and to flie in a round, every one of them endeavouring to gaine the middle place. The Swallow onely of all other birds flieth askew, and is passing quicke of wing; so likewise is it hardest of all birdes to be taken. Moreover it is peculiar to her, not to feed but in flying. Thus then you see what I thought to deduce briefly concerning wilde fowle. You A S E R

Of Swallowes.

Other wilde fowles.

*Of singing birds, and chiefly of the Nightingall, and of sundry others,
and of their wit and industry. Chap. 53.*

A SER. **N**ature sheweth her selfe very admirable, in that she doth not produce every thing indifferently in all places; nor doth priuiledge some countries rather then others, as well for plants, as for liuing creatures indued with sense: so that many times that which men thinketo bring home for mere stranges, dieth before it come there. To declare, that it is very difficult (if not altogether impossible) to make any thing liue in what place soeuer, against the ordinance of nature. So it was, that in the whole Isle of Rhodes there could not be found one only nest of an Eagle, though that in the neighbouring territories there were enough. So though the lake of Como, which is on the other side of the river Po in Italy, be very plentifull in fruit trees and faire pastorage: yet for all this there cannot be found within eight miles almost one stork. It is said also, that in all Tarentum there is not one Wood pecker to be found. And in the territory of Athens, the partridges passe not the limits of Boeotia: So in Mar Maggiore, or the Euxine sea, there is no fowle seene. And in Volaterra the ring doves are seene to come every yeere in great volles ouer the sea. But besides all this, there is great difference in seasons for birds: for some appeare all the yeere long, others shew themselves but halfe the yeere, and some are seene abroad but three months. Some also go away presently after they haue hatched & brought vp their young ones. But aboue all, there are marvellous things found in singing birds. For some there are which change their feathers and their note, one season of the yeere; so that one would say, they were quite other birds, which hapneth not to the greater fowles, except to the crane, which waxeth blacke in age. Black birds, which are naturally black, being old become of a reddish colour. They sing in sommer: in winter they do but chatter, and are altogether dumbe, when the daies begin to lengthen, as about mid December: and the cock of a yeere old, haue an ivory white bill. Thrushes haue their necke particoloured in summer, but in winter it is all of one colour.

Rarenes, and
changes of
many birds.

Of blackbirds.

Of the
Nightingale.

But amongst singing birds the nightingale is most admirable. For it is a miracle that so shrill a voice can proceed out of so small a body, and that it can hold breath so long. Moreover it hath a very harmonious note, and perfectly muscalle. For sometimes she draweth out her notes long, another while she quauers: straightwaies she cuts her tune short, & then she will warble, as if it were by muscalle crotchets. Another time she will whistle producing her notes with one breath, by and by quickening her tune, as if it were by semibreues, sometimes abasing her voice, presently raising it, and by and by after cutting it thicke and short. Sometimes also she will make the points of the organes, lifting her voice high like a pipe, when she listeth, obseruing sometimes the treble, sometimes the base, and sometimes the countertenor. Finally, there is no instrument in the world, wherein one may find more perfect musick, then this which resoundeth in so small a throat. And that which merits greater maruell in this bird, is, that there are many songs all different, and that every nightingale hath her owne in particular. So also they debate amongst themselves who shall sing best, contending herein one against another: so that sometimes the vanquished cease rather through want of breath, then of song. And the young little nightingales hearken to the old, & do record by themselves apart, the songs which they heard, from point to point: so that these disciples, after they haue attentively hearkened, doe repeate the lesson which they haue learned, and then cease. Then may one heare the reprehensions of the Schoole-master, and may very well discern when the Scholler is waxt cunning. Moreover the excellency of their singing doth not commonly endure aboue fifteene daies and fifteene nights: all which time they sing without ceasing: and that is when the trees begin to waxe thicke of leaues in springtime. And afterwards this great melody beginneth by little and little to cease: and yet not so, that one may perceiue to bee weary of their singing. And when the heate begins to trouble them, they whistle not as before, but change their voice and sing a full note. They also mew and change feathers. To conclude, they retire themselves in winter like all other wilde fowle.

Of Finches,
and Linnets,
Parrots, and
Pies.

Also Finches and Linnets are numbred amongst those little birds, that sing very harmoniously, and easily retaine that which is taught them, whether it bee in voice, or by any demonstration

demonstration that they may imitate either in foote or bill. But aboue all birds, parrats doe most counterfeite the voice and speach of man. They come from the Indies, and haue commonly their feathers greene, except onely a collar of red vermillion feathers that compasseth their necke: this bird speaketh all that which one will takes paines to teach her. It loveth wine much, and having well drunke, is much pleasanter. There is likewise a kinde of Pies which do pronounce better that which is taught them, then the parrats do: yet are they not so much accounted of, because they are ordinary with vs. They take pleasure in the words which they speake, and do so delight in them, that one shall often finde them studying very attentively by themselves, that which hath bene shewed them. Crows also do easily learne to speake, and shew many testimonies of great wit and industry. There was one in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius* so admired and loved of the people of Rome, that they reuenged cruelly the death thereof vpon him that kilde it. It had bene nourished by a shoemaker, and so taught and instructed, that it flew euery morning to the palace to salute the Emperor, and after him all the other princes, naming them by their names, and then returned to the shop to her master, continuing this vse for many yeeres, to the great astonishment of euery one. It hapned that a certen spitefull neighbour of this shoemaker, taking occasion for that this crow had mated vpon some of his ware, did kill it. Whereat the people took such indignation, that they caused this poore merchant to loose his life: preparing on the other side very magnificent funerals for the bird. For the carcasse thereof was covered ouer with nosegayes and chaplets of flowers, and borne by two Moores to the fire, which was kindled in a void place; there to burne it solemnly; so much was the vnderstanding of this crow esteemed in a city, where many Princes and great Personages had died before, and none would solemnize their funerals: & wherein there was none that would reuenge the death of *Scipio Africanus*, though he had conquered the Carthaginians and Numantines.

A marueilous
history of a
crow.

But since we are lighted vpon a discourse concerning a kind of towardnes and facility to learne, which is found in many birds, we may not passe ouer in silence the marueilous industry of their architecture, in the building of their nests: for all of them, and especially the small ones doe vse a wonderfull dexterity therin. And that I may not be too tedious in this point, I will produce for testimony but the swallowes onely, who builde their nests of dirt or clay, and strengthen them with straw. And if perhaps the drines of the weather will not minister dire enough for them, then they load themselves with water, which they shake vpon the ground, to moisten the dust, and to make slime. The inside of the nest is all covered and lined with downe and flockes, both of woll, and of other things; to the end to keep their egges warme, and that their young ones may afterward finde their bedde soft. Which they alwaies keepe very cleane, by casting very carefully out of it all the ordures of their litle ones, which being growne bigger they teach to mure out of the nest. There is another kind of field swallowes, which doe seldome make their nests in houses; and yet they make the of such stuff as the others do, though not after the same maner: for all their nests are turned vpside down, and haue a verie streight mouth, but a large paunch: so that it is an admirable thing to see the industrie, which they vse to keepe their yong ones soft and warme. Of the nests of these swallowes ioyned and fastned one vpon another, there is a bancke in the mouth of Nilus which is neere to Hiraclia in Egypt, (as *Plinie* reciteth) of sixe and twenty paces in length, and so strong that it resisteth the ragings and inundations of this floud: a thing which one may say were impossible to be performed by the hand of man. But we should finde writing matter enough to fill vp a great volume, if wee were minded to entreat of all the excellent properties which are in the nature of birdes: but our entent is not to dwell long vpon this subiect; as namely, to speake of all their different species, whereof many learned men haue written: but onely to consider summarily of certaine of the most notable, as we will do in regard of all other creatures both liuing and destitue of life; to the end that wee may nothing at all deprive any part of this Vniuers, which we doe here contemplate, of those goodly portraictures of the diuine maiestie, which are ingrauen in euery part from the highest heauen to the lowest center of this terrestriall masse. Looke then (A M A N A) what birds you hold most worthy to haue place in your discourse.

Of the industry of birds in making their nests.

Lib. 10. hist. nat.

*Of the Estridge, of the Peacocke, of the Cocke, and of other
foules. Chap. 54.*

Of the Estridge.

AMANA. **A**S we haue heretofore heard of a birde that neuer abideth vpon the earth, so contrariwise the Estridge that doth alwayes stay vpon the earth, neuer mounting aloft to take the aire. This is as big a bird as any other, and is common in Africa and in Ethiopia. It hath a long necke like a camell, the beake, eies, and head like to a goose, but that they are much greater: their wings and taile haue feathers of diuers colours, skie coloured, white, red, black and greene, and there is no bird which hath such faire plumes, of which those feathers are made wherewith men of war adorne their helmets. The Estridges passe horses in swiftnes, beeing heerein aided with the wings which Nature hath bestowed vpon them, although they fly not at all, neither rise from the ground, but runne with their wings spread. They haue feet like an hart: with which (men say) they vse to take vp and cast stones at those which chase them when they fly. It is also saide they swallow and digest iron: which commeth to passe through the vehement heat and thickeness of their beily. Some also haue reported, that the Estridge hatcheth her egges with her eies: but the truth is, that shee onely watcheth them, because that her young ones are brought forth by the heat of the sun. The manner of taking this bird is very easie; for when she is weary of running, he is of so foolish a nature, that he thinketh himselfe closely hidden, when he is onely in the shade of some tree or shrub; so that it is then easie to approach him so neere as the pursuer will desire.

Of the peacocke.

But let vs speake of the birde, which for the beauty and sense which it hath, doth merit the chiefe dedree amongst the greater sorts of birdes, to witte, the Peacocke. For when he knowes that men esleame him, then turneth he round to shew his colours shining like precious stones: and sets them directly against the sunne, to give them a better lustre. And he assayeth also to do so with his taile, spreading it round and shewing those colours, which seeme fairest in the shade, drawing all the eies thereof abroad, as if hee knew best how to make himselfe most noted. And when he hath lost his taile (as he doth every yeere at the fall of the leafe) he hideth himselfe, as if he mourned, till the next spring, when his taile groweth againe. It is marvellous that this part of the Peacock is so filled with the eies, being so long and thick of feathers of sundry colors, and so splendant. And yet neither the colour of white nor of black, this being of it selfe sad, & that obscuring all colors) are found in the taile of this bird. Which bird liueth ordinarily five and twenty yeeres, and at three yeeres he beginneth to shoot the sundry colors which he hath in his feathers, and knoweth his beauty, and seemeth to reioyce that men do maruaile at his taile when they see it, and therefore he will hold it vp, be he neuer so weary.

Of the Cocke.

Next to the proude nature of the peacocke, that lofty birde seemeth to resemble a Sentinell, which nature hath appointed to interrupt mens sleepe and call them to worke, that is, the Cocke. For wheresoeuer he is he will be master, and command all the rest of the foules. And if there bee two together then must this rule remaine to the strongest, and he must get it by those weapons which Nature hath placed in his legs: wherein they put such trust, that the issue of their combate, doth oftentimes fall out with the death of the one or other. And he which remaineth victor, makes signe of his conquest by his crowing, sounding himselfe his owne tantaraes: and the vanquished runnes and hides himselfe. This lofty bird marcheth proudly, holding vp his necke stiffe, and his combe aloft, except hee bee not well. And there is no bird which doth oftner cast his eie towards heaven, then this: for he alwaies beholdeth it, holding his taile vp, and yet crooked like a sickle: so that arming himselfe after this manner, he puts the Lion in feare, which is the stoutest of all beastes. Moreouer, the Cocke by a secret instinct of Nature knoweth the course of the Starres, and diuideth the day by his crowing from three houres to three houres. They rouse at Sunne set, and neuer let the Sunne rise, without aduertising men: for with their crowing, which is accompanied with beating of their wings, they giue notice of the day. And their voice is heard very farre off, yea in the night time a mile, or more. The Romans honoured so much the maiesty of this bird, that they iudged of the good or ill lucke of their Augurations, by the countenance which he shewed, being either pleasant or not, at such time as he fed.

Hens are of the kinde of domesticall birds, renowned aboueall the delicatenesse of their flesh, and goodnes of their egges, beeing much better then all other, and which are most vsed in meates and medicines. They lay at all times, except the two first moneths of winter, when they commonly rest themselves. So is it the first and last bird that layeth, and is so fruitfull that there are some will lay fixtie egges together, without missing one day. Whereupon wee will note that in all yolkes of egges, there is a little drope of bloud in the middest, which is holden to bee the heart of the bird, because this member is esteemed to be first formed in all liuing creatures. And indeede this little drope tasteth very salt, and stirreth in the egge. And for that which particularly concerneth the chicken, it is certaine that the body thereof is made of the white of the egge: for being formed, it is nourished by the yolke. And so long as it is in the shell, it hath the head bigger then all the body, and the eies which are shut, bigger then the head. And when it beginneth to grow, the white of the egge retireth to the midst, and the yolke disperfeth it selfe round about. And if at the twentieth day one take the egge, they may heare the chicken peepe within. For from that time forward it beginneth to waxe feathered, and to get strength: and stiaeth not long in consuming the whole yolke, but presently beginneth to open the shell. And it is to be noted, that as well this as all other foules, come out of their shels with their feete forwardes, contrary to other liuing creatures. Moreover the hen is knowne to be good, when her crest is straight and sometimes double, and hir feathers blacke, and in some places red: as also when the clawes of her foote are faire. But aboue all there is nothing more worthie of great admiration, then the care which it taketh to hatch and nourish her chickens: yea though they bee not of hir owne kinde. And it is a pretie pastime to make an hen hatch ducke egges. For at first when they open the shell, shee knoweth them not; and neuertheles having beene a little accustomed to them, she doth nourish them as carefully as if they were naturally her owne. And when these yong duckes, according to their kinde, cast themselves into the water, it is a wonder to see the mourning of the hen, fearing least ill should betide them.

The pigeon likewise is an house bird much to be considered of, and bringeth no lesse profit and commoditie then pullen doe. It is very chaste by nature, and neuer changeth mate neither cocke nor hen, and yet the cocks are very rude towards the hennes beating them with their bills, and chiding them with a kinde of grumbling in their throat, as if they were ielous. But afterwards as if they repented themselves, they make much of them, and bill together, running round about them, and specially when their time of treading is come. Both cocke and hen take great paines to hatch their yong ones, insomuch that when the hens are idle, and tarrie not in the nest, the cockes will correct and beate them with their beakes. But they doe likewise aide them, as well helping them to make their nests, as to serue them while they hatch, yea and the cocke doth sometimes hatch in the day time. It is their propertie to bill together before they treade. And they lay ordinarily two egges, out of which issue both cocke and hen, that is the cocke first, and the hen the morow after. They hatch commonly eightene or twentie daies, and breed after fve times treading. And one shall sometimes finde egges with little pigeons in them: and shall see in one nest some yong ones but newly out of the shell and some that are ready to flye. They may lay egges eight or ten times a yere: but the ordinary vse is to take out foure good layings. They are of sundry colours of feathers, but the ashe coloured, or the browne, or the blacke are the best: the rough footed, and tufted are most barren and domesticall: so are the blacke and white chekered: but those that seeme guilded about the necke, and that haue the eie and foote redde, are the freest and fruitfullnest: the white are good to hatch, and most in danger of the Kite, and birds of prey: the yealow and red are very barren. They haue all this maruellous qualitie, to giue their yong ones at first some corne of salt grauell, so to pronoke their appetite, and season them to eate, when time shall be. Now mee thinketh, wee haue stiaied long enough in this matter, sith we will not heere describe a naturall history of creatures: and sith that which wee haue discoursed concerning fowles, hath beene onely for that wee will not deprive the aire of the naturall creatures thereof; as we will endeavour to doe the like in the behalfe of the earth and water: whereof the sequele of our speecch requireth vs to entreate, to accomplish our discourse concerning the elements. First then let vs speake of the earth, and of the firmenesse, figure and quantitie thereof. And it is your turpe (A R A M) to dicourse thereupon.

*Of the earth, and of the situation, immobilitie, figure, and
qualitie thereof. Chapter 55.*

A R A M. **A**S wee have heretofore heard that vnder the name of heauen is comprised commonly both the supreme and middle region of aire, and all things also, which are conioyned vnto them, and depending vpon their effects, namely of the two higher elements the fire, and the aire: so by the name of earth, we do often vnderstand not onely the lowest element of all, which is as the foot of all this mundane frame: but also the sea, which is next to it, and the lakes, ponds, fountaines, riuers, and other waters, and all that is contained in them, and in the earth, and which receiueth life, and nourishment, whether they be men, beasts of all kindes, plants, trees, hearbs, fruits, mettals, mines, minerals, stones, and generally all other things produced here below for the vse of al other creatures. Pursuing then the order of our discourse, wee will first intreate of that which concernes in generall the terrestriall globe, and afterwards will meditate of the most rare beauties, which enrich the parts thereof, to the end to represent vnto our selues more and more the greatnes and glory of the creator of all these things, as wee haue already well begun in the matters by vs hitherto intreated of.

Situation of
the earth.

Immobilitie
of the earth.

The earth
habitable
throughout.

That the
earth is round

The earth is
of insensible
quantitie.

Now it is certaine, that by reason of the waight and heauines of the earth, it is necessarily situated in the midst of the world, as the center thereof, beeing the lowest place, and the farthest remote from the circumference of the whole. And from which the earth cannot be parted, (for otherwise it should mount a loft contrarie to the naturall inclination thereof) as likewise it cannot be mooued by the first and vniuersall motion of all the spheres, by reason of the foresaide heauines thereof, and subtiltie of the other elements, which are about it: and againe because it is of insensible quantitie in respect of the whole world, as beeing the point and center thereof, beeing also vnmoueable, to the end that the motion of the heauens might thereby be discerned, and that which dependeth thereupon. And as the state of the elementarie fire doth not extend beyond the fire, and as that of the water is in the place of water, and that of the aire where the aire should bee, so the earth can retaine no place but in it selfe; because that the other elements cannot suffer it to rest vpon them. Which causeth that it remaineth hanged amongst them, not being able to fall, nor decline more towards one place, then another. Wherefore also it is made habitable in euery part (except it be by accident,) so that men are therefore Antipodes one to another that is, going feete against feete, hauing neuertheles all of them their heads towards heauen, and meeting each of them in the midst of the earth. Now that it is iustly situate in the midst of the vniuers, one may see by experience of the daies & nights, which are equall throughout the whole earth, so often as the sunne is in the midst of heauen betwixt the poles of the world; as also by the augmentations and diminutions of the same daies and nights regularly proportioned one to another (as wee haue demonstrated in our precedent discourses vpon the celestiaall spheres) and likewise by the eclipses of the moone, and by the inclination of shadowes, which at noontide are one proportionable to another, as well on the meridionall, as on the septentrionall part. Moreouer there is no doubt, but the earth (together with the whole element of water, which is spread abroad and dispersed in diuers armes, and portions about it) is of a round and circular figure in all parts: for as the mountaines and valleies they are insensible in regard of the whole globe of the earth. The roundnesse whereof doth euidently declare it selfe by the shadow thereof, which sheweth it selfe in the eclipses of the Moone to be round: for it could not seeme so, if the earth were not also of the same forme. Moreouer, the diuerse and certaine supputation that Astronomers calculate concerning the times of the eclipses of the moone, according as the places are more orientall, or more occidentall, doth manifestly conclude the same round forme: so also doth the naturall inclination of all the parts of the earth, and of the water, who still tend downe declining to a lower place, and this common descent of euery part causeth this round figure. Consequently it is to bee noted, that this earthly frame, although it be in it selfe of marvellous greatnes, yet is it of very little and insensible quantity, in regarde and comparison not onely of all the firmament, but also of the sphere of the sunne

Of the earth and of the situation thereof. 763

sunne, the same earth being but as a point in the middle of the whole world, which is apparently demonstrated by the foresaid equalities of the daies and nights, and by the obseruations of the courses of the celestiall bodies, and chiefly of the sunne, taken here below by instruments fit for such effects, in such manner as if one were in the center of the world. For in a little space that one may passe here vpon the earth proceeding from one place to another, the view and disposition of heauen doth change and vary notably. And in an open plaine place wherein one may stand vpon the earth, or bee in in the sea, they may alwaies discover the one halfe of heauen. All which things declare (as we haue said) that the earth and the water make a round globe, which is but as a point and center in regarde of the vniuersall world.

So much for the situation, immobilitie, figure, and quantitie of the earth; which onely above all other elements hath merited the title of a mother, by reason of the great good which it affordeth to all breathing and living creatures. For this gentle mother receiveth vs when wee are borne, shee nourisheth vs being borne; shee maintaineth and sustaineth vs being nourished; and finally, when the other elements refuse and leaue vs, shee receiveth vs into her bosome, and couereth vs, hauing (as it were) a perpetuall care of vs. Moreover, shee riseth not vp against man as other creatures doe. For the water conuerteth it selfe into raine, snow, and haile; it swelleth in surges and waues, and ouerfloweth all with floods; the aire thickeneth and ladeth it selfe with cloudes, out of which proceede stormes and tempests; and the fire is often cause of strange calamities vpon earth. But this gentle and debonaire mother maketh her selfe as a slave to serue for all the commodities of man. For how many things do we cause her to beare by force, and how many things doth she bestow of her own good will? What odours and perfumes, what saours, what iuices, what, and how many sorts of colours? With what exchange and interest doth shee restore that, which is lent her? How many sundry things doth shee nourish for man? What quantitie of precious mettals doth shee conceive, and keepe in her entrailes for his vse? And therefore it seemeth that the earth subsisteth not of one onely kinde: and indeede Aristotle diuideth it into two; the one fossible, which may bee digged; and the other transmutable, which may change qualitie. For the fossible earth, it doth alwaies remaine the same, and is very earth: but the transmutable remaineth not the same in kinde, and in view; for it conuerteth it selfe into mettall, or into iuice, or into some other matter. But before wee doe proceede vnto the consideration of so many admirable effectes produced by the earth: wee may nowe heare behold, that wee haue summarily set downe particulars enough, wherein we may learne to acknowledge the infinite power, wisdom, and bountie of God the creatour: and how according to the testimony of the angels, all the earth is full of his glorie. For first of all, is not this a great wonder, that the earth which is so huge a masse, and the heaviest eliment of all the rest, should bee hanged in the aire in the midst of the world, being so counterpoised, that it sustaineth, as one may say, all the other elements; and that it is inuironed by them, and by all the other spheres and celestiall bodies, it remaining firme for ever, not moouing from the place thereof? For where are the columnes and the pillars which beare and sustaine it, and vpon what foundation are they founded? And therefore it is not without cause, that the Lord saith to *Iob*, minding to cause him to acknowledge his power and maiestie, [where wast thou when I laide the foundations of the earth? declare if thou hast vnderstanding, who hath laide the measure thereof, if thou knowest? Or who hath stretched the line over it? (to wit, to signe and marke out the foundations thereof) whereupon are the foundations thereof set? Or who hath laid the corner stone thereof?] And afterwards hee addeth. [It is turned as clay to fashion.] Wherein it seemeth that hee had reference to that, that hee created the earth (as all this great visible world) in round forme, because it is the most capable of all forme that may be. Behold then the testimonie that God himselfe deliuereth to *Iob* his seruant of the admirable creation of the earth. And to the same purpose the Kingly Prophet saith, that God did forme the earth vpon the bases thereof (that is to say, vpon the foundations) so that it shall never mooue. But what may wee say then to the motions and tremblings of the earth, which haue euer beene knowne, and are ordinarily seene? This might seeme repugnant to that, which *David* here speaketh, and to that which we haue deliuered concerning the immobilitie and firmenesse of the earth. And therefore mine aduice is, that pursuing this discourse, wee should consider the causes of such tremblings; to the end that wee

That the earth onely meriteth the title of a mother.

Of two kinds of earth.

Testimonies of the power of God. *Iay* 6.

Iob 38.

Psal 104.

wee may know, how that the earth faileth not to remaine ever firme, though such shakings happen in some parts thereof, which (ACHITOB) let vs heare of you.

Of earth-quakes. Chapter 56.

ACHITOB. Forasmuch as the earth is not only heavy by nature, but even the heaviest of all elements, and is heaped vp and compacted together in the midst of the great vniuersall world, as the point and center thereof, it therefore followeth that it is immooueable, and without any naturall motion. For if it had any, as the other elements haue, it is certaine, that it must bee downewards. But because that God hath placed the earth in the midst of all his workes, towards which all heavy things tende and descend, it cannot descend lower then it is by the nature thereof. And therefore because it is solide and thicke, and not liquide and fluent as the water and the aire, it cannot glide as they doe, nor remooue out of one place into another, if it bee not by some violence elsewhere mooued and made to stirre, and tremble somewhere, as it hath happened through diuers and marvellous earthquakes, of which histories and the holy scripture it selfe doe giue euidence. Wee must note then, that there are diuers sorts of motions, by which the earth is so shaken, that it listeth and casteth some parts, sometimes vpwards, sometimes downewards. And it is long of such motions and tremblings, that there haue such masses and heapes beene cast out of it, that great isles haue beene newly made, as Geographers doe witnesse, namely the isle of Rhodes, and of Selos. It sometimes also happeneth, that the motions of the earth bee such, that it openeth like a great gulph, wherein to some parts thereof are cleane swallowed vp and deuoured, together with the countries, and twones situate therein, so that there hath beene no marke left of them, no more then as if they had neuer beene. And it hath often hapned in such cases, that some mountaines haue fallen one against another, because the earth, which was betwixt them hath suncke, and beene swallowed cleane vp. And then one might say, that the proverbe is not ever true, which saith, that two mountaines neuer meete. That is yet another kinde of motion, wherein the earth mooueth and shaketh, sometimes one way, sometimes another way, and tottereth like a ship that floateth on the water. Which kinde of trembling is most dangerous as also when all the motion runneth one way. Then is there yet another motion, which philosophers properly call (trembling) to wit, when two motions are opposite one to another. And this is least dangerous of all: although indeed they bee all very fearefull, yet the feare is much greater, when the tremblings continue with horrible and fearefull sounds like the bellowing of buls, and as if the earth and all nature quaked and groaned, being fore pressed and forced, as is oftentimes seene.

Of diuers
sorts of earth-
quakes.

Of the causes
of earth-
quakes.

Now for the causes of all these kinds of earthquakes, I may well say, that there is no point in all naturall philosophie, wherein the professors of this science find themselves more intricately intangled, nor wherein they more differ in opinions then in this. For the Chaldeans and Astronomers referre the causes of motions and earthquakes, to the heauen, to starres, and to the planets, and many philosophers assigne it to the water: And yet those which are of this opinion differ amongst themselves. For some suppose that the earth floateth vpon the water like a ship because it is enuironed with water, according to the naturall order of the disposition of the elements: whereby it is diuersly mooued. Others do attribute the cause of earth quakes to those waters onely which are inclosed within the vaines and caues of the earth. Some also to the fire: and some to the windes shut vp within it: and some to the heate chased by the cold, which striueth against it, and causeth it to searce an issue out. For as the water vndermineth the earth, and those places through which it doth passe: euen so may the fire doe: and if either of them be so enclosed, that they cannot finde an easie issue, they strue then to doe it by force and violence. So doe the windes, and the heate chased by the cold. So then, if the earth by vndermined, it is no maruell if the vpper part sinke and fall downe, being swallowed vp, as into a gulfhe, considering that the earth, because of the heauiness thereof, tendeth alwaies downeward towards the center thereof, which is the midst of it, and of all the world. And if the waters, or the fire or the windes inclosed and shut vp in the earth, or the contrary qualities, which contend one with another, cannot finde a passage or issue, their power is so great, that

Of earth-quake.

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that they constrain the earth, which resisteth them, and by forcing it, make it to cleave and open, and to remoue, and to shake in those places, wherein it is forced: Concerning all which things, one may make a neere coniecture, by the force and violence which is seen in ordinance and artillerie. For euery one beholdeth what force there is by meanes of fire and of the matter inclosed within, to wit, powder, and of the contrarie qualities whereof it is compounded, and of the winde that therein is ingendred, not onely to drive out with marvellous violence all the charge that therein is, but also many times to burst the peece it selfe, if there bee any resistance to hinder it that it discharge not quickly, or if it be not well made, and very strong, and well proportioned to the charge. Wee behold also, what a winde there issueth out, and what noise it maketh, and how the noise makes the earth to sound and tremble: and oftentimes it happeneth, that this onely winde killeth those that stand neere the cannons mouth, such is the violence thereof, although they bee not touched at all with the bullet, that it shootheth. But wee beholde more cleerely in mines, which are made vnder ground, the violence of this powder, when it is therein inclosed with the fire, which is set thereto by traines. For there is neither towne nor castle, be they neuer so well founded, nor any fortresse, which is not onely shaken, but overturned also, like as by an horrible earth-quake. Wherein wee may note, how that it hath not bin sufficient for men, to counterfeit thunders, and lightnings in artillerie, but they haue also inuented the meanes to represent the motions and shakings of the earth: in such manner as we haue signified. There are some philosophers also, who haue taught, that the same reason is in earthquakes, as there is in the shaking of mens bodies: and that they are like feuers and maladies of the earth, which come vnto it through diuers causes, saue that they hold not all the body thereof, as they doe in men, but onely some parts of it. For they argue that the water is in the earth, as the blood, which hath his course through the veines of mans body; and the winde is as the vitall spirits, which passe through the arteries thereof. And as there happen diuers stoppings in the bodie, which hinder the blood, and vitall spirits, that they cannot keepe their right course and ordinarie passage, whereupon their order is troubled, and the body pained, in such sort that groanes ensue, and difficultie of breathing, shakings, and such like accidents: So is it with the body of the earth, when any thing happens to it contrarie to the naturall disposition thereof, by the meanes which wee haue already heard, whether by water, by fire, by winde and such like. Whereto we will adde also this opinion of those, who attribute the cause of such motions and tremblings, either to the drinelle of the earth which is the occasion, that it cleaueth and chappeth, and by this meanes giues open way to the aire and to the windes, which penetrate therinto; or else because of the older age thereof, to which they esteeme all creatures subiect: whereupon it happeneth to it, as to old buildings, which beeing ruinous and almost rotten, doe fall downe in some places of themselves.

These are the diuers opinions of men vpon this matter: wherein if we desire to take a very short & sure way to attaine to the true cause, we must referre it to the wrath and iudgements of God, because that what causes forer the learned can inuent, the Eternall sheweth himselfe very powerfull, and to be feared therein, considering that he hath disposed all of them, and that they all depend vpon him alone. And surely this is a worke of the omnipotent worthie to be wondered at, and which may well cause men to moue and tremble before his maiestie. For if hee shewe himselfe terrible and fearefull by deluges of water, by haile, thunder, lightning, stormes and tempests, he doth no lesse by the motions and shakings of the earth, which are in regarde therof, as thunders are in the aire. For seeing that the earth is as the foot of the world, and that it is assigned to men for their habitation, whither is it that they may haue recourse, if it quake vnder them, and faile to sustaine them? Whither shall they retire, if hee will allow them no more dwelling in her: but will spue them out as the scripture saith? For if it be hard for them to flie before fire, and before water, and to finde harbour against windes, thunders, and tempests; whither shall they flie, if the earth will not receiue, nor beare them? And what dread may invade them, when sometimes it quaketh in sort that it openeth, and is swallowed vp, as into a bottomlesse pitte; as it came to passe, when it swallowed *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and their families? Who will not be astonished when it riseth vp, overturning all, even the highest mountaines, and hardest rocks, and moueth it selfe in such sort, that it maketh houses and buildings dance like rammes and sheepe, that would one butte at another, wherewith many are vtterly destroyed.

Of the force and violence in artillerie.

Earthquakes compared to agues.

The true cause of earthquakes, & the profit that we may receiue thereby.

Leuit. 19.

Numb. 16.

Examples of
maruellous
earth-quakes.

Li. 1. de bello
Iud.

Pſalm. 135.

2. Sam. 22.
Pſalm. 18.
Iſay 66.
Marth. 5.
Acts 7.

Iob 9.

Iob 26.

ſtroied: as it happened in the year 1531. in the Realme of Portugall, which was ſo ſhaken by an earth-quake, that at Liſbone the chiefe citie thereof, there were ouertrown almoſt twelue hundred houſes, beſides a great number of others which were greatly ſpoiled. This horrible earthquake continued the ſpace of eight daies, and gaue very furious aſſaults ſiue or ſixe times a day. And in the time of the Emperour *Tiberius*, twelue cities in *Aſia* were quite ruinated in one night by an earth-quake. And *Iosephus* recordeth that by another thirtiethouſand Iewes died. So *Iuſtine* recounteth, that by another earthquake many cities were deſtroyed, and an hundred and ſeuentie thouſand perſons periſhed in the raigne of *Tigranes* in *Armenia*. What cauſes then ſoeuer there may be in nature of ſo many terrible euents; yet we muſt alwaies haue recourſe to the Author and Gouvernour thereof, without whom it can performe nothing: and he it is, that bringeth earth quakes out of his treaſures, as hee doth the winds; either by his commandement without a meanes; or by his miniſters ordayned thereto; or elſe by ſome power infuſed into things, the which may according to his good pleaſure diſplay it ſelfe in effect, to denounce his iudgements on men. For hee it is of whome the prophet ſpeaketh. [The earth trembled and ſhaked, and the foundations of the mountaines were mooued and quaked, and the foundations of heauen were bowed and trembled, becauſe he was angrie.] Wherefore we may very well conclude, that as God declareth his magnificence and wonderful glorie in heauen, which is aſſigned to be his ſeat (as his word teacheth vs, and as wee haue heretofore amply diſcourſed) ſo like- wiſe hee doth manifeſt it no leſſe in the earth: which is his footſtoole, when hee cauſeth it to ſhake and remooue, as if beeing ſupprised with ſome great and ſtrong feauer, it ſhooke and trembled before him. And therefore *Iob* alſo ſaith: [The Eternall is wiſe in heart and mightie in ſtrength; who hath benee fierce againſt him, and hath prospered? He remooueth mountaines, and they feele not when he ouertroweth them in his wrath. Hee remooueth the earth out of her place, that the pillars thereof do ſhake: the pillars of heauen tremble and quake at his reproofe.] But now let vs note, that all that, which wee haue here deliuered, diſprooueth not the earth to remaine alwaies firme and immoueable in it ſelfe, in ſo much as it mooueth not out of the place which was appointed to it by God, neither doth it ſwerue neuer ſo little: conſidering that the moouings and tremblings are not vniuerſall, but particular onely in ſome places, in ſuch ſort that the foundations thereof are not any whit altered. And if we conſider well of theſe things, the Earth will ſerue no leſſe for a preacher vnto vs, then the aire and the fire, yea then all heauen to denounce vnto vs the ſoueraigne maieltie of the Almighty, ruling aboue all his workes: as I hope to morrow, wee may haue goodly teſtimonies entreating of the water, which is diſperſed throughout the earth, and afterwards ſpeaking of the excellent commodities and precious riches, that theſe two elements doe yeeld to men, into which matter you (*A S E A*) ſhall enter with your diſcourſe.

The end of the ſeuenth daies worke.

The eight daies worke.

Of the ſea, and of the waters, and of the diuiſion and diſtribution of them throughout the earth. Chap. 57.

A SER.



HE holy Scripture doth certifie vs, how that in the beginning the earth was covered ouer with water, and that it appeared not in any ſort, but onely vnder the forme a great deep til ſuch time as God commanded the waters to retire to the channels and places, which hee had prepared for their aboad. So that then the earth was diſcovered, even ſo much thereof, as was needefull for the habitation and nourishment of men and beaſts. But this ſoueraigne creator of the Vniuers would not haue the waters to bee gathered all into one place, and not to haue their

their course through the earth, but providing for every commoditie for his creatures; hee ordained, that out of the great Ocean sea, which is as the great bodie of the waters, there should issue diuers armes and members, by meanes whereof we haue the Mediterran seas; out of which againe procede many other waters, as lakes, foulds, riuers, and brookes. For although that all these waters seeme to haue their springing out of certaine fountaines, which many affirme to bee made of the aire; yet the very truth is, that their chiefe source is out of the sea: which (as it is named in *Iob*) is as the wombe, out of which all waters, both celestiall and terrestriall haue their first originall, and doe engender and repaire themselves continually by the meanes that we haue already heard. Now according to the opinion of the Philosophers, all reason teacheth vs, that this ordinance in nature concerning the distribution of the waters throughout the earth, hath beene made of necessity for the mutual maintenance of these two elements: for so much as the Earth beeing naturally dry, cannot subsist without moisture: and contrariwise the flowing water, could not haue ought to stay vpon, without being propped by the earth. Wherefore it was necessary, that the earth should giue it place, and that it should open all her vaines and conduits, that the water might passe through the same, both within and vpon it, yea & to pierce euen to the highest mountaine tops: in which place being pressed with the waight of the earth, and also in some place moued by the aire, which driueth it, one shall see it issue out in great vehemency euen as it were squirted out.

Why the water is mixed with the earth

Whosoever then will consider of the whole circuit of the earth, shall learne that the moiety of the roundnesse thereof is enuironed by the sea, which floweth round about it, causing the waues thereof to goe and come continually, sometimes aloft, and sometimes very low: like as if this terrene globe were a bowle cast into the water, one part whereof should lye discovered out of it, and the other covered within it: Which water the Philosophers hold to bee entirely round, having the open heaven in every part ouer it. And this is confirmed by those droppes of water which fall vpon the ground, or vpon leaves of trees and of herbes which are round. If also one fill a vessell toppe brim full of water, they may evidently behold, that the water riseth & swelleth in the middell, making a kind of round forme. In truth, by reason that the water is subtile and soft, these things are far better comprehended by arguments and concluding reasons, wherewith the bookes of the learned are replenished, then by the view of the eie. Notwithstanding this is very admirable, that if one put neuer so little water into a vessell already brimfull, the vppermost part thereof will shedde ouer: and yet if one cast into the same so toppefull vessell, some heavy thing, yea to the waight of twenty pence, the water will not spill therefore, but will swell onely, till such time as it stand much aboue the brimme of the vessell, by the rising thereof. Moreouer the roundnesse of the water, which causeth this, doth also make that those which are in the top of a ship, do sooner discover land, then those which are in the fore deck, or in the sterne thereof, so likewise if any shiing thing be fastned to the top of the mast parting from the port, it seemeth that the vessell still goeth downewards till at length the sight of her will be cleane lost. Moreouer, how should it bee possible that the Ocean Sea, which enuironeth the earth, as being the mother sea, and the receptacle of all the rest, doth not runne abroad, considering there is no banke to withhold it, if it were not of round forme? Wherein this is to bee noted, that the water of the Sea doth in no sort overpasse the limits thereof, nor doth euerrunne but toward the place of the naturall situation thereof. Of which the Greeke Philosophers haue rendred an especiall reason by Geometrical propositions and conclusions making demonstration that this water cannot runne otherwise, what soome or scope soeuer it haue. For they say, that considering the nature of water is to fall alwaies downward; and that also the Sea stretcheth it selfe out so farre as it can; neuertheless according as the declining of the Sea can suffer, as every one may see with his eie: and by how much the lower it is, by so much the more it doth approach to the center of the earth: whereupon ensueth, that all lines drawne from that center to the waters nearest to it, are shorter then those lines, which are drawne from the vppermost waters to the extremitie of the sea: so that by that means, the water of the sea doth alwaies decline towards the center, from whence it can in no sort fall, but doth there retaine it selfe.

That the water is round.

Why the water doth retaine it selfe in it selfe, without running abroad.

Surely if we do neerely consider this marvellous work of God (the Sea & waters) we shall therein find goodly mirrors wherein to contemplate his maiestie and greatnes. According as he saith to his seruant *Iob*, [Who hath shut vp the Sea with doores when it issued and came forth

Good Christian instructions taken from the waters, *Iob* 38.

Of the sea, and of waters.

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Psal. 33.

Psal. 107.

Isay 66.

Ierem 5.

forth, as out of the wombe? When I made the cloudes as a couering thereof, and darke-
 nesse as the swadling bands thereof? When I established my commaundement vpon it,
 and set barres and doores: And saide, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther; and heere
 shalt thou stay thy proud waves.] The like is also taught by the Psalmist, saying: [He ga-
 thereth the waters of the sea together, as vpon an heap, and layeth vp the depths in his trea-
 sures.] Which is as much as if he should say, (God holdeth backe the waters, as with a bri-
 dle, that they may not ouerrun and couer the earth.) Wherein we are moreover to note, that
 the holy Ghost speaketh concerning the sea, in this fore-alleged text of *Iob*, & in ma-
 ny other places of Scripture, as if it had some sense and vnderstanding, and that God had
 caused it to heare his voice, and had commaunded it, as hee commaundeth men to o-
 bey his ordinance, although it be a senselesse creature and without life: but this is to the
 end that we may better learne to acknowledge the power and prouidence of God ouer all
 his workes. For the sea is not onely deafe, and deprived of all sense, and much more with-
 out vnderstanding, but also exceeding furious and and outragious, beeing mooued by
 force of windes and tempests, in such sort that it often seemeth, as if it would ouerrunne
 and swallow vp all the earth with the waues thereof, and would rise with the floods therof
 and mount vp to heauen. For one may behold how at one time the waues wil swell and rise
 vp like high mountaines: and suddenly after will tumble and couch downe like vallies, and
 as if the sea would cleaue and diuide it selfe, and so discover the deepe bottome there-
 of. And therefore the kingly Prophet hauing diuinely described all things, together with
 the power that the soueraigne creator had to raise, and to appease such tempestes, he exhor-
 teth all men to acknowledge this infinite power of the Eternall, and those great works and
 wonders, which hee declareth in the sea: and to haue recourse for their deliverance out of all
 dangers, to the Creatour and true Lord of the waters, and of the windes, and of all nature.
 But yet wee must heere consider the obedience that the sea sheweth, even in the greatest
 furies thereof, to the commaundement which God hath deliuered to it from the first cre-
 ation thereof. For although it be often mooued, as wee saide; yet doth it containe it
 selfe shutte vp within the boundes which were appointed vnto it by the ordinance
 of God, as if it were affraide to runne out, and durst not passe farther, as having
 heard and vnderstood that which the creator thereof had commanded, and had engrauen
 it in memory for euer. And therefore we may see, that after it hath swollen and risen aloft in
 waues, and that it hath menaced the earth, as if it would ouerflow it, & couer it againe with
 the deepe, as at the beginning: it is neuertheles arrested, and beaten backe to returne into
 the proper gulfes thereof, which are assigned for it to lodge in, euen by a very little sand on-
 ly. For what is the sea shore, but sand only, which is a kinde of loose earth like the dust, &
 is easily driuen with the wind? And yet the word of God, which hath giuen commande-
 ment to the sea (which is so horrible & fearefull a creature being mooued, is of such power,
 that this small sand is sufficient to make it keepe within the confines and limits thereof, &
 to breake the furious waues thereof, as if he, who hath established this ordinance in nature,
 stood in preface vpon the shore side, to command it to do so, and that for feare and reue-
 rence of him, it returned to hide it selfe in the deepe: how much more then should his
 word and voice moue the hearts of men, breaking, eleauing, and pearcing them through,
 if they were not harder then stones, and rockes, and more senselesse then the waters? For
 this cause the Lord saith by *Esay*: [And to whom shall I haue respect, but to him that is
 afflicted, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my words?] And *Ieremie* shewing to
 the people of Israel the malice and rebellion, which was in them, against the Lord their
 God, doth giue them the Sea for a patterne, and referreth them to learne to obey their
 Creator, after the example thereof. Let vs learne then that the Sea and other waters doe
 not overpasse their bounds and limits; but when it pleaseth God that they should ouerflow
 to challice men, by deluges and floods: as it oftentimes commeth to passe through his iust
 iudgement. But it shall bee your office (*ACHITO*) to speake of this point, discoursing
 vpon the ebbing and flowing of the Sea, whereupon me thinkes the order of our speech
 doth require that we should entreat.

of

Of the flowing and ebbing of the sea. 371

*Of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, and of the power that the
moone hath ouer it and ouer all other inferi-
our bodies. Chapter 58.*

A M A N A.

IF we doe not referre all things to the heavenly disposition of him, who hath framed and compassed all with his hand, and doth governe all by his prudence and sustaineth all with his power: it will bee very difficult, yea impossible for vs, to declare the causes and reasons of his works in an humane discourse which are of such authority, that they may put a good spirit out of all scruple and doubt: Yea euen in the subiect which we intend now to entreate of, to witte, the flowing and ebbing of the sea. The searching out of which secret did so trouble a certaine great Philosopher (some say, *Aristotle*) that being vpon the shore Eubœa now called Negropont, onely so search out and to behold the naturall cause thereof, and not being able to enforme himselfe sufficiently therein, it did so vex him, that chaling at nature her selfe, and against the water, he cast himselfe into the sea, saying to it (sith I cannot comprehend thee, yet shalt thou haue the honour to comprehend mee, and keepe mee within thy gulfes) and indeede hee was heere swallowed by the deepe. And certes this ordinary ebbing and flowing of the ocean, according to which it goeth, commeth, spreadeth it selfe abroad, & then doth every day retire, without euer sayling in the order thereof, must needs bee a most wonderful thing. And that which is most admirable therein is, that the flowing and ebbing thereof doe follow the course of the moone. To which planet likewise is attributed with most apparant reason the cause of this flowing and ebbing, she being as the regient of the seas and waters, by the appointment of the soueraigne creatour, as is scene by experience and by the agreeableness of nature, which they haue together. For we must note, that as the moone encreaseth or waineth, so is it with the state of the flowing of the sea: And therefore although that it happen diuersly, yet the principall cause of the motion thereof resideth in his planet. For betweene the two times that she riseth, which is in fower and twenty howers, wherein she compasseth the whole earth, the sea doth twise flow, & doth as oftentimes ebbe. And when the moone beginneth to mount in the east, then doth the flood rise, and the sea swell, till such time as this planet doth attaine to our right meridian, which is in the mid heauen, and that it begin to decline towards the west, at which time the water ebbeth. Yet neuertheles all those sixe howers, wherein the moone maketh her course towards the line of mid night opposite to our noone line, the flood returneth and encreaseth, till after it hath passed that line, and then it doth ebbe againe, till such time as the said regient thereof the moone returne againe aboue our Horizon. It is most certen that the flood doth neuer returne iust at that very houre and instant, wherein it flowed the day before. But this doth proceed likewise from the course of the Moone, which seruing for these base and inferiour things, and not rising every day at one selfe same instant, thee doth drawe the course of the sea with her: in such sort, that the tide is more late, and of shorter continuance at one time then at another, and yet doth not the distance of time betweene the tides change one whit, for it endureth lixe houres in ebbe, and so long time in flowing. But here we meane not all manner of howres as our common howres are, according to the different situation of places, but wee meane equall and equinoctiall houres by consideration whereof the ebbing and flowing of the sea will bee found alwaies of like time, as is abouesaid. Moreouer, from seven daies to seven daies, the flowing is found different by the same power of the Moone: for it is but very small the first quarter thereof, and till it be halfe round. In the second quarter it alwaies encreaseth till full Moone: at which time the sea is at her greatest height. From thence forward the flood decreaseth: so that the third quarter it is in the same state wherein it was the first quarter. Neuerthelesse when the waining Moone is halfe round, the flood beginneth to rise. But when shee is in conjunction with the Sunne, the tide riseth as high as at full Moone. And when the Moone is high and Septentrionall, the tide is not so vehement as when shee is Meridionall, because that being then more neere to the earth, shee doth the more exercise her power.

Of the ebbing
and flowing
of the sea.

But many haue endeauoured in this matter to vnderstand, why the flowings of the
V u u 2 Ocean

Of the flowing and ebbing of the sea.

Why the ocean doth differ in flowing from other seas.

Other causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea.

Of the power of the moone over all creatures.

A marvellous inundation of waters in the yere 1530.

Luke. 21.

Ocean sea doe reach farther, then those of the other Mediterranean seas : wherein the eb- bings and flowings doe not appeare as in the Ocean. Which may bee said to proceede, because that a thing which is entire hath more power, then any part which is separated. Also the high sea retaineth in it selfe more of the power of the Moone, which worketh vpon it at ease and pleasure, beyond all comparison more forcibly then vpon other seas, which are narrower, and minister lesse meanes to this planet to exercise her rule therein. From whence it commeth to passe, that lakes and rivers doe neuer flow. And for the Mediterranean seas they are enclosed about with the earth, as in an heauen, though there bee some places, or some armes of the same seas very broad. Some likewise are very much subiect to the Moone, as the Adriaticke gulfe, wherein Venice is builded, which ebbeth and floweth twice every day like the Ocean. And it is to bee noted, that such motions are better perceiued on the shoare and sea coastes, then in the middest thereof : euen as the pulse of the arterie is better knowne in the extreames of the body, then in the bulke thereof. Some also doe render this cause of the flowing, and ebbing of the see, to wit, that though the waters thereof be salt, yet were not this sufficient for their conversation, no more then of their neighbour the aire, if they had not a continuall motion. For we see, that sea water doth presently corrupt being in a vessell, and not mooued. Many also haue noted that in every revolution or course of the moone, the tyde relecth for three daies long, to witte, the seuen, eight and ninth day thereof : and that when shee is at full, all seas doe purge themselves by scummes. Certainly it is wondrous to see what power this planet hath, not onely over the waters, but also over the earth, and over all liuing creatures. Which hath ministred occasion to many Philosophers to suppose, that the moone was that quickning spirit, which nourisheth the earth; and that also by her inconstant course approaching diuers waies to the inferiour bodies, she produced diuers effects, sometimes replenishing them and sometimes leauing them void and empty. Whereof it commeth, that all fishes having scales and shels, doe encrease and decrease according to the course of the moone : and that all liuing creatures also, which haue blood, doe feeble themselves refreshed, when she reneweth. It is likewise supposed, that the blood augmenteth or diminisheth in man, according as the moone encreaseth, or waineth : yea that herbes and trees doe partake of her power. *Aristotle* also doth note, that those creatures which are ready to die, do die onely when the sea ebbeth. But in this matter, as in all things which doe concerne ebbing and flowing of the Ocean, we must euer haue recourse to the ordinance that the Eternall father of the vniuers hath established in all his creatures : according to which they perseuer in obedience to their creatour, without transgressing one tittle of his lawes : as we haue a notable example in the sea, and in the waters, which containe themselves in such admirable sort (as in our former speech is declared) within their bounds and limits. And if at any time they ouerflowe (as whilome happened in Holland, where the water brake through the dams and banks, wherewith the country is bounded, swallowing vp the coast towns, with an incredible losse of men and riches : as also at the same time. *Tiber* did so ouerflowe at Rome, that it rose in the fields the height of a lance, ruinating in fower & twety howers many bridges & stately edifices, the endommagement whereof, comprising therein the moueable goods lost, was esteemed to amount to the value of three millions of gold : there being about three thousand persons choaked and drowned.) Such deluges, I say, doe not come to passe (what naturall causes soeuer the learned forcethemselues to render) without the expresse command and ordinance of God, who will after this sort vse the water, to take vengeance vpon those whom hee pleaseth to wash from off the face of the earth, as being vnworthy to dwell longer thereupon. And so he himselfe hath prophesied vnto vs, saying : [There shall be signes in the Sunne, and in the Moone, and in the Starres, and vpon the earth, trouble among the nations, with perplexitie : the sea and waters shall roare.] Adding afterwards, [For the powers of heauen shall be shaken.] Moreover we may say, that although the celestially bodies haue no more life, sense and vnderstanding, then the earth and the sea : yet neuertheless they haue, as it were, a secret feeling by nature of the maiestie of God their creator, who causeth them to rise vp against men for their rebellion and wickednesse. Surely when we see them rise and stand vp against men, to worke them euill in stead of doing them good, contrarie to the end of their first creation ; wee must consider of them, as if they enuied & denied to serue men any more, which turne disloyall, ingratefull & peruerse towards him, from whom their totall good proceedeth : As the Sunne did witnesse when it waxed darke at the death of our Redeemer, depriuing those of his light, which were risen against

vp against the eternall Son of God, that had created them. For it is certaine, that the creatures doe groane and trauell altogether (as the Scripture saith) till such time as Iesus Christ shall come in iudgement, which is the day of the restitution and restoring of all things, foretold by the Prophets. And which day being neere, it is no marvell: if God doe daily shew his particular iudgements vpon men, to put them in mind of this generall and vniuersall iudgement, whereto heauen, earth, the sea, and all creatures shall come together: and therefore also he giueth them so many signes of his wrath, by thunders, tempests, deluges, and inundations of water, as we haue made mention. But let vs proceed to contemplate his other works and great wonders, which abound euery where, both in the earth, and in the sea, and in other terrestriall waters: by which very many commodities, do redound to men through the prouidence of God. And first we will speake of the diuersity of waters. Which (A R A M) I would haue you to discourse of.

Romanes 8.
A&S. 3.

*Of salt, fresh, and warme waters: and of other diuersities
in them. Chapter 59.*

A R A M. According to the nature of the most wonderfull workes of God, in all that, which hee hath created, the maruels are innumerable, which may bee considered in the sea, and in all the waters which proceede out of it, and returne in to it, without any increasing or diminishing in it selfe, as we haue already heard. And if there were no other thing, but that the waters of the sea are alwaies salt, and other waters are for the most part fresh, would not that bee sufficient to teach vs to acknowledge the great power, wisdom, and bounty of the creatour, and how puissant hee is in all his workes? For though that all waters are of one nature, as making vp one onely element? yet doth hee make them of diuers qualities, according as hee knoweth how to purifie, distill and purge, or else to mingle and mixe them, with his other creatures. Whereupon it falleth out, that wee haue not onely salt waters in the sea, but that there are some found also in fountaines, yea oftentimes very neere to other springs of fresh water: Wherein the prouidence of God declareth it selfe to bee very great. For if all the waters were salt, men and beasts could not liue, nor the earth fructifie, and nourish the fruites thereof, because that liuing creatures cannot want fresh water, whether it bee for their drinke, or for their other necessary commodities: neither is salt water fitte to water the earth, considering that salt makes it barren. On the other side, if al waters were fresh, where might men find salt enough to suffice them, for the necessary commodities of their life? For although that there bee some salt mines, and some salt ground, as appeareth by the salt waters of fountaines, which passe through such grounds: yet the best meanes to haue good salt and in abundance is by the waters, and chiefly by Seawater. What may wee say also of so many sorts of water, whereof some participate with Sulphure; some with allom; other with iron or brasie, or with other mettals or minerals, which doe heate some of them in such sort, as men make naturall bathes of them, hauing diuers vertues and powers which serue for medicines in many kindes of diseases?

Of the diuers
qualities of
water, and of
the prouidence
of God therein

Now the Philosophers doe much straine themselves to declare the causes of so many marvellous effects. For some say that the sunne, which is the greatest of all planets, drying vp by his heate the moisture of the water, and burning and sucking vp all the humiditie of the earth, doth by this decoction cause the Sea to become salt, because the force of the solarie fire doth attract vnto it the most fresh and subtile part of the water, making the more heauie and thicke part that remaineth, to be saltier and of more substance: whereof it cometh, that the water towards the sea bottome is fresher, then that which is aboue. Others alledge three efficientes, which both cause and continue the saltneesse: to wit, the heate of the Sunne, for the foresaid reasons; and also because it maketh the water to purifie: then the continuall agitation thereof by flowing and ebbing, which causeth that the Sea neither resteth nor runneth a direct course: and thirdly, the ordinary receiuing of raine. For they say, that when salt resteth in the water, it descendeth downwards by reason of the waight thereof: and when the water runneth, it is purified by the earth: and that all rainewater, because it is heated by the Sunne, and doth putrifie through tardation and slownes, is somewhat brackish. But they are much more troubled when they entreate of

Why the sea-
water is salt.

Of fountains
and wells and
why the wa-
ter of them
seemeth hot-
ter in winter
then in sum-
mer.

Why some
waters doe
boile.

What water is
best.

Diuers causes
of cold waters,
& their tastes,
colours and
smelles.

fountaines. For some say, that the sea yeeldeth none but salt waters, as is seene by many waters neere it: And that those which are fresh, become so by a long and vehement course. Others maintaine that they be engendred by the aire. Now experience manifesteth, that their saltnesse is diminished by the length and continuance of the course of the water. For the farther that welles are from the sea, the more fresh they are: because the water doth more purge it selfe, by the earth ouer which it transuerseth, leauing a part of the force thereof, and sometimes all of it, in the slime, and in the sand. And heere wee may note, that waters, especially Well waters, which doe all come from some springs, doe seeme to be hotter in winter then in sommer, although they doe neuer change their nature: for this proceedeth of the aire, which is colde in winter and hotte in summer. Through the opposition then of these things one selfe same water seemeth to receiue diuers qualities: enen as we see, that according to the disposition of our body, the qualitie of the aire, which enuironeth vs, is esteemed. For when we are hotte, we doe suppose, that which we touch to be cold; and when we be cold, we esteeme that which we touch to be otherwise. Wherefore we must iudge enen so of the inner parts of the earth, esteeming them to be simply neither hotter nor colder in one season more then in another, but onely in respect of the aire. Indeepe water doth waxe a little warme, when through the coldnesse of the aire, the heate is constrained to retire it selfe downward in such sort as it cannot issue nor spreade it selfe vpon the earth: and therefore the snowe which doth lye a long vpon it, doth commonly make it more fertile; for it retayneth the heat in the bowels thereof. Moreover, the vppermost part of the earth, which the water may come to, is of a clammy slime of the nature of brimstone or of salt, or of mettall: which causeth that the exhalations enclosed in this part doe heat the water. And therefore such waters are either odoriferous, or of a badde smell, or without any saueur, of which qualities one may easily iudge by the smell and taste. For some waters saueur not onely of lime, or of salt, but they doe also boile, as in the bathes neere to Padua; yea such waters are very ordinary, so that there are few regions, but haue some of them. But they are most common in Germany and in Italy. And the cause that they so boile is, either fire or putrefaction, or else naturall or celestially heate. But for the celestially heate, it seemeth that it cannot be so great, especially in winter and in the night time, that it should heate the water very much. And for naturall heat, it is neuer actuall but in liuing creatures, because they haue life and sense. Neither is putrified heate so powerfull, that it can make water to boile, neither is it very likely, that the substance of any thing may be engendred and corrupted at one instant. It resteth then, that the cause should rather be in the fire: considering also, that heate hath but little motion, except it attaineth to the height thereof, whereas otherwise it doth quench it selfe. And therefore it is that matter which burneth vnder the earth, that ministreth this puissant heate, which doth so warme the water. And wee may moreover note, that all those waters which boile so, are naturally light, and haue some medicinable faculty and property: And yet they are not to be so much accounted of, as that which is fitte for common vsage in mens affaires to preferue health. For good water hath neither colour, smell, nor saueur, and is passing cleere: and being drunke it abideth not long in the belly: such (they say) is the water of the riuer Euleus, which falleth from the mountaine Zager by Susiana, whereof the Kings of Persia did make prouision in their expeditions and warlike voyages. For to the preferuation of health, water is no lesse to be carefully chosen, then aire. Now as warme waters are famous for the reason heretofore deliuered; so there are some waters also very much admired for their great coldnesse, whereof snowe, marble, mettals, cold aire, sudden motion, and the great fall from aloft, (euerie one in his degree) may be the cause. Againe, the saueurs or tastes of waters are very diuers, and the principall cause thereof is heate. For sodden earth (which is of sundry sorts) giueth a taste to water, according to the qualitie thereof. And the like reason is concerning colours; for fine and thinne clay doth cause the colour of waters: but thicke clay tarrieth not in water, and therefore dieth it not. The same cause is also in the difference of smells. And alwaies waters that are of a good smell, are profitable for creatures: but stinking waters cause diseases: for (as Philosophers say) contrary causes appertaine to contrarie things. Good water likewise is lightest, as that which flecteth aboue other water, be it in riuers, springs, or welles. From whence it commeth that fresh water floateth vpon sea water: which likewise being more massiue and waightie, beareth more heauie burdens. And amongst fresh waters, the water of Rhodanus or Rosne (in France) swimmeth vpon that of the the

Of the commodities arising by navigation. 775

the lake of Geneva, passing over the midst thereof. Also many properties and great wonders are written concerning waters, with the causes of them: as that, which is reported by *Iosephus*, of a certaine flood in Iudea neere Syria, which ranne every day, except vpon the Sabbath day: which was reputed a matter religious, and as a myracle: although that this might happen and come to passe through a naturall cause, if wee will so argue, to wit, that no water was gathered into this flood by orderly spaces, then was sufficient to runne for sixe daies and not for the seuenth: in such sort as Phisitions render a like cause concerning the renewings or fits, and ceasings of feavers. For the world is the great man, as man is the little world. But not stretching this discourse any farther, wee will onelie note for conclusion thereof, that in the diuersitie of the kindes of waters, that which is gathered together in one place and is salt, is called the sea; the fresh water so gathered together is called a lake; and if it moouenot at all, it is named a marish or fen: but if it be somewhat deepe, it is a standing poole; and if it runne, then is it a river: if it gather through raines, or by snowe, then is it a torrent, or raine flood: and if it spring, it is a fountaine; which is euer the best water, and doth slowliest putrefie. For it is least moist, and is most concocted by the heauenly heat. Also the lightest water doth hardliest corrupt: for which cause it is most fit for the maintenance of mans life, as approaching neere to the substance of the aire by which wee breath. Wee haue saide enough then concerning this matter. But me thinketh that our succeeding discourse requireth that wee should entreat of those commodities, which men receiue by waters through navigation, which (*ACHITO*) shall be the subiect of your discourse.

Of a flood which ranne not on the Sabbath day.

Of the diuers appellations of waters.

Of the commodities which men reape of the waters, by navigation, and of the directions which seamen receiue from heauen, and from the starres vpon the sea. Chapter 60.

ACHITO. Amongst such things as are worthy of consideration in the sea, and in other waters, wee must not passe over in silence those goodly commodities and great profits which they bring vnto men, by the meanes of navigations, and of the dealings and trafficks which they exercise by them. For it is to bee noted, that euery land and countrey cannot bee furnished with all commodities, because God hath so disposed thereof, that some abound in those thinges which other some doe greatly want and stand in neede of. But by meanes of sayling by water, all that which can bee required may be transported from one countrey to another, with very small trouble and charges: so that one nation may communicate those commodities with another, which the creator hath particularly bestowed on them all, each graunting mutuall helpe to the other by this meanes. Wherein surely we may acknowledge the providence of God to be very great and manifold. For first the Lord hath disposed of his creatures, and distributed his treasures according to the diuersity of lands & countries, even in such maner as he diuideth his gifts and graces amongst men. For he bestoweth not all either vpon one or vpon two, or vpon three, or vpon any other certaine number of them: And therefore there neuer hath bene, nor shall be any one, which either could or may surpasse all others so much, that hee may haue no neede of another, or that hath sufficient for himselfe. For if one man possessed all, hee would thinke himselfe to bee no more a man, but a God rather, and would therefore contemne all others. Moreover, it is most certaine, that if euery one were so well furnished with all things that they might all surpasse one another, there would be no humane societie. For one would make no account of another: being all puffed vp with pride (where with they are naturally enclined) there would arise a thousand quarrels and dissensions amongst them, as wee ordinarily see to happen amongst the proud, mighty, puissant, and rich. Forseeing that charitie, which should dwell amongst men, can take no place; how could they be vnited and allied together in amitie, if they were not constrained thereto through necessitie? and if it bee a difficult matter to conioine and maintaine them in peace and mutuall good will, what neede soeuer they haue one of another, one may easily iudge what would ensue, if they had not necessitie for their mistresse to this effect,

Of the providence of God in distribution of his gifts.

That nothing
can stop the
intercourse of
men.

Of the direc-
tion that
marriners
haue by the
starres.

which causeth them to do in spight of all their abilities, that which shew cannot obtaine of them, but by force. Againe how could men exercise the workes of charitie amongst themselves, (which workes are very much commended vnto them by God, to be done towards their neighbours) if every one could at his pleasure excell his companion? As then God hath placed and disposed sundry members in one bodie, and yet hath not appointed them one selfe same office, but to every on his owne: so hath it pleased him to diuide and distribute his goodnes, gifts, and graces amongst men, to the end that they may one serue another, as members of one and the same bodie, which cannot consist without the recipocall helpe of all. So likewise hath he established the sundry regions of the earth, enriching every one of them with certaine particular commodities, which do often constraîne men to helpe and succour one another, and to liue in peace: without which, they would like madde beasts ouer runne and destroy each other, as wee (wretches) doe finde true, especially in time of warre. But wee may well note vpon this point, that although the most mightie do by their hate, enmities, dissensions, reuengements and warres, contend oftentimes with all their power, to stop and hinder the trafficke, dealings, and transportations of merchandize from one countrey, and out of one place to another, especially of foode and victuals; yet whatsoever they may or can doe (bee they kings, princes or Emperors) they cannot for all that make such a stoppe, but that they will alwaies passe and scape by some meanes, maugre all their powers. Wherein wee must acknowledge, that seeing God hath ordained, that those which beare his image, should haue communication one with another, for the causes aforesaid, and that chiefly by the aide of nauigation: it is a great presumption in mighty men to oppose themselves against the order of the Omnipotent, and against that communion of benefits, which hee will haue to be maintained amongst men. Whome hee can constraîne to obserue his ordinances, euen through their owne couetousnesse, when their charitie faileth, making them to despise all dangers, that they may supply where neede is, though they bee forbidden vpon paine of death. For such restraint by commandement is so farre from hindering their couetousnesse, that it doth more inflame it, because they expect greater gaine, then if there were mutuall libertie, and therefore they cause more warre secretly to passe, and by that meanes they put all to hazard: yea they would rather open away vnder ground (like moles) or else would flie in the aire (like birds) then leaue such trading: so wonderfull is God in all his workes, and in the government of all nature. For when hee pleaseth, hee serueth his owne torne with the affections and euill workes of men, yea drawing good out of their euill, euen against their owne wils. And therefore wee may very well affirme, that seeing God will haue men to trafficke together; it cannot choose, howsoeuer they enterprize to the contrarie, but that this order must be continued. For this cause likewise it was not the will of the creator, that the waters should so gather themselves into one place that they might not runne through the earth: but hee ordained, that out of the great Ocean (which is like the great bodie of the waters, and like the wombe, out of which they doe all first spring, and wherein they are engendred, and whereby they are repaired for euer) there should issue diuers armes and members, by meanes whereof wee haue the Mediterranean seas, lakes, floods, riuers and brookes. So also in this distribution, and by the meanes of nauigation, God hath giuen vs many other meanes; to the end we might behold with our eies, many testimonies of his prouidence engrauen in euery part of the vniuers, by the disposition of the workes of his almightie hand, as they who saile vpon the waters are constrained to acknowledge. For as hee hath appointed the watric element, to serue men to navigate therein; so hath he established the heauen, and ordeined the starres enchaufed therein, to direct them to the midst of the great gulfes and deepes of the sea. For when the ships are entred very farre into it, they that be therein doe cleane lose the sight of land; so that they cannot iudge by the consideration thereof, in what place they are, nor vpon what side, neither to what place they may bend their course to finde a conuenient port, but they must take their directions from heauen.

And for this cause also, though that the heauen be in perpetuall motion, and that all the planets and starres doe follow it, rising and setting in such sort, as they doe not alwaies appeare to men: yet there are some of another condition. For neere to the place, which Astronomers take for the pole, there are certaine starres which haue their motion and course so disposed, that they are alwaies seene at sea, being never hidden like the rest: and among these that is one, which is called the Polestarre, which is neuer seene to remooue (except
a very

Of the commodities arising by nauigation. 777

avery little) out of one place : so that it seemeth the whole heaven turneth about this star: As also we maintaine, that it hath the like place correspondent therto directly ouer against it in the other part of heaven, with a like appellation of name (as wee haue heretofore declared in our discourses concerning the celestiaall bodies) excepting the difference, which is put betweene these two poles, taken from their opposite situation in heaven, and from the starres, which are next vnto them; which also haue their course and motion like the rest: but doe onely differ in this, that rising and setting are not attributed vnto them, because they may be alwaies seene, when the spheres are discerned. For when the skie is covered with clouds, marriners doe finde themselves very much hindered and troubled. For then they prooue that which *Iob* saith concerning the workes of God, to wit, that he com-
mandeth the sunne, and it riseth not, and he closeth vp the starres, as vnder a signet. And that hee maketh the starre Arcturus, Orion, and Pleiades, and the Climates of the south, doing great things and vnsearchable, yea marvellous things without number. Whereupon wee may note, that here is especiall mention made of the septentrionall starres, as well because that they are more seene then the rest, as also because it is their proprietie to bring and to procure raine and tempests (if wee may credite Astrologers) which cause that the heaven cannot bee seene. And because that some of these starres are so disposed, that they seeme to represent the figure of a chariot with fower wheelles, and they are very much glistering aboue other, they are commonly called by the name of Charles-waine: because also they
have three other very bright stars neere to them, placed in such order as if they were cart-horses or oxen. Indeeede some haue called them the Beare, seeing them so conioyned together, taking the fower quarters apart as if they were the fower quarters of a Beare, and the other three as the taile thereof. There are some also, who haue named them the Dragon or Serpent, because that beeing considered together they might seeme to represent some such forme. But howsoever, it is certaine that pilots of gallies and ships doe direct & guide themselves chiefly by these northren starres, as beeing most seene, and best knowne by men, and because they doe almost alwaies remaine in one place, like the pole, or else doe mooue so little, that they are neuer out of sight, especially that constellation which is properly designed by name of the Beare, and is called the greater Beare in comparison of a lesse called the lesser Beare. And for which cause also the pole, which is in this region and part of heaven is called Arcticke, which is to say, of the Beare: for (Arctos) in Greeke signifieth a Beare. Now hereby wee farther learne, that it is very requisite for marriners, and chiefly for masters and gouernours of gallies and ships, to be Astronomers, at leastwise so much as to know the foresaid starres, and to know how to iudge of the elevation of the pole, and of the degrees, and the distances of euery land and country, according to the elevation. For it is by it, that not onely marriners, but Geometricians and Geographers also doe take their measures, and dimentions to part and measure out the earth. But wee haue staied long ynough in this matter, now we will consider how God hath diuided and limited out this terrestriall globe, and the sundry countries and regions that are therein, by the sea and separation of the water: as (A S E R) you can discourse vnto vs.

Iob 9.

Of Charles his waine.

Of the diuision of lands and countries amongst men by the waters, and of the limits which are appointed them for the bounds of their habitations. Chapter 61.

A S E R. **S**Trabo a man as well seene in good letters as any other that hath written of Geographie, saith; That the earth is enuironed about by the Ocean: and therefore hee patteth it into foure very great gulphes: the first whereof
turneth towards the North, and is called the Caspian or Hircanian Sea: the second and third is that of Arabia, and the gulfes of Ormuz or the Persian sea, turning towards the South: and the fourth being greatest of all the rest is that whereinto the Ocean entreth at the streight of Gibraltar, which some call the pillars of *Hercules*; which gulfes
by the name of the Mediterran, or Middle earth-sea, because it is compassed round about with land. And the same Mediterran sea runneth, enlarging it selfe, and making many bayes and gulphes, sometimes washing the coast of Europe; and sometimes that of Africa;
and

Diuision of the Ocean into foure gulphes.

Of the mediterranean seas.

and so it extendeth toward the East, and receiveth diuers names according to the places through which it passeth. For the first coast by which it runneth is called Mauritania Tingitana, which is that of Tremissen; then doth it take the name of Mauritania Cæsariensis, towards Algier, and Tunis; then is it named the Africke-sea towards Tripoly in Barbary; then passing the quicke lands it is the Lybian sea; and entring vpon the Marmarica and Cyrenaica, it glideth with that name till it water Egypt, and then it is said to bee the Egyptian sea. And all this coast is from the east to the west, till you arrive at the gulf of Larissa beyond Damietta, and at the vttermost of the deserts of the south-east, where Asia and Africa do separate. From which port being in Palestina, you must turne north and north-east, as if you would take your course by the west: and then this sea which was called the Syriack sea because of all Syria to Tripolis, changeth name, and is called the Egean sea, till you come to Gallipolis, or Helespont, making all this way diuers baies and gulfs: and vnder this name it coasteth Thracia, and the lands which abutte vpon Macedonia, and Morea, till you come to Albania, and there it beginneth to bee called the Adriaticke sea: then doubling towards the south, it floweth by the countrey of Calabria to the towne of Rhegium, vnder the name of the Ionicke sea, and passing betweene Sicilie and Italy, in stead of the old name Charybdis, it is called the Tyrrhene sea, and from thence it runneth towards the coast of Genoa, by name of the Ligusticke sea, which diuideth and separateth France from Italy, being nominated the French sea: then to end the course, and finish the compasse, it approbeth the isles of Maiorca and Minorca, being called the Balearicke sea. And proceeding farther, it runneth to the streight of Barbarie, bearing name the Iberian sea, where it returneth to the first point, from whence we said it first parted, to wit, at the streight of Gibraltar, which is the entrance of one sea into another.

Things to be considered of, by the diuision of lands by the waters. Acts 17.

Now in this brieue discourse, vpon which Cosmographers haue written many great volumes, we haue very goodly matter to consider vpon, not without much wonder of the providence of God; in that it hath pleased him to diuide, part, and limit out the earth, and the sundry countries and nations that are therein, by the sea, and by the bosomes, gulfs, and armes thereof. For it is written [God hath made of one blood all mankind, to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath assigned the times which were ordained before, and the bounds of their habitation.] Which is as much to say, that as men haue not made nor created themselues, but haue bin created by the Eternall; so are they borne where hee pleaseth, hauing assigned them a place vpon the earth, not at their choise but at his pleasure.

Dan. 2.

And therefore also he establisheth their habitation, or changeth it, according to his good will, either keeping them within the countrey in which they were borne, or else driving them out, & bringing them into strange lands, as we haue verie eident examples throughout all the holy Historie, where mention is made of the children of Israel. For though the Scripture doth deliuer vs no testimony of the providence of God so special towards other nations, as it assureth vs to haue beene towards the people of Israel: yet we must neuertheless beleue, that there is not one man that dwelleth vpon the earth, to whome the Lord hath not by his providence assigned the place of his habitation: But hee would giue an example and more certaintie in his people, of that which he ordinarily doth towards all nations, although hee doth it not so openly, nor with so great fauour and grace, as is declared in those whom he accounteth for his children. And therefore the Prophet saith, [That it is God, who changeth the times and seasons, hee taketh away Kings, hee setteth vp Kings: because he giueth and taketh away kingdomes, and he augmenteth, cutteth off, and altereth the limits of them as he pleaseth.] Whereby wee also learne, that wee must not attribute either to the prudence and wisdom of any one, or yet to the force and power, or to the weapons or armies of men, the changes which wee daily see in the state of the most mighty: but to the onely ordinance and disposition of God, by which such alterations come to passe, according as the soueraigne iudge knoweth to be expedient and iust for the chastisement and punishing of men by one another, or else to shew himselfe benigne and fauourable towards them. For which cause the Scripture saith, that the Lord vsing as his instrument *Senacherib* the tyrant of Assyria to chastise many people and nations; he calleth him the rodde and scourge of his wrath: and doth greatly reprobend him by *Isay*, for that he attributed to himselfe the glory of those victories which he had given him, not because of his vertues (considering hee was a fierce and cruell King) but because God would vse him against those who deserved to bee chastised by the hands of such a tyrant and murderer. If then wee consider (as behoueth vs) vpon that

I say 10.

which

Of the diuision of lands by the waters. 779

which wee haue here summarily touched, wee shall finde therein excellent doctrine for all kings, princes, and people, and for all men, as well in generall, as in particular: to the end to induce them, that they may containe themselves within the inclosure of thole confines wherein God hath placed them. For as hee is cursed in the lawe, which passeth the bounds of his neighbours possession; so must wee not doubt, but that they are subiect to the same curse, who cannot containe themselves within the bounds of those countries, in which God hath confined them, bestowing vpon them power, signories, and habitation therein. For from whence proceede the greatest dissensions and cruell wars, but from the ambition and auarice of men, which will one vsurpe aboue another, that which appertaineth not vnto them, and by such meanes doe outpasse their limits? whereas if every one would content himselfe with that part and portion of land, which the creator thereof hath bestowed vpon him, who doubteth, but that men should liue in much more peace? As then God through his prouidence would constrain them by necessity and neede which they haue one of another, to trafficke and communicate together in liberty and mutuall securitie, by that meanes to receiue out of one countrie into another those things which faile therein, and abound elsewhere, and for the causes by vs heretofore deliuered: so it hath pleased him to set mightie and strong bounds and limits against their ambition and auarice, especially of kings, princes, and great men. For wee see how hee hath diuided and separated one countrey from another, and the diuers regions and kingdoms of the earth not onely by meanes of seas, lakes, and great rivers, but also by craggie, high, and vnpassable mountaines, which (as the kingly prophet witnesseth) hee hath established by his power, that by this meanes men might bee confined within the bounds of the habitation assigned by the Eternall to every people, in such sort as hee hath inclosed the waters within their places, to the course which he hath ordained them, hauing bounded them with hills & rocks. And yet there are no bounds so difficult to passe, which may bridle and restrain the ambition and insatiable desire of men within any limits, but that they will passe over the deepest, the longest, the amplest, and broadest waters, and the highest and steepest mountaines in the world: so that there are no places so inaccessible, through which they will not cutte a passage, one to ouerrunne another by great outrage and violence. Wherein surely they evidently declare, that they are much more furious then the sea, how outrageous and rough soeuer it be; seeing they can in no wise containe themselves within their limits, as the waters doe: which also maketh them more vnreasonable then brute beasts. For although there bee many vnruly and furious horses in one stable, yet each of them will commonly be stayed with an halter made but of a little coard or leather, and will be kept a by little barre of wood, from striking and running ouer one another; so that one onely stable will serue them all. But men doe to the contrarie shew themselves to bee such furious and contentious beasts, that the whole world cannot suffice them. For there is neither riuer, sea, lake, nor mountaine, which can bee a barre sufficient to withhold them from forcing and rauaging one another, destroying themselves by horrible massacres and cruell warres. Which no doubt commeth vnto them especially through want of acknowledging and considering vpon the prouidence of God, by which hee hath appointed bounds to their habitation, ambition, and auarice, as wee haue said, and for that they will not containe themselves within them, obeying the ordinance of their creator. But we haue said ynough concerning this subiect. Let vs now discourse vpon those commodities which come to men & to all creatures, by the course of the waters through the earth. Which (A M A N A.) shall be the substance of your speech.

That every one must containe himselfe within the limits of his habitation. Deut. 27.

Psal. 65.

Against the ambition and auarice of men.

Of the commodities which are incident to men, and to all creatures, by the course of waters through the earth. Chap. 62.

A M A N A. IF men doe but slenderly acknowledge the prouidence of God in the limits of their habitation which he hath appointed, as well by means of mountaines as by waters (as we haue heard in the precedent speech :) they do also make but small stay in the consideration of those great commodities, which he giueth and sendeth continually to them by meanes of them, and of all the earth. For as hee watereth this fruitfull mother by dewe and raine from heauen, as hath bene heretofore expressed: so doth he moi-

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Goodly simi-
litudes of the
course of the
waters, and of
the vaines
which are in
the body.

Then it by meanes of fountaines, floods and riuers, which doe runne through it. Whereupon we must note, that the life of all corporall creatures doth principally consist in heat, & that this heat cannot be preserved & maintained without moisture, whereby it is nourished: euen as the flame of the snuffe, or match of a candle or lampe is nourished and maintained by the fat and humor which is therein. Therefore as God hath placed the sunne in heaven like a great fountaine of heate, and a great fornace of fire for to be distributed and disposed into all parts of the world: so that he established the sea here belowe in the earth, as a great and perpetuall fountaine convenient for the nourishment and conseruation of this heat, which is communicated to the earth, and to all the creatures that are therein. And therefore also this sea spreadeth it selfe into diuers places, by the meanes which haue bene declared: so that the courses of the waters in the earth are like the vaines in a mans body. For euen as the soueraigne Creator hath placed the liuer in the bodies of liuing creatures, which is as the fountaine of blood needfull for all the bodie to giue life thereto: and then hath made vaines like riuers to disperse and distribute this blood to every member, disposing them in such sort, as there is not any part but doth by meanes of these vaines receiue as much blood, as is needfull for the nourishment and preservation of the life thereof: so likewise he hath ordained heere below in earth, the sea and springs of waters, which bee afterwards disposeth into every place by meanes of fountaines, floods and riuers, who are as the vaines through which the water, that is as the blood of the earth, is conueyed and communicated, that it may bee moistened to nourish all manner of fruites, which God hath commaunded it to beare for the nurture both of men and beasts. Wherefore as in one bodie there are many veines, some greater, larger, and longer; and some lesser, narrower, and shorter, which neuertheless do all answer to one self same source and fountaine, and then doe diuide themselves into sundrie branches: so the earth hath her floods, riuers and streames, some great, other small, which haue all their common springs, and doe oftentimes ioine themselves together, or diuide themselves into diuers branches and armes, in such sort as the earth is moistened by them, so much as is needfull in euery part thereof. Moreouer, as it is watred to nourish the fruits; so men and other liuing creatures do thereby receiue their beuerage necessarie for the preservation of their life.

Of pleasure mixed
with profit in
the workes of
God.

But amongst all these things we are to consider, that God the most good hath not onely provided by meanes of them for the necessities of his creatures, but enen for their honest pleasures, so that it hath pleased him to conioyne an excellent beautie with profit and vtilitie. For how goodly a thing is it to behold the fruitfull islands in midst of the sea, the cleere and sweete bubling springs, and gentle riuers and floods issuing out of rocks and caues of the earth, which tumble down the mountaines, flowe thorough the vallies, and glide along the plaines, through Forrests, fields and medowes, beeing decked with many fundry kinds of branched trees, that are planted aside from inhabitants, in midst of which, infinite litle birdes flie vp and downe tuning their voices to sing in sweete melody, and naturall musick? What vspeakeable pleasure befallerh to all creatures, especially to man, to liue amongst such abounding beauties? And who will not also admire the great variety which is in the disposition and distinction that wee behold in the earth, by the mountaines, rockes, vallies, plaines, fields, vineyards, meddowes, woods, and Forrests: especially if we consider the fruits and profits, which redound to men thereby, besides the gallant diuersity of infinite delectable pastures, beautified in all sorts? For there is not one foote of earth, which may not bee said to serue to some good vse; no not in most desert places. Some places are fit for fields, and Champion grounds; others for pastures; some for vineyards; other for fruitfull Orchards; and others for high and well growne trees fit for building timber, or for fire wood, to the end that men may helpe themselves therewith in all their needfull vses for firing. Some places also are particularly commodious for cattell to graze in, by which great gaine & pleasure is receiued. And for deserts, mountaines and Forrests, they are the proper retiring places for wilde beasts, by which likewise men do not onely receiue profit, but very great delectation also, and healthfull exercise in hunting of them: and which is more, such places are very commodious for household cattell, which doe there feede in euery place to marvellous profit. But let vs note, that all these properties and profits should not be found in the earth, if it were not conioyned with the water by the course thereof through euery part of it. Which water likewise doth cause many and vspeakeable profits, that redound to men by fish, which remaine not onely in the sea,

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but also in lakes, ponds and riuers, being of so sundry kindes and natures, that it is not possible to number them. In which if the prouidence of God be most admirable, it is especially to be obserued in the sea. For how many sorts of fishes are there, great, little, and of meane quantity; and how many sundry formes, and what diuersity of nature? I beleue verily, that whosoever should vndertake to number them, by every kind, and particularly, should be almost as much troubled, as if he would purpose to empty the Ocea. But though there be not any little creature in the sea, wherein God doth not declare & shew himselfe great and admirable; yet doth he chiefly manifest himselfe so to be in two things. The first is in the hugeness and power of the great fishes which hee hath created, as whales and such like, which rather seeme to be sea monsters then fishes, there being no beast in all the earth so great and strong: for there are some that seeme a farre off to bee islands or mountains, rather then fishes. And the other most wonderfull thing is, that the Creatour hath set such a correspondency in many points betwixt the fishes and beastes of the earth, that it seemeth hee would represent a great part of the one by the other. So we see also that many names of earthly beastes are given to many fishes, because of the similitude & likenesse, which they haue together in figure and in nature: yea it seemeth that God would represent in the fishes of the sea, almost all the other creatures which are in the rest of the world. For there are some which bee called Starres, because they are like that shape, according to which men commonly paint the starres. Moreover, how many are there which beare the shape of earthly creatures, yea of many instruments made by men? For amongst others, there is a fish called (the Cocke) which is also named by fishers in some countries, the loyner, because it hath almost as much diuersity of bones and gristles, as a loyner hath of tooles; the forme of which they also represent. But if wee speake of the sundry fashions, of fishes, and of their colours, scales, heads, skinnies and finnes, and of their vnderstanding industry and chafe, and of their shels and abiding places, and of their natures and infinite properties; who should not haue iust cause to wonder? Moreover, haue not men forged many fashions of weapons, the forme of which they haue taken from diuers fishes? What shall we also say of the finnes and little wings which God hath given them, to direct them, and to hold them vp in the sea and in other waters, like birdes in the aire, and as ships are rowed and guided by oares, and the rudder? Seemeth it not that God hath created them, like watry birds, to whom he hath given wings agreeable to the element for to sustaine themselves with, and fit for their nature, as hee hath done to the fowles of the aire. Wee also read in *Genesis*, that the Lord did make in one day the birds and fishes, and every flying thing. For as the aire hath more agreemēt with the water (then with the earth) and approacheth neerer to the nature thereof, so is there more answerableness betweene the creatures which liue & conuerse in these 2. elements, then is between them & the beastes of the earth. And therefore we see that the seed of both kinds is multiplied by their eggs, & wee must also note, that forasmuch as me can receiue no great fruit, nor much profit by fish, except in their victuals, or in some medicine or such like vse, which is not so cōmon as ordinary nourishment, God by his prouidence & blessing hath made them so fruitful, that they multiply & increase wondrously: as experience doth evidently manifest vnto vs, by the great number of fry or spawne that is found in one onely fish. Which fertility we must beleue to proceed from the power, which the Almighty bestowed vpon them: as also vpon all his creatures, when he said vnto them, [Bring forth fruit, and multiply, and fill the waters in the Sea, and let the fowle multiply in the earth.] A thing which we must well consider vpon, to the ende that we may referre to this blessing of God all those commodities which we receiue, either from those creatures, or from the earth it selfe, or from the other elements; and that wee must render him continuall thankes and praises therefore. For hee hath no lesse wise blessed all his creatures, then the fishes and the birds, when by his word he gaue their nature to them, in which hee created them, and did presently after commaund them to bring forth fruit according vnto that nature. To the end then that we may be the more induced to glorifie so great a workman, for the excellencie of his workes, which shineth in all creatures, let vs now intreat of some fishes most accounted of by those who haue written of their nature; and let vs consider of their singularities and woonders, so much onely as the scope of our discourse will permit vs, in such sort as wee haue declared in our antecedent speeches. To you then (A R A M) I referre the relation concerning this matter.

Commodities that the waters doe bring in fishes, & what is to be admired therein.

Of the fish called the cocke,

Genes. 1.

Of diuers kinde of fishes: namely of the whale, of the dolphin, of the sea calfe, and others. Chap. 63.

The admirable property of nature.

Of the whale

Plin lib. 9. hist. nat.

Of the dolphin.

Of the Sea-calfe.

Of Tortoises.

ARAM. **I**T is affirmed by all the learned, who haue diligently searched out the secret of nature, that the water bringeth forth more and greater creatures, then the earth doth, because of the abundance of the moisture that is therein. And the sea is so ample, and so fit to giue nourishment, & a gentle and fertile increase of all things by meanes of that generating seed which it attracteth from heaven, and the aide of nature ordained by the creator (which hath this propertie, to produce alwaies something that seemeth new) that it is no maruell if there bee found incredible and monstrous things in the water. For the seedes of all formes doe interlace and mixe themselues therein, as well by the windes, as by the agitation of the waues, that one may well say (as is saide commonly) that there is nothing on earth, which is not in the sea: yea, and that there are many things in it, which cannot bee found either in the aire, or on the earth. Now great fishes are chiefly resident vnder the Torrid zone, because that in the Ocean heate and moisture serue for augmentation, as saltnes doth for conseruation. And in this number is the whale, of which the ancients write, and whome some moderns call Gibbar (because that the common whale, which some take for the *Musculus* of *Aristotle* doth not answere to the description of this) which is of incredible hugeness. For if wee will beleue histories, there haue beene some scene of fower arcues of ground in length. They make an horrible crie, and spout out of two holes (of a cubite long, which they haue neere to their nostrils) so much water, that oftentimes drowne ships therewith. And of their crests men make faire rods, which seeme to bee of borne, or of bone, blacke in colour, and like to the hornes of a buffe, so flexible, that they can hardly be broken, and they do shine in the sun, as if they were gilded. Of every peece of his crest is a rod made, so that in one crest there are many rods. Moreover the bone of his whole head is so great, that one might make a ship thereof.

And as this kinde of fish is the heauiest and mightiest of all, so the Dolphin is the swiftest and most ingenious not onely of all watric creatures, but of those of the earth, and of the aire. For they swimme faster then a birde can flye. And therefore if this fish were not low-mouthed, there were no fish could scape him. But nature providing therefore, in putting his mouth vnder his belly, hath so restrained him, that he can catch nothing but backwards: whereby the great swiftnesse of such fishes doth euidently appeare. Wherefore when the Dolphin, pressed with hunger, pursueth any fish to the bottome, and that hee hath staied long there, alwaies holding winde, when he riseth he leaps aboue water with incredible quicknesse and force, to take breath againe. Some haue marked in this kinde of fish, that they haue their tongue moouable, contrarie to the nature of all other water-creatures. Their voice is as when one walleth. Their backe is bowed and bendeth outwards: they are very louing to men, and like well of Musicke: and indeede they doe not shunne men, as other fishes doe; but come right before Ships, making a thousand leaps and frisks before them. Sometimes also as if they had challenged the Marriners to trie who should goe speediest, they take their course along with the Ships, and do outstrip them, how good winde soeuer they haue.

Among Sea-fish also the Sea-calfe is very admirable. For he hath vdders and haire, and calueth vpon the earth as sheepe bring forth, and is deliuered of the second burthen presently after her young ones. He snorts mightily when he sleepeth neere to the shore; bee bleates and bellowes like a calfe, and for that cause beareth the same name. The finnes wherewith he swimmeth, serue for fecte on ground to goe vpon. His hide (where of the Islanders make girdles) hath a marvellous propertie, for the haire which is thereupon riseth when the sea increaseth, and falleth when it diminisheth. Some holde also that this creature is very capable of discipline, easily learning that which is shewed him: and that hee saluteth people by his lookes, and with a certaine noise and shaking that he makes.

Now let vs speake of the tortoise which is of a very strange forme. There are found of the in the coast of India so great, that one shell onely is sufficient to coouer a good pretie shed. And in the countrie of the *Chelonophagi*, there are some isles, where they ordinarily

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vetortoife shels in stead of boates. For we must note that there he three sort of Tortoises: the terrestrial, which breedeth in Forrests: marish ones, which breed in fens: & watry ones, which breed in the sea. Those then of this last sort haue in stead of feet so many broad grilles: they haue no teeth, but the nib of their beake is passing sharpe: and their vnder chap, doth close as insly within their epper chap, as a boxe doth with the lid of it. Being in the sea, they liue vpon shel fishes, for their mouth is so strong and hard, that they crush the, yea euen stones in pieces: yet when they come on land, they neuer liue but vpon herbs. They lay eggs like birds; so that sometimes one may finde an hundred together. And they neuer hatch them in the water, but putting them into an hole which they make in the ground, and covering them well, they smooth with their shels vnderneath the place wherein they are, and hatch in the night time for a whole yeere long.

Also amongst the fishes which are famous for their strange operative power, is the *Tropedo* or cramp fish: which is a kind of hedgehog, & hath many bristles, the touch of whom benommeth the fishers hands, by some naturall & secret vertue. And there be many kinds of these fishes, who haue all of them their shell covered with bristles very thicke, which bristles they vse in stead of feet to stay themselves vpon, when they mooue and stir from one place to another. Their head and mouth is the lowest part of them, & towards the ground. And amongst the rest, there is one, not of the kind of this bristled cramp fish, but a shell fish, which the Latins call (*Remora*) because it hath such power, that if it take hold of the bottome of ships, it staiteth them. Yet we cannot read that any such thing hath bin seen since the time of *Caius Caligula* the emperor: whom Historiographers report to haue bin one time staid in his ship by this fish to his great endommagement.

But the most wonderfull of all fishes is the *Triton*, (otherwise called the sea Bug) for hee hath haire vpon his head, the nose of a man, a broad mouth, & the teeth of a wild beast. His hands, fingers, and nailes, are somewhat like those of a man. And the rest of his body is covered with a thin shell, with a taile vnder his belly in stead of feet like a dolphin. *Pliny* reporteth that in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, the people of Lisbon sent embassadors onely to aduertise him, that in the course of their sea, there was a *Triton* discovered, blowing of an horne in a cave.

The *Nereides* also (otherwise called *Syrens* or *Mermaides*) doe very neere approach to humane forme, sauing that they bee rough and full of shels in euery part of their body. There are some also who tellie that they haue seene a sea man, hauing the entire forme of a man. Finally it is a thing that seemeth altogether incredible that the diuersitie of fishes; (or rather sea monsters, should be such as they affirme, who haue written thereof. But we may well beleue, that the facility of generation and of life in the waters, is cause of so many strange shapes. For heate and moisture consist together in generation and nourishment maintaineth life: and in the sea heate and fatte moisture, and nutriment doe abound. It is also to be noted, that by reason of motion, the pestilence neuer cometh into the water (as into the aire) for the Sea is euer mooued, and the aire is often still. For which cause all kindes of creatures may easily bee preserved in the Sea, but not in the aire. Again, fishes mooue themselves in the Sea easily, and without labour: which the beasts of the earth doe not, who therefore are constrained to be hungrie, or necessarily to bee consumed by too much labour and trauaile. Moreover, the Sea freezeth not, neither yet is too hotte (like the earth, and like other waters) except it be (and that very seldome) in the superficies thereof, which is touched by the aire. Therefore through so many commodities, and by the mixture of creatures of diuers kindes, many monsters are engendred in the Sea, so that sometimes when it ariseth by meanes of the flowing thereof, one may finde vpon the shore of the Westerne Ocean to the number of three hundred kindes of monstrous fishes. But although it seemeth that nature would expresse in fishes the formes of all terrestrial creatures, and put in them some resemblance of shape; yet in the hinder part all fishes are (except some few Sea-monsters) of a peculiar forme agreeable to their nature, and doe onely resemble other creatures in their forepart. For as the rudder directeth and gouerneth a Ship in the sterne, so the taile of a fish doth guide it in swimming, and for this cause the tails of all fishes almost are forked. But this is most certaine that their sorts and kindes surmount the kindes of other creatures in multitude, in greatnesse, in force, and in varietie of shapes. But our intent is not heere to number them as wee haue said; for so wee should finde matter enough to make a great volume; as others haue done. Wherefore to finish this argument; and this daies speech, see (*ACHTROB*) if by our discourses

of the sea and of the waters, and of the living creatures which are engendred and doe live in them, you can deliuer any instruction, which may be answerable to that end, for which we especially continue our treatise concerning this great vniuers.

*Of the image that we haue of the state of this world, and of men in the sea
and in the fishes thereof. Chap. 64.*

That the
world is like
a sea.

Soph. 3.
Dan. 7.
Exech 22.
Psal. 74.
Luke 13.
Isay. 27.

Psal. 74.

Abac. 1.

How men are
more cruell
then beasts.

ACHITOB. **L**ET vs not doubt (companions) but that we haue a goodly image in this daies discourse of the state of this world, and of all mans life. For first, what is this world, but a sea, wherein wee navigate and are in continuall danger; Nay the sea is so variable, so inconstant, and so outrageous? For if we haue neuer so little respite, peace and rest, (like as when the sea is calme, & quiet) presently there arise such violent whirlewindes, stormes and furious tempests, as it seemeth oftentimes that heaven, earth, and all the elements conspire and runne together to worke our ruine. Yea when this wicked world sheweth vs fairest countenance, and becommeth most calme and gentle, and that it feedeth vs with the fattest morsels, then is it most false vnto vs, and then are we in greatest danger. For when we thinke our selues most sure therein, then are we sodainely tost and carried away, as with violent waves and horrible whirlewindes, into the lowest gulfs and deeps of the earth. Moreover as the huge monsters of the sea, and the greatest and strongest fishes doe eate and deuoure the smallest and weakest; and as the craftiest entrap the simplest, and prey vpon them: even so is it with the men of this world. For the mightiest tyrants and the richest, strongest, and greatest rouers, theeves, and robbers doe pill, and take away the substance of the least and feeblest, and doe consume and deuoure them. And they which cannot doe so by force haue recourse to sleights, decites and treasons, by which they surprise the simple and meeke. And therefore also as the holy Ghost compareth in the Scripture tyrants, rousers, theeves, and murderers, to wolues, beares, lyons, and such like beasts: and the crafty and deceitfull, to foxes, dragons, and serpents, who do by subtiltie and guile that which they cannot performe by power and forces: so doth he compare them to huge whales, and to the great fishes of the sea. So because Nilus (a renowned riuer, whereof we haue already spoken) passeth through the land of Egypt, & runneth into the sea, by 7. mouthes or armes, *Isay* called *Pharaoh* the king and tyrant of that countrey, (Leuiathan, or Whale, which God did strike with his strong hand, and his mighty arme, ouerwhelming him in the red sea.) It is also said for the like consideration in the Psalme [Thou brakest the heads of dragons in the waters. Thou brakest the head of Leuiathan in pieces, and gauest him for meat to the people in the wilderness.] And the prophet *Abacuc* doth likewise compare the king and tyrant of Babylon to a great fisher who casteth his nets into the Sea, and causeth the fishes to come into them, and so hee taketh them.

But heere wee are to note, that although there bee some kindes of beasts who eate one another: yet are they not all of this nature. For there are but certaine of them that liue so vpon pray and rapine. And amongst them that so liue, there are but very fewe that eate beasts of their owne kinde, except great famine constraineth them thereto: Yea hunger doth inuite them that liue by pray, to chase and deuour others, rather then their owne kinde. For it is necessitie and want of sustenance that driueth them thereto. And though especially fishes doe least spare their owne kinde, yet doe they not eate one another, except when hunger constraineth them thereto to preserve their life. But men (most wretched surely) haue not all these causes to mooue them against their own kinde, against their own flesh and blood, as it is ordinarily seene that they are more cruelly and more fiercely bent one against another, then any brute beasts: but contrariwise they should be much better furnished in all their necessities, and should liue much more at their ease, if they could mainetaine good peace and vnitie one with another. Wherefore in that they doe otherwise, it is easie to iudge how much their nature is corrupted and peruerse, except they be regenerated by the spirit of God. For there is no bond of nature whatsoever, no nor that which is kept amongst the brutest beasts (as of the female towards her yong ones, or of the male towards the female, and such like) which men doe not shamefully breake and violate. But we must herein acknowledge a terrible iudgement and furie of God against them,

Of the image of the world.

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them, because of their sinne, which hath so perverted and infected the first originall nature of the stocke of mankinde. For when hee giueth strength and power to the one for to torment and destroy the other, yea to most cruell tyrants and bloody murtherers, who make lesse account of men then of beastes; wee must learne this doctrine, that heerein the iust ordinance of the Almighty is very euident, by which hee punisheth the wicked by the wicked, and taketh reuenge vpon his enemies euen by his enemies themselues, as he hath threatned them in his law. And therefore there is lesse maruaile herein, then that God suffereth the small fishes to be eaten by great ones, the weakest by the strongest, and the simplest by the craftiest, as alio the gentlest birdes by the cruellest; and lambes, sheepe and other priuate, domesticall and harmlesse beastes: by wolues, beares, lyons, and other wilde beastes. For it is very certaine that the beastes haue not offended their Creatour, nor deserued his wrath through any sinne against him, as men haue done, who being created in his owne image are fallen from innocency and holinesse through their owne fault, and through the corruption of nature which the transgression of Gods ordinance hath brought vpon them. And if we cannot make answere for the cause of this nature of vnreasonable creatures, but onely that it hath so pleased God, who is the master and Lord of all these workes, and who hath provided for them according to his good pleasure: surely also when wee can conceiue no other reason for the tyranny and cruelty of men, exercised one vpon another, this same reason should then suffice vs. For the onely will of the eternal, the which cannot bee but iust and reasonable alwaies, must euer serue for reason, when wee cannot vnderstand the causes, as we would. But (as I saide euen now) this reason manifesteth it selfe sufficiently in his iust iudgements vpon men, because of their sinnes. Now albeit wee holde this sufficiently good in regard of the wicked, and of those who oppose themselues and rebell fiercely against the Almighty: yet the consideration might seeme to vs to bee otherwise in respect of the meeke, and of those whom hee holdeth not onely for his seruants, but also for his beloued children: who neuerthelesse are commonly a pray to the wicked, as sheepe are to wolues. I must indeede confesse, that these iudgements of God seeme more strange to humane reason, then the other doe: yet they are not so secret and mysticall, but that he manifesteth causes enough, not onely by his word, but also by common experience. For first, how much goodnes, holines and perfection soeuer can consist in any man, yet neuerthelesse as concerning his flesh, hee walloweth altogether in sinne, and very much naturall corruption, in pride, arrogancy, rebellion, & disobedience against God, which haue great need to be better mortified, humbled, tamed, and brought downe. Againe, how easie a matter is it for vs to forget our Creatour, and our owne selues, and to abuse all the graces and benefits, which wee receiue continually at his hand. Also seeing that he will bee glorified, and that his power shal be knowne in the faith, constancy, charity, and patience of his, we should not thinke it strange that he puts them to triall, exercising them by diuers great and dangerous temptations and afflictions. Now the tyranny, malice, crueltie, and perverseness of the wicked, serueth in all these things for his children and to his glorie, through his providence; notwithstanding that hee hateth all the wicked, vling them onely as rodde and scourges, to chastise and punish those whom hee pleaseth; as hee is likewise serued by diuels, without approouing their workes, in so much as they proceede from themselues. But there is more yet: For considering that God hath not created men like vnto beastes, onely to liue in this world, with a corporall and temporall life, but hath made them to immortality and eternall life like the Angels: he will then by the aduersities, which hee sendeth vnto them, here giue them to vnderstand, that other blessings doe attend for them farre greater then those, which may be talled vpon earth, and which are common betwixt them and beastes. Behold then the fruit, which mee seemeth must be gathered in our discourse this day: Now to morrow we will step out of the sea and waters, to take land againe, and to consider vpon the treasures and benefits therein, which it produceth for the commoditie of men, and the diuersitie of creatures that liue therein: whereof (A S E R) you shall beginne to discourse.

Good doctrine touching the tyranny of the wicked.

Notable things to be considered in the aduersities of the good.

The end of the eighth daies worke.

X x x 3

The

The ninth daies worke.

Offruitcs, and of the fertilitie of the earth, and the causes thereof: and of herbes, trees and plants. Chap. 65.

A SER

Genes. 1.



S the holy Scripture teacheth vs, that before God did create the beasts of the earth, he commanded the earth that was discovered and free from the waters, to bud forth the bud of the herb, that seedeth seed, the fruitfull tree which beareth fruit according to his kind, which hath his seed in it selfe vpon the earth (and it was so:) we must likewise vnderstand, that this commandement had not such vertue for that time onely, but that it endureth, and remaineth al-

What is the
cause of the
fertility of
the earth.

Genes. 3.

How crea-
tures are nour-
ished and
preserved.

waies, and so till the consummation of the world. For all herbes, trees, and plants that the earth euer hath borne, doth beare, or shall beare, euen from the creation of the same vntill the end of the world, doe proceede from the first ordinance and eternall word of the soveraigne, by which all things haue been created. Wherefore *Moses*, to the end that men might acknowledge this diuine power, which maketh the earth, so fruitfull, doth expressely tell vs, that God gaue this fertility before there was any sunne, moone, or starre in heauen. For hee saith, that these goodly lights were created the fourth day: but that the production of herbes, trees and plants was on the third day. Thereby then must we learne, that although the sunne, moone and starres, besides the husbandry of man, doe serue by the ordinance of God for to make the earth fertile; yet for all that it can bring forth no fruit, if the word and blessing of the Almightye doe not giue it power. For as it was fertile before it was aided by the starres, enen so is it now in regarde of the tillage and husbandry of man. For there was neither man nor beast when it budded forth the fruites, which God commanded it to beare: yea so much wanteth it to become fruitfull by the trauell of man, that to the contrary it hath lost very much fertility, and a great part thereof hath become barren since his first creation, because of his sinne. For in lieu of the blessing that God at first gaue thereunto, hee saide afterwards to the man that it should bee cursed for his sake; and that it should bring forth thornes and thistles, and that hee should eate the fruites thereof in sorrow. For these causes then we must alwaies haue respect to the power of the word, & of the blessing of God, by which all things haue bin created in their order (as we haue heretofore declared) & man last of all, as the master piece of the Lords work. Who having determined in his eternall counsell to create man after his owne image and likeness (to the end that he might in this visible world represent his Creator, as in his most lively semblance) was not onely pleased to build him his lodging first (to wit the whole world) but would also replenish and furnish it euery where, to the end that nothing might bee found emptie. But that which is herein to bee chiefly considered, is, that this diuine providence having giuen essence to all corporall creatures, hath therewithall provided necessarie meanes to keepe and preserve them all in their natures. For minding to giue life to birds, to fishes, and to the beastes of the earth, he had already prepared their foode, before hee had created them, and had ordeined the earth as the mother and the nurse of all creatures which are engendered and which dwell and are conuersant therein; and in the waters and aire also, for the birds and fishes. Moreouer, as all bodies are composed of fire, of aire, of earth, and of water; so the Lords will was, that all these elements should conioyne together, and receiue aide one from another; to the preservation of liuing creatures by vertue of the alliance and agreement, which is not only betwixt the said elements, but also betwixt them and the celestiall spheres, as we haue already discoursed. For considering that they be the principles of things having life, they cannot liue, nor bee naturally conserued but by meane of the very same elements, from which they take their originall. And therefore the providence of

of God causeth, that they doe all accord together, to nourish and maintaine those creatures, which he hath made and created.

But seeing that we are in talke of the fertilite of the Earth, ordayned by God to that end according as we haue declared, who is it that can number the diuers kinds of herbes, trees, and of all sorts of plants which it produceth? And who is it that can but onely name and finde proper denominations agreeable vnto them? And if wee should speake of their diuerties and varieties in rootes, in stalkes, in stockes, in tops, in branches, in boughes, in leaues, in shapcs, in flowers, in colours, in seedes, in fruites, in tastes, in smells, and in fauours: who would not maruell very much? Wee see how the Lord speaking onely of the Lilly of the field, doth testifie, that *Salomon* in all his royaltie was not adorned like on of those: and therefore hee bringeth it as a testimony of his goodnesse in reproch of those, which take care for their clothing, as if they distrust in the providence of God, and as if they supposed him not able enough to apparell them; or at least, that hee had not so much care of men, as hee hath of the herbes and flowers of the field, which hee endueth and decketh with so gallant clothing, and with so many sorts of excellent faire colours, and yet they neither spinne nor haue weavers, nor clothiers, nor drapers, nor other work-folks and tradesmen to deale for them. Yea, how maruclous is the conseruation and multiplication of all plants, by meanes of their owne seeds, syons and fruits, according as the Creator did at first constitute? For that I may first speake of the smaller sort, who could beleene, if experience did not assure vs, that of one little graine of mustard seede should grow a great and high plant, like a little shrub, in such sort that the birds of heauen might make their nests therein. Then let vs consider, how corne, pulse, and all other sorts of seeds do bud, grow, and multiply. But who himselfe would iudge, that out of one little kernell of a nut or filbert, there could grow so great trees, and so much wood as should beare innumerable leaues and buds, and so much fruit each yeere, euery one according to his own kind, and that for long time. Would not all this seeme incredible, if wee were not ascertained by continuall experience, and a sure course in Nature? And if God doth shewe himselfe most wonderfull in all these things, in regard of the herbes, trees and plants: what shall we say, if we proceede of the consideration of their natures, properties and vertues, and of the commodities, remedies & profits, which men receiue thereby? This surely is the most principall point. For how admirable is it, that by the meanes of herbes, trees, and other plants, which haue no soule, that may minister life vnto them, with motion and sense, and which may much lesse participate with any reason, God doth not onely preserue the life of men, and of other creatures (a thing to bee woondred at) but doth also thereby giue them strength, vigour, and force? For what are these herbes and plants, which produce all sorts of corne, pulse, and other graine, of which men make foode, and are thereby nourished? What is the vine and other fruit trees? Who could thinke, if he saw it not with his eyes that there is neither man, nor beast, that could be nourished and preserue his life, but by such meanes? For how can that thing either giue, or preserue and maintaine life, which hath no life in it selfe? And yet if wee will consider of the medicines and remedies, which men finde in herbes and plants onely, besides those which they may take from other creatures, who can in truth either declare or write, I will not say all of them, but onely the thousandth part? For although the most excellent phisitions haue alwaies travelled in this part of their art, which is commonly called the knowledge of Symples; yet how farre off are they from the full and perfect theoricke of them? For what a number of herbes and rootes be there which are vnkowne, and haue yet no name? And how many are there which are taken one for another, and wherein the most skilfull Phisitions and Herbarists are oftentimes deceiued? And yet this little which we know, should moue vs to thinke vpon the great & ineffable hountie of God towards men, & vpon the fatherly care which he hath of vs all. For though that by our sinne we haue merited death both of body and soule, which death our sinne hath not onely gained, but also many diuers and strange sorts of diseases and corporall infirmities most grieuous and terrible; yea sometimes hideous and horrible, which are like butchers and slaughterers to put them to death: yet the charitie and loue of our God is alwaies so great towards mankind, that he giueth vs as many and more; yea lundry medicines for one onely malidie. But wee will be instructed more amply by you (*A M A N A*) in this matter, wee may acknowledge therein very cleere testimonies of the providence of God.

Of the fertility of the earth,

Math. 6.
Luke 12.

Math. 12.

Weonders concerning the properties and vertues of the fruits of the earth.

Of the vertue that herbes, and other fruits of the earth haue in phisicke and in food; and of the true vse of them, Chapter 66.

Two great
good things
that God
hath done
for man.

VVhat iudge-
ment must be
made of the
vertue that
the fruits of
the earth doe
retraie for
the good of
men.

Leuit. 28.
Deut. 16.

A M A N A. It is daily scene, that by the meanes of some small herbes, which growe in a garden or in a moun taine, or in some other desert place, and which also are oftentimes troden vnderfoote, without any account made of them; many are commonly deliuered, not onely from great paines and grievous maladies, but even from death it selfe, which otherwise it seemeth would most certainly approach. Wherein certes, wee haue a goodly subiect to consider, that if God giueth this vertue to creatures of small estimation in comparison of many other, and by the meanes of them bee ministred so great helpe, and doth so much good to man; what must be the power and bounty of that great soueraigne phisition, which maketh them preuaile, and giues them power to heale? For wee must vnderstand, that it is not the herbes, nor other drugs and preparatiues, nor yet the apothecaries and phisitions, who make and compound them, that are the true cause of restored health to the sicke: but God alone, who doth not only giue the remedies, but also knowledge to men for to vse them, and to bee skilfull how to apply them to their owne necessities, for which hee hath created them. Herein then we must acknowledge two great benefits, that the most good and most puissant God hath conferred vpon vs. The first is that hee hath giuen vs medicines fit and necessarie for healing. The other is the knowledge of them, and the theoricke how to apply them to their conuenient purpose and vse. And one of these benefits without the other, would indeede but little auail vs. For as the worke man cannot worke without such stuffe as is requisite for him to make his worke of, as also it would bee vnprofitable if no man should employ it, and put it to vse: for the same cause, God, which taketh care of the least of his creatures, hath imprinted in the nature of brute beastes, that want vnderstanding and reason, a certaine knowledge of things that are fit for them, not onely for their nourishment, but also for remedies in their diseases, so that they neede no other phisitions but themselues onely.

But in this discourse we are to note, what iudgement we must make of so great vertue, as wee finde in all herbes and drugs, and by like reason, that we must consider thereof in the propertie of corne, bread, wine, and of all meates and drinks, which are as ordinary and continuall medicines for the preservation of life. For if that which is diminished and consumed daily in vs, were not also repaired and destroyed daily by our meate and drinke, wee should fall suddenly into grievous maladies, & finally into death. For almost then as it pleaseth God to preserve the life, which he hath giuen vs and to maintaine vs in health and good disposition; hee giueth power to that, which wee eate and drinke, to doe this. But if it should please him to doe otherwise, there were neither meate nor drinke, which could giue any sustenance and conuenient nourishment vnto vs, but would rather conuert within vs, into deadly poyson, to take away our life, and hasten our death, even as God doth oftentimes to that effect vse the aire, without which we could no more live, then without meate and drinke. And therefore when it pleaseth God that we shall live in health & long time; he maketh the aire good and holosome for vs, otherwise it pleaseth him to strike vs with sicknesse, and to hasten our death, hee chaungeth it, as if it were im poisoned, as wee doe very often finde in diuers contagious sicknesses, and chiefly in time of pestilence. The like also is in victuals, drinckes, and medicines. And therefore the Lord menaceth his people by *Esay*, declaring vnto them, that he will take away the staffe of bread and of water: that is to say, the substance and naturall vertue, which he hath giuen them to nourish, which is the force that sustaineth them, who are sustained, as a staffe that sustaineth him that is weake: and as man cannot live, except hee haue both meate and drinke sufficient; the Prophet hath comprised vnder bread and water, all things needfull for nourishment, and for the life of man. It is therefore in these things, that God saith, hee will take away all power, as also *Moses* doth amply declare in the blessings and curses of the Lawe. For let vs also note, that when God will punish men by dearth and famine, he doth not onely make the earth barren (as hee threatneth) but also curseth that little fruit, which it beareth, yea in such sort, that it still diminisheth, and hath not the accustomed vertue and power to nourish. And therefore, when the corne is sowne it yeeldeth not so many eares, nor so many grains

graines in the field, as is expected, & as it seemeth that it should yeeld. And afterwards when it is gathered and reaped, and that it commeth to be threshed, there is yet found lesse corne then was esteemed to bee. And being laide vp in the barne, it consumeth more then of custome: carried to the mill, it yeeldes lesse meale then is looked for: yea beeing kneaden into dough it seemeth to diminish: briefly it seemeth to faile being made in paste, brought to the oven, and so baked, when it is in the binne, and vpon the table, yea in the hand, in the mouth, in the stomacke, and in the bellie. For it doth not satisfie, nourish, and sustaine so well as in time of plentie and abundance, but they which feede thereof, are alwaies hungrie and famished. And so we may thinke of all other meates and drinks even as wee finde the contrarie in the blessing of God, when through it hee giueth fruitfulness to the earth, and abundance of all things, according to the testimonie of his word. As then wee are admonished to haue recourse to him onely, to demandaunt our daily bread, and all other things needefull for this life: so must wee also doe, when we are visited by sicknesse. For hee is the foueraigne and onely phisition, who can of himselfe heale vs. It is hee that striketh, and giueth remedy, which bringeth to the graue, and draweth out againe; which killeth, and raiseth vp againe. And therefore hee saith to his people by *Moses*. [If thou wilt diligently harken vnto the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt doe that which is right in his sight, and will giue eare vnto his commandements, and keep all his ordinances; then will I put none of these diseases vpon thee, which I brought vpon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee.] But although that God alone can doe all thinges, without the aide of any creature, and without the vse of any meanes, except hee please: yet doth hee choose out such meanes as he pleaseth, to performe his workes towards vs, and to distribute his gifts, and that chiefly for two causes. The first is, for that hee will not haue his creatures remaine idle, but serue to his glory, and for the good and health of men, considering that they were created to that end. And the other cause is, that it pleaseth him to accommodate himselfe to our infirmitie, which is such, as wee do not thinke that hee is neere vnto vs, nor that hee can nor will do it, except we haue alwaies some visible signes. Although then it is as easie for him to nourish vs without victuals and without drinke, as with them; and to heale vs without Phisitions and medicines and drugs, as hee doth by meanes of them: neuerthelesse it is his pleasure to doe it by such aides, and hee will haue vs subiect to this order. And therefore let vs thinke, that to despise the means which he giueth for the mainetenance of this life, is as much to despise his commandements, like mockers and rebels. And if wee be such, wee may not hope for any succour from him, seeing wee reiect the remedies, by which hee will giue them vnto vs. But wee must alwaies come to this point, that although we cannot receiue the benefits which it pleaseth the most good God to communicate vnto vs, except by the meanes ordained by his providence thereto, yet neuerthelesse wee must not attribute this power to any of his creatures, but to him onely, and must giue him the whole glory; considering that hee taketh them not for any neede which hee hath, or that without them hee could not performe his workes, but only for the aide and supportation of our infirmitie. And therefore let vs beleue, that bread, wine, and all other meates; drinckes, drugs and medicines, haue not any vertue of themselves, but so much onely, as God infuseth into them, as as he thinketh needfull for our good, by such instruments as hee ordaineth thereto. Wherefore men runne in vaine to such aides, and especially to Phisitions and Apothecaries to bee succoured by them, except God the foueraigne Phisition do put his hand thereto, and except he bleesse their art and labour. Experience certainly doth yeelde vs daily testimonies thereof. For it oftentimes happeneth that in stead of helping, Phisitions doe hurt; and in stead of healing, doe kill. And how so? Because there are very fewe which adresse themselves to the true & Almighty Phisition, and who haue not more confidence in mortall men then in the immortal God, as king *Aza* is accused in the Scripture, and punished for this fault with death. True it is that some faile, in that which they make none account of the ordinary meanes established by God, despising both Phisitions and all the medicines of their arte, which is almost as much, as to refuse the vse of those benefits which God giueth vs at neede. But the greatest number consisteth of those, who not onely haue recourse chiefly to the professors of this science, and put all their confidence in them, but will moreouer in stead of vsing the aduise and assistance of good and learned Phisitions, adresse themselves more willingly to Empiricks, and such as are ignorant, or else are Sorcerers, Enchanters, Witches, and worshippers of Diuels. If then our desire bee, not to faile

Exod. 15.

Why God
doth serue
himselfe, with
his creatures
towards man

Of the true
vse of Phisick
and how it is
abused.

Ecclef. 38.

Excd. 15.

faile with the one nor the other, we must rest in that way which is shewed vs in Ecclesiasticus, to wit, [Honour the Physition with that honour that is due vnto him, because of thy necessitie : for the Lord hath created him. For of the most high commeth healing, and the Physition shal receiue gifts of the king. The knowledge of the Physition listeth vp his head, and he shall be in admiration. The Lord hath created medicines of the earth, & he that is wise will not abhor them. Was not the water made sweete with wood, that men might know the vertue thereof? So hath hee given men knowledge, that he might be glorified in his wondrous works.] Which is much to say, that as God hath sweetned the bitterness of the waters in the desert, by meanes of wood which he caused *Moses* to cast therein, to, so likewise doth he manifest his power by the art of Physicke, shewing marueilous effects thereby. And therefore the wise man doth adde [With medicines God healeth men, and taketh away their paines. Of such doth the apothecarie make a confection, and yet he cannot finish his own work, for of the Lord commeth prosperitie and health ouer all the earth. [And finally he exhorteth the sicke to praie: saying,] My sonne faile not in thy sickness, but pray vnto the Lord, and hee will make thee whole: leaue off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thine heart from all wickednes. Then giue place to the physition for the Lord hath created him: let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him. The houer may come that their enterprises may haue good successe: for they also pray vnto the Lord, that he would prosper that, which is given for ease, and their physicke for the prolonging of life.] Wherein namely this holy personagedoth evidently declare, what is the vertue of physitions, if they desire, that the Lord would blesse their works, without whose blessing they can neuer come to a prosperous end. Behold then what seemed good vnto me to note concerning the true vse of the great and excellent gifts, which God communicateth with vs for the mainetenance of mans life. And pursuing this subiect, let vs speake something more particularly concerning the diuersity and singularitie of diuers plants: the discourse whereof (A R A M) I commit to you.

Of the diuersitie of plants, and of their difference and naturall growth, and of their parts, and of the most excellent amongst them. Chapter 67.

Four kinds
of plants.

In what we
must take the
difference of
plants.

A R A M. **T**HE learned teach, that there are foure kindes of plants, to wit, trees, shrubs, vnder shrubs and herbes. Now a tree is that, whose stock waxeth greene euery yeare, and therefore groweth to great height, as the peare-tree. The shrub called of Latines (*Frutex*) is that whose stocke remaineth for many yeares together, but it groweth not very high (as the rose tree and the myrtle.) The vnder-shrub called (*Subfrutex*) resteth also vpon the stocke, but exceedeth not the height of herbes (as the broome.) And the herbe is that which hath neither stalke nor stock (as honsleeke and sage:) or else hath a stocke, but so as it changeth euery yeere (as the fennell.) And yet a fift kind may be added betweene the herbe and the shrub (as rue:) because that sometimes it groweth great like a shrub, and sometimes remaineth like other herbes, which is also vsuall to the cabbage. But generally all plants may attaine to great height by husbandry. Also amongst faller herbes, specially those which are greene, doe oftentimes grow into shrubs, by the industry of man in winter time whereby it appeareth, that we must not take the true difference of plants, and of their kinds by their greatnes or growth: no more then in that the leaues of plants are not all of one bignesse, or because they alwaies stay vpon some, and fall off from others: or because they differ in colour, or else because one plant is barren, and another beareth fruit. But we must take this difference in foure things, which are the vertue and propertie, the odour, the saviour, and the shape of the leaues, buddes, fruite, barke and rootes, and generally of the whole plant. Of which foure differences the principall is the faculty, vertue or propertie: for the vertue proceedeth from the forme, and the forme is that which distinguisheth the kindes. And therefore though the willow, and the Vitex (called *Agnus castus*) haue their leaues and barke alike, it should neuertheless be a manifest error to vse the one for the other. For the Vitex is hot and drie in the third degree (of which it hath this marke, that it driueth away ventosities, and flourisheth first amongst all trees:) but the willow is cold and moist flourishing very late, and causing ventosities. Now for the odour or sent, one may evidently know by them the temperature of plants. And therefore they which are

are of one kinde, although the one growe in India, and the other in Scythia, yet doe they necessarily participate with the selfe same principall vertues. And for the saour and figure, they are discerned by the taste and eie: wherein it is necessary to imploy much diligence and labour, to iudge well concerning the difference of plants. Those then which are alike in forme, in power, in odour, and taste, may without doubt bee accounted of one selfe same kinde: For wee search out the names of them according to their vertues. VVhereupon ensueth, that they which have one selfe same vertue, may bee comprised vnder one kinde, though the herbalist call them by sundry names, according to the proportion of their figure.

Now some plants doe growe naturally in fieldes, and forrests, some in the sea, other in riuers, others on the shore side, some in marishes, some amongst stones, sands, and grauell, some in pits, and so of others in such like places. For the place, in which they grow, or to which they are remooued (and the temperature of the aire) are much available to cause them growe, and fructifie. Through which occasion, there are higher trees, more flourishing, fairer to behold, and more charged with leaues, and fruite, in some places, rather in other. Whereupon ensueth that such as loue mountaines (as the Cedar, Sable, Pine, the Turpentine tree, Box tree, Iuniper tree, Beech, and the Plane tree) doe there grow high, and faire: as in the Plaines and low forrests, the Oke, the Beech, the Corcketree, the Elme, the Maple, the Ash, the Hasell tree doe growe best. But neere to riuers and watric places, the Plane tree, the Alder, the white and blacke Poplar, the Tamariske, the Willow and the Reede doe spring at pleasure: though many of them doe grow in mountaines, vallies, plaines and forrests, but they prosper not there so well. This difference also is marked in herbes and shrubs. For some grow well in marishes, others in lakes and pooles, others on riuers sides, other prosper in watrish and muddie places, others againe not abiding them, doe growe in drie and stonie ground. Some spring indifferently both in moist and drie ground. And some require the fields, others vineyards, and others meadowes. Some also loue the vallies, others hillocks, and others high mountaines. Some likewise prosper in priuate places, and grow neere to wals of townes and cities, and some grow in old ruines. But it is to be noted, that though each kinde of plants grow and prosper best in his proper ground, and doth loue very much his owne naturall situation, yet sometimes herbes are found indifferently in mountaines, hillockes, valleies, fields and meadowes. Likewise the industry and trauell of man doth bring to passe, that that which is strange, becommeth domesticall, yet not without some manifest difference betweene the pure naturall production, and that which is caused by arte. Moreover the parts of plants are the roote, the stocke, the branches, the leaues, the fruit, the stalk, the tufts called (Vmbellæ) the graines, the feedes, the flowers, the mossie downe, the wood, the barke, the sinewes, the inner pill, the vaines, the sap, the pith, the gum called (Lachryma) the knot, and many other small parcels, which the curious obserue therein: all which serue to distinguish trees and herbes one from another: which parts are somewhat answerable to the parts of liuing creatures. For the roots seeme to agree with the bellie (as *Theophrastus* holdeth) or else with the mouth (as others maintaine, who referre the lower part of the stocke to the bellie) and the leaues haue some reference to the haire; the barke to the hide and skinne, the wood to the bones, the vaines to the vaines, the matrice to some entrailes, which cannot liue without the matrice, the flowers to egges, the feedes to feede, the branches and boughes to the extreme parts of liuing creatures, and the fruite to the mensstruous blood, wherein the feede is many times incloled. Moreover the parts of parts are worthy of consideration, as those of the roote, whose middle part is as it were of wood, out of which the plant doth oftentimes bud, and is therefore defended with greater strength. And therefore if this middle part be taken out of garlicke, that which remaineth is not so sharpe, and of so strong saour as before, and it seemeth likewise to be lesse full of iuice. Next, the second part is (the rinde or coate) which is verie small, and the third is the peelee or huske: and the fourth is the inner peelee, which inuironeth the huske, which is not properly called so, because it is meant for that, which compasseth the feed of the fruit, and the fruit it selfe; and also because it containeth that which enuironeth the wood in the roote, instead of the feed. Whereby it appeareth, that they which cast away this part full of wood when they make their decoctions, do very ill considering that it is the most excellent of the rest, and of greatest force: for that which produceth the feede, that onely containeth the whole vertue thereof, because it alone hath life. That part then which is of wood, seemeth to bee the

The place & temperature of the aire, of great efficacie in the production of plants

The parts of plants.

That the wood or roots must not be cast away in decoctions.

chiefe

What plants
& what parts
of them haue
the greatest
vertue.

Why young
folkes breath
is sweeter
then that of
the old.

chiefe and principall substance of the medicine: because that that thing only which liueth, produceth the seede, and in that part onely wherein it hath life. For although that in succorie, and such like herbes, some leaues grow out of the barke: yet the herbe it selfe, and the seed doe proceede out of the wood. As the leaues then are in the stalke or slip, so is the barke in the wood: and both leaues and barke are therein for safegard thereof. In the lower part the iuice falleth into the roote: by the middle part the roote is nourished, and in the vppermost part it is conuerted into seed. Wherefore the vppermost part of the roote is best, and most different from the nature of earth. The flowers likewise haue their parts; for there is a kind of leafe in the flower which alwaies shineth, and is in all flowers, because it is made of a very fine substance. The buddes likewise wherein the flowers are containd are parts of them; and the seede of which the flower springeth, as it is cause of the generation thereof; so is it a part of the flower, and so is the stalke or foote, called (*Pediculus*) in which all these things are as it were planted and adioyned thereto. Let vs also note, that amongst trees the old are of more subtile qualitie then the other. And enery tree, which beareth leaues all the yeere long, is hot and drie (as the palme tree, the oliue tree, the cedar, the myrtle.) But this reason is not available in herbes: for houseleske is of a grosse substance, and yet beareth leaues all winter. And indeede both in herbes and trees they which grow wilde abroad are better then the domesticall: and so are they which are odoriferous, much more then they which haue a badde sauour, and haue no sent at all, especially if they grow in mountaines: and therefore they are preferred by phisitions before the other. And wee must note, that most commonly the rootes smel better, and are sweeter then the other parts of the plant, except the flowers, which is so because the concoction is best done in the rootes. For all things, which haue the humour well boyled, smel best: for that humour is most subtile and close. For which cause, all flowers almost doe smel well. For by reason that the humour which is in them is very subtile and little, it is the more easily concocted therein: and therefore also it sooner perisheth. But this humour remayneth, and is preferred in the rootes and in the stocke; for the subtile substance thereof being well concocted, doth abide in the earthie substance, whereby wee learne why young folkes haue sweeter breath then olde and distempered people. For children haue their humour verie subtile, and the small humour may bee very well concocted in young folkes, by the great heat which aboundeth in them. But want of heat hindreth it in olde folkes, and the qualitie of the humour is hurt in those that are distempered, and causeth that the decoction cannot be performed. Now we haue stayed long enough in this discourse. But as wee haue distinguished plants into fower principall kindes, let vs now speake of the nature and proper tie of the most especiall among them; to the end that according to our intention wee may not passe over any of the workes of God, without producing some testimonies, which may cause vs more and more to celebrate his diuine prouidence. Then (*ACHITO*) begin you to entreate of trees.

Of trees, and especially of the Pine, the Fir tree, the Cypresse tree, and the Cedar. Chapter. 68

Four differences
of plants trans-
ported.

Property of
the plants ac-
cording to the
quality of the
regions where
they grow.

ACHITO. IT is doubtlesse, that the difference of trees of one kinde is chiefly caused by the diuersitie of regions. And therefore amongst those trees that are transported from one place to another, some do beare fruit (as the Palmes at Genoa) some also beare, but vnperfectly (as the Pepper tree at Millaine.) There are some that cannot grow, (as the wood of Aloes brought out of India into Italy.) And some beare perfect fraite, because they can agree with the aire, and with the soile as well of one countrey as of another (as the Vines transported out of Spaine into India.) But above all, the calmenes of the aire, and the answerableness of the place are of great efficacy in the naturall propertie of trees, and do often cause them to beare great quantitie of fruit and blossomes, and are the cause that some are alwaies greene. And therefore about the Grand Cairo, in the Countrey of Elephants, the leaues doe neuer fall off the figge trees and vines: and in the Isles and other regions of the West Indies, discovered by the Spaniards, there is neuer a tree, but is alwayes greene. And therefore there are diuers trees, both of one, and of diuers kindes also, higher, greener, and fairer to behold in one place then in another. For in hote and moist Countreies all plants grow greater, fuller of iuice, and greener, if the pro-
per

pernature of the plant doe not hinder: and in hote and drie places they are smaller and drier, and yet of no lesse vertue: But in moist and colde regions, the plants are weake and full of sappe. And they which are hot by nature, grow broad and high; but the colde are small. Now all trees, whereof we now particularly entreat, do by nature grow greatly for the most part, and flourish a very long time. As *Iosephus* recordeth, that *Abrahams* Oke did yet stand in his daies. And there were betwixt the destruction of Hierusalem and the death of *Abraham*, two thousand yeeres. And next to the oke, the palme, the beech, the oliue tree, the elme, and the pine tree do flourish longest.

Now will I proceede to a particular description of some trees, the most worthy to be considered of: amongst which the Pine challengeth the first place: whereof there are two kinds: one is domesticall, and the other sauage. The domesticall kinde hath an infinite sort of branches vpon the very vppermost toppe of the stocke, which spread round about it, beeing very thicke of leaues, which are pointed in the end, and long; it beareth plenty of great and sound apples, wherein are certaine harde kernelles inclosed, as blacke as soote, in which the fruite is found, beeing couered with a thinne yellow skinne, easie to gette off, by pilling it with your fingers. And this fruite is sweete and pleasant in taste, of a fatte and oylie substance. For the sauage or wilde one, there are many sorts of them. Some growe on mountaines, others on the sea coast. They of the mountaines are of three kinds. For there are some that bee highest of all the rest, which abound in the Forrests of Bohemia, Silasia, Polonia, and other places, whereof the countrey men make pitch. Which are euery whit like to the domesticall sort, sauing that their apples bee lesse: for they bee not much greater then those of Cypresse but they are a little longer, and more sound, and husked like those of the domesticall Pine, beeing full of gumme, and of a sweet sent. The second kinde of these mountaine Pines are such as haue no stocke or trunke, but sproute their branches out of their roote close to the earth, running along the ground till they attaine to tenne or fiftene cubites length: they beare fruite like vnto the other, but of a bigger size, and fuller of gumme: and are found in many places of Italy. Finally there are many other which are of goodly height, and yet not so high as those of the first kinde, neyther haue they the barke of their stockes yellow like the other pines: likewise their fruite is somewhat inclining towards redde, but more brittle then all the rest. And the kernels, of them are three square and crooked, and in taste somewhat like those of the garden pine: sauing that they leaue a certaine quicke sharpnesse in the mouth (which is proper to all wilde trees) and they abound in the territory of Trent. And the gumme that proceedeth out of all these sorts of pines, is white and sweete. The sea pines are of two sorts, differing only in the greatnes and smallnesse of their fruite: and doe all of them produce white odoriferous gumme, which turneth into a thin liquor, whereof men blacke pitch. Moreouer, as concerning the fruite of the pine in general, it is most certaine, that therein are many great vertues and properties, and that it is very profitable for mans body. For it is a moderate temperature, but that it inclineth more towards heate. It ripeneth, it mollifieth, it resolueth, it farneth, and it nourisheth well, it correcteth the humours, which are corrupted in the intrailles, neuerthelesse it is hard in digestion: and therefore to such as are colde of nature, the kernels are ministred with hony, and to such as are hot, with Sugar, to correct the strength of those kernels. They doe helpe (being often eaten) the paines of the sinewes, and are good for those that be troubled with the Sciatica, palsie, shaking, and numnesse of members. They cleanse the lungs and the corruption of them, purging out all clammie humours and rottenesse. They are profitable against the cough, and the corruption of the raines and bladder: wherefore they ease them much who piisse but drop by drop, and feele their vrine burne. They fatten leane folkes, and being taken with the iuice of purslaine, they do helpe eruptions of the stomack. Also the picked leaues of a greene pine being stamped & drunk with wine, do appease paines of the heart. But the patient must abstaine from all fat meats. Of the scales that couer the Pine apples being sod in very sharpe vinegar, is made a singular perfume against the Dysenteria. And the water of those apples very greene, being distilled through a limbecke doth wash out the wrinkles of the face. Moreouer of the oldest Pines is pitch made, which is called Naual, by reason that it is very good to pitch Ships: which to doe men cut downe the Pines with an hatchet, which are become full of gummy iuice, and hewe them in pieces, as they doe other trees to make coales of. Whereupon let vs note, that they which inhabite mountaines say, that it is a maladie among pines, when not onely the heart thereof, but the

Of the pine

Qualities, and
vertues of the
pine kernels.Other pro-
perties of
some parts of
the pine.

outward part of the stocke doth couert into a gummy substance: which happeneth to them through great abundance of liquor, which causeth them to die, enen as too much fatte suffocateth liuing creatures. And out of this gummy wood is pitch, by wondrous skill extracted, and the oyle and foot are separated, which haue diuers properties in medicines.

Of the fir tree
and of the rot
sin which it
produceth.

Let vs now speake of the Firre tree, which groweth vprightest of all the trees, and therefore is very fitte to employ in all workes: There are such high ones, that in Sweden some are seene of an hundred foote in length, and that of some which are straight and of a like thickenesse every where without knottes, men may make worke of an hundred and tenne foote long. This tree beareth fruite of a spanne long, composed of certaine scales, beeing one compiled vpon another, vnder which the white seede is included, without any iuice in them. It produceth an exquisite liquor and gumme betwixt two barks, which is called in vulgar Italian (*Lagrime*) that is, the Teare of the Firre tree, and it runneth vnder the first barke; which being opened, lies like the matter of an old impostume. This gumme is liquid, of a very good smell, and somewhat sharpe in taste. It is very good for green wounds, not onely because it searcheth them, but also because it is mundificatione and incarnatiue. Being assumed in drinke, it cleanseth the reines of grauell, & doth much asswage the paines of the gout, and of the Sciatica. It healeth maruailously well all wounds of the head, so that no other thing be applied therein.

Of the cypres
tree, and the
properties
thereof.

The Cypresse is likewise rich in beauty and in properties: of which trees there are male and female: the female growes alwaies pointed towards the toppe, and the male hath his branches spread abroad. Each of them is a very high tree, straight, and bearing branches onely in the toppe thereof. And this tree is driest of all others, hauing the humour very fat, and well digested. And therefore it agreeth not with dung and excrements, and waxeth dry neere to waters. The wood thereof is odoriferous, and looseth not the sent by oldnes, neither is eaten with wormes, nor doth rotte through any fault: but the leaues of this tree beaten into powder, and strowed amongst apparell, or with the seede, do defend them that wormes cannot annoy them. It beareth fruite three times a yeere, which is hard and sound, containing the seed within. It casteth out of the stocke some gum, but very little like vnto Turpentine, and almost of the same nature. This tree is very common in Italy. But the right and naturall country thereof is the isle of Candy, for in what place soeuer the ground be there removed and tilled, if nothing else be sowne therein, the Cypresse will presently spring vp of it selfe. The decoction of their nuttes made in strong viaeger, asswageth the paine of the teeth, if the mouth be often washed therewith. So much doth the decoction of the leaues. Which nuts being stamped and drunke with old wine, appease the cough. They are very good, and the leaues also, to search great wounds in tough bodies. Whereby it appeareth, that this tree hath the vertue to dry vp, without much sharpnes and heate, as the taste doth testifie. For one shall taste therein very little sharpenes, much bitternes and more sowernesse.

Of the cedar,
and of the
gum thereof.

The Cedar also is a tree that groweth very big, and beareth fruit almost like to that of the Cypresse tree, but a little bigger. There be some that beare no fruit although that they bud. And that which beareth fruit buddeth not, and the new fruit appeareth thereupon before the old is perfectly ripe. Out of this tree runneth an excellent white and liquide gum, which in time is by heate of the Sunne congealed into graines. In Syria, and especially in Mount Libanon the Cedars grow very high, and in great plenty, and are very like to Firre trees. Their branches from the bottome to the top, are almost spread and placed round about it, in fashion like the spokes of a wheele, and the highest are euermore shortest. Wherefore this tree a farre off seemeth to represent the figure of a Piramis. The heart or pith of the Cedar is very hard, sweete, and red: wherefore the ancients supposed that the wood could not weare, nor become worne eaten: but would endure for ever. So *Salomon* caused the holy temple of God in Ierusalem to be builded thereof: and the Pagans made their statues of it, thinking it would endure as long as Marble or Brasse. Some say that the greatest which was euer seene, was hewed in Cypresse to make the gally of *Demetrius*, which had a eleuen oares vpon a side. For it was one hundred and thirtie foot long, and as thicke as three men might fadome. There are also in many places of Greece, two kinds of small Cedars, which are like to the Iuniper tree. Now all Cedars are of nature hot and drie in the third degree: And the oile, which is made of their gum approacheth to the fourth degree, and is very subtil. Wherefore it doth easily and without paine rot soft and delicate

delicate flesh: but in hard bodies it operateth with more time and difficulty. It drieth dead bodies, and preserveth them from putrification, by consuming the superfluous humours, without touching the sound parts: but in living bodies, the heat which consisteth in them, doth augment the forces of this oile, which causeth it to burne the tender flesh. Wherefore having such vertue, it is no marvell if it kill nits, lice, wormes, and vermine in the eares: and if being applied it killeth the child in the mothers womb, and being dead doth void it out, with many other effects which Physicians attribute vnto it. But I commend to you **A S E R** the sequelle of our discourse concerning trees.

*Of trees bearing Cinamon, Cassia, Frankincense, Myrrhe and
cloves. Chap. 69.*

A S E R. **T**Heloue of ones native soile hath a marvellous power in all things: for nature produceth in some places, such stubborn plants, that for any endeavour and paines which one may take with them, yet can they not be retained or kept but in their owne proper ground. Many great personages both in France and Italy have taken paines to tame them, and cause them to grow in gardens, orchards; and other most pleasant places, as any in the world. But as rustical mountaineers despise the delights and gallantnes of cities, and esteeme not of civility and honesty of manners, not being able to live any where at ease and pleasure but in their owne cottages: so it seemeth that many plants, which are brought amongst vs, and husbanded with great care and labour, despising the sweetnesse of the aire, the beauty of gardens, the pleasant watring of fountaines, and the goodly company of infinite herbes and trees already made familiar, having at last retired into their owne deserts and wildernesses, and into the place of their originall. Now of the number of these is the Cinamon, which though that whiles Rome flourished (as many authours record) it was planted in diuers places, yet now is there not any of it to be found throughout Italy, nay in all Europe. But Asia aboundeth therewith in many places, yea so doth Arabia felix in diuers parts, & much more India, especially in one island called Monorique, the mountaine whereof beare plenty of Cinamon trees.

This tree is somewhat like to our Laurell tree, having many branches, at the ende whereof, it beareth very small blossomes, which being dried by the heate of the sunne, and fallen on the ground, there is formed thereof a little round fruit, not much bigger then an hassell nutte out of the kernell whereof the islanders doe extract good oile, wherewith the diseased do rubbe their sinewes, and other infirme parts. The king of Monorique receiveth great profite through these trees: for none may bee permitted to touch them without his licence. And certaine moneths of the yeere hee causeth some twigges and syons to bee cutte, the smallest and finest that may bee in the tree, and the barke of them to bee peeled off, which is sold very deare to such strangers as trafficke therein. For this is the best of the tree. But the Cinamon which is brought hither, is nothing els but the second barke, that is peeled off, which beeing cut with a little knife, rowleth vp together of it selfe, and changeth colour. Moreover the property of Cinamon is to dry and heat to the third degree: for it consisteth of very subtil partes, and is very sharpe in taste, and of a certaine quicke astringion, by meanes whereof it taketh away and dissolueth the superfluities of the body, and fortifieth the members. There is a distilled water made of Cinamon, which is strong in smell and taste, and is of great vertue. For take a pound of Cinamon, bray it, and put it into a vessell with fower pound of Rose water, and halfe a pound of whitewine then set your vessell being very close stopped, in warme water, and then make your distillation in the same water, being placed vpon a furnace, wherein the fire is temperately maintained, in such sort that the saide warme water doth alwaies boile. And this distilled water is very soveraigne against all diseases that come through colde, for it dissolueth and consumeth fleame and clammy humours, & chaseth away all windines. It doth especially comfort the stomacke, the liuer, the spleene, the braine, and the sinewes. It is a singular and present remedy against faintnes of the heart, against paines and prickings of the mouth and stomack, it resisteth poisons, & bitings of venomous beasts; it prouoketh vrine, & the flowes in women. It is good for those that have short breath, that are sick of the pally, or have

Of the tree
that beareth
Cinamon.

Property of
Cinamon.

the falling sicknes. And in a word, when need is to heat, to open, to pierce, to resolute, and to comfort, this water is very profitable therefore.

Of the tree
bearing cas-
sia.

Property of
the cassia.

Now let vs speake of the tree that beareth Cassia. For it is in the number of the greatest and most singular trees. The wood thereof is massiue, close, of the colour of boxe neere the barke, and blacke in the middest like Ebony. When it is Greene, it hath a badde smell, but this fauour doth weare away being dry. It beareth certaine cods, which hang vpon the branches very long, round, and massiue, which being ripe, waxe blacke and somewhat reddish. And they are full of soft and blacke sappe, like to thicke creame, not sticking altogether like marrow in a bone, but is contained as it were in little cases, being one separated from another by thinne skinnes set very close together: betwixt every one of which there is a very hard graine. In Egypt and in India are very many of these Cassia trees, and in the isle of Taprobana. Their cods are not very great, but cleere, heavy, and very full: in such sort, that if they bee shaken, one cannot heare the graines rattle therein, and these are the best. The sappe or iuice of them is hotte and moist in the third degree. It is lenitive and loosening, and purifieth the blood. It stancheth heat of choler, and doth moderately loosen the belly. It is maruailously profitable for those that cannot make water, especially if it be vsed with medicines that prouoke vrine. It purgeth choler and fleame, and mollifieth the breast and the throat, and resolueth inflammations therein: it cleanseth the raines from grauill and sand, if it be drunk with the decoction of licoras and other simples fit to prouoke vrine: and if it be often taken, it hindreth the stone in the raines. Besides all this, it is good against hot agues, and being outwardly applied, it asswageth inflammation.

Of the frank-
incense tree.

Property of
frankincense.

Amongst aromaticall trees, the tree that beareth frankincense is worthy to bee considered of. The forme thereof is somewhat like to a pine, and out of it runs a liquor, that afterwards waxeth hard, which we call frankincense: whereof there are two sorts. One sort is gathered in sommer in the dog daies, in the greatest burning heate of the yeere, at which time the bark is split, being then fullest of moisture. And this frankincense is whitish, transparent and pure. The other kind is gathered in the Spring time, by meanes of another incision, which is made in this tree in winter, & it is somewhat red, approching nothing neere either in goodnes or value, or else in waight or vertue to the first. Arabia hath many Forrests wherein frankincense is found. And the inhabitants of the countrey do lance the trees with a knife to cause them distill gum the better, or else the liquor whereof it is made: amongst which trees there are some that may yeeld aboue threecore pounds euery yeere. Moreouer being taken in drinke it is very good against Dysenterias and fluxes of the belly. It encreaseth the memory, chaseth away sadness, reioiceth the heart, and is profitable for all the passions thereof. It also staieth the bleeding at nose, being incorporated with the white of an egge and aloes, and put into the nostrils in a tent. It likewise appeaseth the paines of the megrim, being mixed with myrrhe and glaire of an egge, and applied to the forehead and temples. It is also hot in the second degree, and dry in the first, and hath some astringion, which is but little found in that which is white.

Of the tree
that beareth
myrrhe.

Property of
myrrhe.

Let vs speake of myrrhe, which groweth abundantly in the same regions where frankincense doth. The tree which beareth it is full of prickles in some places, being of five or six cubits high, very hard and crooked, and thicker then the Frankincense tree, the barke smooth like a Laurell tree, and the leaues like those of the Olive tree, but rougher, hauing certaine sharpe prickles at the end. Out of this tree there distilleth a Gumme liquor like teares, which hardneth by litle & litle, and is of color somewhat green, & is cleare and sweet, though somewhat vnpleasant in taste through bitternesse. Whereby it appeareth that the myrrh which heere wee haue is not right, for all these markes are not found therein, but it is blacke, and as if it were scorched, mouldy and mossie on the outside. Which wee neede not thinke strange, considering that euen in Alexandria, where our men doe commonly buy myrrhe, there is scarce any to be gotten which is not soppiflicate. For the Arabian Mahometans, who bring it thither, And sell it, doe therein vse a thousand deceits, mocking at such Christians as trafficke with them, and at their curiosity. There is great difference then betwixt naturall mirrh, which distilleth out of the tree; and artificiall, being soppiflicated with gum, and mixed with other things, such as is ordinary in our Apothecaries shops. Now the right myrrh is of a hot and drie qualitie in the second degree: and being drunk, it is very profitable for those that haue the quartaine ague. It is vsed in

in Antidotes against poisons, against hurts by venomous beastes, and against the plague. And being applied to wounds in the head, it will heale them.

Let vs now speake of the tree that beareth cloues, which groweth in the southeaste countries in certaine Isles of the Indian sea. The stocke thereof is like to that of a boxetree ^{Of the cloue tree.} and so is the wood. It flourisheth almost like to a laurell tree, and the fruit groweth in this manner. At the end of euery little branch there doth first appeare a budde, which produceth a flower or blossome of purple colour, afterwards by little and little the fruite is formed, and cometh to that passe, as we behold it, being redde when it groweth out of the bloome: but by heat of the Sunne it waxeth blacke afterwards in such sort as it is brought hither. The inhabitants of the countrey, especially of the Isles of Molucca, doe plant and set cloue trees almost in the same manner; as we in Europe doe our vines. And that they may preferue this fruit and spice a long time: they make pittes in the earth, wherein they put the cloues, vntill such time as merchants come to carry them away. This tree is full of branches, and beareth many blossomes white at first, afterwards greene, and at last red. The people there shake and beate the vppermost boughes of the tree hauing first made cleane the place vnderneath: for no herbe groweth neere about it; because it draweth all the moisture of the earth to it selfe. And the the cloues are so shaken downe are put to dry two or three daies, and are then shut vp till they be sold. That cloue which sticketh still fast to the tree, doth waxe great; yet differeth not from the rest, except in oldnes: though some haue held opinion that the greatest are of the male kinde. This tree springeth of it selfe, out of one only corne of a cloue, which hath fallen on the ground, and it endurerh an hundred yeeres, as the inhabitants report. The vertue of cloues is very great. For they are good for the liuer, the stomack, and the heart. They helpe digestion, and bind the fluxe of the belly. They cleere the sight, consume and take away the webbs, and cloues in the eies. They heat and dry to the third degree, they strengthen and open both together, and are very piercing. Being beaten to powder and drunk with wine, or the iuice of Quinces, they staie vomitings, cause lost appetite to returne; fortifie the stomacke and the head. They heat very well a cold liuer. And for this cause they are ministred very profitably to such as haue the dropie, especially to those, who haue water spread throughout all their body. The smell of them fetcheth those againe that haue swooned, and heeing chewed they sweeten the breath. They are good for such as are troubled with the falling sicknes, with the palsey, and with the lethargie. Being eaten or taken in perfume, they preferue from the plague, and are very commodious for such as are subiect to Catarrhes, and for such as are stuffed in the nose, if they receiue the smoke thereof into their nostrilles. In brieft their vse is infinitely diuers and profitable, both in phisicke and in our ordinarie diet whereby wee restore nature. And sith we are in this talke, let it be your part (A M A N A) to entreat of other trees bearing Spices.

Of the proper
ties of cloues.

Of trees and plants that beare Nutmegs, Ginger and Pepper. Chap. 70.

A M A N A. Amongst fise kinds of nuts which the earth produceth, to wit, the common Nut, the Nut of India, *Nux Metella*, *Nux Vomica*, and of the Nutmeg, this ^{Of the Nutmeg tree.} is the most singular and of rarest vertue: which hath taken name from muske, by reason of the sweete and pleasant sent thereof. Now they who haue travelled into India make great report, that the trees which beare Nutmegs, doe abundantly grow in an Isle named (Banda) and in many other Isles of the Moluccaes: and that it is as great, and as long branched as a Walnut tree with vs: and that there is but small difference in the growing of Nutmegs, and of common nuts. Moreover, this fruit is at first couered with two barkes, whereof the outtermost is hairie or mossie, vnder which is a thinne bloome, which like a net or fillet doth embrace and cover the nut, and is like a skaule or coife called (*Mace*) whereof there is great account made, and it is reckoned among the most precious and rarest spices: which we plainly see in those Nutmegs that are brought whole from the Indies, being preferued in sugar or in iuice of carrouges. The other barke which couereth the Nutmeg is like the shell of an Hasell nut, out of which they take it to bring vnto vs, which is very easie to do by reaso that the time of ripening being come, this hard shell openeth and sheweth an inward rinde that inuironeth the nut about, which wee call as aforesaid Mace: which at that time appeareth as red as Scarlet; but when the nut is

Property of
the Nutmeg.

dry, it turnes yellowish, and is thrife as deare as the nuts themselves. That which is more to be admired in this tree, is, that it beareth the fruits thereof, being so excellent, naturally without any industry or husbandry of man. Moreover, the best nuts are the newest (not rotten) the heaviest, fullest, most oylie, & abounding in moisture, so that if one thrust a needle therinto, there doth presently some iuice issue. They are hot and dry in the second degree and restrictive. They make sweet breath being chewed, and take away all stinking smell thereof. They cleere the sight, strengthen the stomack and liuer, abate the swelling of the spleene, prouoke vrine, stay the fluxe of the belly, driue away ventositie, and are marvellous good against cold diseases in the womb. In sum, they haue the same vertues that Cloues haue. And when they are greene or new, being bruised and well heated in a vessell, and then put into a presse, there issueth a licour, which being cold, is congealed like to new waxe, and so smelleth passing sweet, and is very excellent for old griefes of the sinewes and ioints engendred through cold.

Of Ginger.

Now speake wee of Ginger and other spices, which for the most part growe in the same regions of Asia, and especially in the Indies, and Molucca isles, whereby Nutmegs abound. In them there is great quantity of Ginger, which is a roote, not of such a plant as may properly be called a tree, but rather an herbe, considering that it groweth not very high, but beareth leaues like a cane or reede, which do waxe greene twise or thrise a yeere. This roote is very knotty, and not aboue three or fower spannes deepe in the ground, and some times so bigge, that it waigheth a pound. They that digge vp these rootes, do alwaies leaue a space between two knots in the pit, and couer it againe with earth as being the seed of this plant, to receiue the fruite thereof the next ensuing yeere, that is the rootes, which shall be newly sprouted. In Calecut the greene Ginger is sleepe and conserued in sugar, or in a kinde of hony that is taken out of certaine cods or husks, and is conueied into Italy, where it is much more esteemed then that of Venice. For that which is there is made of dry rootes artificially mollified, and which want much of their vertue and power. Moreover Ginger is very profitable: For it helpeth digestion, it looseth the belly moderately: it is good for the stomacke, and profitable against all things that may dimme, or blind the sight. It heateb much, not at first tasting like pepper. For which cause we may not thinke it to consist of so subtile parts: the heate would els presently declare it selfe, and it would suddenly become hot in act. Whereupon Ginger is known to bee composed of a grosse and indigested substance, not dry and earthy, but moist and watry, which is the cause that it doth easily corrupt and rot, to wit, by reason of the superfluous moisture thereof. For such things as are very dry, or moistened by a digested, natural, and moderate humidity, are not subiect to corruption and rottennes. Thence also it proceedeth, that the heat which commeth of Ginger doth endure longer then that of pepper. For as dry stubble is soon on fire and soon burnt out: euen so is the heat that proceedeth from simples, and dry drugs. But that which issueth from moist ones, as out of greene wood, doth inflame slower, and endure longer.

Of Pepper
and the diuers
kinds thereof.

Pepper doeth grow abundantly in the Indies, and especially in the two Isles called (the greater, and lesser Iaua) It doeth grow vpon little trees, the leaues whereof resemble much the leaues of a Citron tree, the fruit whereof is no greater then a ball. And according to the diuers places where Pepper groweth, it is different in kinde: yea in one place there are diuers sorts, and chiefly round and long Pepper. Now in some Isles (as alongst the riuer Ganabara) when the inhabitants plant Pepper, they bury the roote thereof neere to some other fruit trees, and oftentimes neere to young palmes or date trees, vpon the top whereof the twigs or syons doe at length grow. Which the rodde and small branches pulled from Pepper trees doe likewise, being planted with the same trees, which they imbrace running to the very top of them: where the Pepper hang in clusters, like the grapes of a wild vine, but closser and thicker. And when it is ripe they gather it, and lay it in the Sunne to drie vpon lattises made of Palme trees, till such time as it become blacke and wrinkled, which is commonly done in three daies. And this Pepper is round. But the trees that beare long Pepper doe differ from the rest especially in leaues and fruit: for the leaues are sharper at the end, and the Pepper hangeth vpon the tree like clusters of nuts made and heaped with many little graines. There is yet another kind of Pepper, called (Ethiopian Pepper) or (pepper of Negros) which groweth in cods like beanes, or pease: and the graines thereof are a little lesse then those of blacke Pepper. Moreover, all Pepper is hotte in the fourth degree, and therefore it burneth and blistereth the bodie, so that the vse thereof cannot

but bee dangerous, though it haue many secret properties against the quiverings and shakings that accompany fevers, which usually come to one; and against the cough, and all maladies of the breast. There is also a kinde of watry pepper, which groweth neere to slow waters, that runne but softly. The stalke thereof is knottie, massiue, hauing many pits, out of which the branches doe grow. The leaues of it are like to mints, sauing that they bee greater, softer, and whiter. The seede is sharpe and strong, and groweth vpon little twigs neere to the leaues in manner of grapes. It is so named of the places where it groweth, and the likenesse of taste, which it hath with common pepper. But wee haue spoken ynough concerning spices. Let vs now consider of other most rare and singular trees the woonder whereof declareth the author of nature to be exceeding admirable, as we may note (A R A M) by your discourse.

Of the Date tree, of the Baratha or tree of India, of the Gebuph and of Brasill. Chapter. 71.

A R A M. **T**Hose Portugals, Spanyards, and some French men that is in our time haue nauigated through the Atlanticke sea towards the south, and from thence towards the east vnto Calicut Taprobana, and other isles of the Indian sea, and regions vnkowne to ancient Cosmographers, doe make credible report vnto vs of so many diuers singularities which they haue beheld, that we should be too vngratefull towards them, if so often as we behold any of them in their writings, we should not attribute praise vnto them for their laudable curiositie, which hath vrged them to such discoveries, considering that they are like so many mitrors, to represent vnto vs that great Architect of nature, who amongst the very Barbarians hath engrauen images of himselfe in euery worke of his omnipotencie. Now among such trees as they haue written of, and which (as me seemeth) are worthie of greatest admiration, although they bee not altogether so rare as many others, the Date trees require place, which are very common in Arabia, Egypt, and almost in all parts of Africa, and in Iudæa, as likewise in many Isles of Greece, and regions of Europe (where they beare no fruite, which is not so throughout all Africa) for the Palmes, or Date trees beare in many places a sweete, pleasant and very delicate fruite to eate, and this tree is very high, and hath the stocke thereof very hard, bearing no branches butt round about the top, with the ends of them hanging downe to the ground wards. It buddeth forth many blossomes, hanging at certain fine small stalkes, clustered together in figure like to clusters of saffron, but much lesse, and white: and of those are formed reddish Dates, which haue a very hard, long, & crested stone within them. And there are of these trees male and femall, which are discerned in that the femall buddeth without blossomes, or floures. And that which is most admirable in this diuersitie of kinde, is, that the female being separated from the male, will hang downe her branches and whither, turning her selfe that way, whither her male hath bene carried: so that the inhabitants of the countrey fearing to loose her, take of the earth and of the roote of the male, which they lay about the scoote of the female, who through this meanes springeth, reneweth strength, and beareth fruit. It is noted in Date trees that there are some, which naturally follow the Sunne, which way soeuer he turneth, as many other plants doe, which hauing a sympathy and secret inclination to this Starre, as acknowledging his vertue, and that their vigour is deriued from him, do alwaies behold him, and themselves loosing colour, when he is farre off from them. And this is also very wonderfull in the Date tree, that being dead, it reuiuet of it selfe, by meanes of the proper rootes thereof, which being (very deepe vnder ground) maintained by the radical humour, there doe at length spring out of them certaine stalkes, which are afterwards sustained by the Sunne, there nourished and made trees, bearing fruit as before. Moreover out of the troncke of Date trees, many people (especially the Negroes) doe extract a licour (which they vse for a beuerage instead of wine) by making a large slit therein with a certaine instrument a foote or two above the earth. And this licoure of whay, very good to drinke, and almost as much inebriating, or as strong as wine, for which cause it must be very oftentimes mixed with water. And when it runneth out of the stocke, it is as sweet as new wine: but it looseth that sweetnesse from day to day, becoming more pleasant to drinke, when it tasteth somewhat more tart, because it doth then slacke thirst best.

They

Of the Date-tree.

Maruell of the femall Palm tree.

Drinke that distilleth out of the Date-tree.

Tapestrie
made of
Palme trees.

Bread made
of Dates.

Propertie of
Dates.

Of a tree ser-
uing for bread
wine, oyle,
and vineger.

Property of
Indie nuts.

A tree named
Gehuph.

They also draw out of this tree certaine threds as fine as our thred, whereof they make tapistrie worke, which serue like other things to couer them: which neede not seeme very strange, considering that in many other places they beate the barks of some trees so hard (after they haue wet it) that they do draw it out so fine, and weaue it so artificially, as one would suppose it to be some faire and thin taffata. Such as haue sailed to Manicongo, and along the coast of Ethiopia, do assure vs therof in their writings. For if that cotten cometh from trees, and silke is spunne by wormes (as all men know) what should hinder the foresaid thinges to be of such abilitie through the ordinance of God established in nature, to the end that men might receiue from these plants, that which is needefull for them, and which they cannot obtaine by the meanes that are common to others? But if any make doubt thereof, because it is notoriously knowne vnto all, then must wee shut the doore against all things that seeme rare. But what shal we say to that, which is taught vs by many graue Authors, that of the fruite of these trees, called (the Thebane Date) beeing dried in the sunne, till such time as it may be ready to be ground, men vse to make bread, which is a common practise amongst those of that countrey? Moreover, for the particular vertues and properties of Dates, they are so much different, as there be diuers kindes of them: for some are drie and binding (as those of Egypt) others are soft, moist, & sweete (as those that grow in Syria, Palestina, and Iericho.) And the rest are in meane betwixt these two kindes: and all are hard in digestion, and breed headach. Some say that two greene dates (hauing their stones taken out, and then filled vp with powder of Vermillion) beeing eaten, doe keepe women with child that they may not abort: and that beeing dried they bee good to ease by such as spit blood, to such as haue a weake stomacke, and are troubled with the bloody fluxe.

Now let vs speake of a tree, that doth much resemble the Date tree, and is no lesse worthy of wonder then it, because it serueth for bread, wine, oyle, and vineger. This tree is called by the Arabians (*Baratha*) and of some (*Iausfalindi*) which is as much to say, as, the Indian tree, and the Indians name it (*Trican*) and the fruite thereof (*Nisior*) or *Cocco*. It is found in many Islands of India, chiefly in Zamat, and in the circumiacent Isles, where the people liue vpon the fruite of this tree, which fruite is as bigge as a mans head: and is that, which we terme (An Indie Nut.) The outtermost barke of this tree is all greene, & about two fingers thicke: amongst which they finde certaine fillets, whereof they make cords, wherewith the inhabitants of the countrey sowe their boats together. Within this barke is another, which they burne and beat to dust: afterwards they vse this powder as a medicine for their sicke. Vnder this second barke againe is a certaine white pith covered, which is about a finger thicke, and this they eat in stead of bread, with flesh and fish. And to make it the better, they dry it first, and then bring it into meale, and make very good bread thereof, as the auncients in olde time made of Acornes and of chestnuts, for want of corne. In the middelt of this pith they finde a very cleere, sweete, and cordiall water, which being crudled, and conuerted into an oylie substance: they boyle it, and then this mixture becomes so fat, as the best butter that can be made amongst vs. But if they would haue vineger, they set this water in the sunne without making it to boyle, and it will become cleere and sharpe, and as white as milke. For their drinking liquor, it runnes out of the branches in great abundance. And two of these trees suffice for the nourishment of an whole family. Furthermore, their fruite is hot in the second degree, and moist in the first. There is oyle drawn out of it very good against the hemorrhoides, and which healeth the paines of the reines and of the knees, and purgeth the belly of wormes. This Indie Nut bringeth also mens bodies into a good fat estate, and restoreth leane and consumed persons.

In the Isles of the Malucoes, especially in Taprobana doth likewise grow a tree of a meruailous propertie and effect, which is named in their language (*Gehuph*) and of the Indians (*Cobban*) It groweth very high, but the leaues thereof are small. The barke is all yellow, and the fruite big and round like a ball, hauing a nut enclosed within it, wherein is found a meruailous bitter kernel: the tast wherof vpo the tongue doth neere approach to the fauor of Angelica roote; the fruit is very good to staunch thirst, the kernel (for all it is so bitter) doth much surpasse it in sweetnesse through the excellency thereof. For they of the country doe make an oyle, which they keepe carefully, because it is very good against the paine of the liuer, and spleene, whether it be taken inwards, or outwardly applyed to the diseased part. They keepe them also from the crampe. This tree likewise yeeldeth a certaine gumme, whereof they vse plaisters against all paines of their members.

But

But amongst many singular trees, found out in our daies in the South in the wilde country, that is one, which doth serue to die with; which hath beene a great commodity to Merchants, and a meanes of new voy ages for such, as had accustomed to go to sea: who entering into those countries, when they beheld the Sauages decked with many faire plumes of diuers, colours, and that they had their bodies likewise diuersly painted, they made inquiry by what meanes they became so coloured: who shewed them a certaine tree, which we name (Brasill) and the Sauages call (*Oranoutan*). This tree is very faire to looke vpon, having the outter rinde of grayish colour, and the wood within red, and especially the heart, which is the most excellent part of all the tree: and therewith merchants doe chiefly furnish themselves. This tree hath leaves like the Box tree, as small, but thicker, and fuller and alwaies Greene: and it beareth not any fruite, or gumme. That which groweth in the land of Morpion, and at Cabo Frio, is better than any other. And there also is great store and quantitie of other trees seruing for tinclure, and every one of a sundry colour: One is so red, that it imitateth in fresh colour the finest scarlet of the world. Another hath the inside so yellow, as nothing can be seene to approach neerer the pure colour thereof. Some are all blacke, and other reddish: and there are some of so faire a purple colour, as the ancients neuer vsed fairer. Moreouer there is found a tree as white as fine paper, meruailous faire, and very pleasant to behold: which might haue beene very good, in times past, to make tablets to write in, then when men were ignorant of the vse of paper. In fine wee haue no colour, bee it simple, or compound, whereof there be not some trees to represent it naturally in the countrey of Sauages. But heere let vs leaue strange trees, and speake somewhat of our ordinary trees. And because that the history of them were sufficient to make vp a very great volume, we will content our selues to consider vpon a few of such, as shall seeme to vs most fit for our purpose, that we may conclude the discourse of this day, and of this matter together: as you (ACHITOB) shall presently performe.

Of Brasill, and
other trees fit
for tinclure.

Of the Citron-tree, Limon-tree, Orange-tree, Olive-tree, and Pomegranate-tree. Chapter. 72.

ACHITOB. Because that Citron trees, Limon trees, and Orange trees, doe prosper best in an hot and moist aire, in a thine and tender soile, neere to the sea side, and where moisture aboundeth, they doe not onely abound in our Europe, but also in many places of Asia and Africa, and in the Isles of the Sauages which haue bin discovered in our daies. Now these three kind of trees haue like agreeableness of nature, and doe resemble each other in propertie and vertue, and therefore require one manner of culture. The Citron tree is as great as the Orange tree, and Limon tree: and the leaves thereof are alwaies Greene, differing little or nothing from those of the Orangetree, being all of them peirced through with such little holes, that they can scarce be discerned. The branches thereof be flexible clad with a Greene bark, and thorny. It beareth blossomes somewhat purple, of the fashion of a bell, having some fillets hanging in the midst of them, and they haue fruit at all times. For when the ripe Citrons fall, there be others that waxe ripe, and others that begin to bud. But there is very great difference in this fruite, both in bignes and in taste. For there are some as big as Melons, as those are vpon the coast of Genoa, and in the isles of the Adriaticke and Egean seas. Some are a little lesse: others are as great as Limons, or a little greater, as are those of the Lake of Garda which are better with meate then all the rest, and taste more pleasantly. And for the biggest, being not so good to eate (because they haue more substance) they are fit for Apothecaries to colesue them in sugar or in hony. All of them beare the colour of gold; they are long like Limons, hauing a thicker rinde, wrinkled without, and of a sweete smell. They haue a sharpe pith within, full of iuice, in which the graine is hidden, in figure like to barley cornes, being covered with an hard peece, and of bitter taste. They grow all the yeere long, and are gathered when they be yellow. Moreouer these trees are nourished by the south winde, but are annoyed by northerne blais. They are sowed in their graines, and planted in twigs, boughes and graffes. The propertie of their fruit is to resist poisons, which their graine doth chiefly effect. And the decoction of citrons doth sweeten the breath, if one wash his mouth with it. Being put whole into chests with apparell, they doe not onely cause them

Of the Citron tree.

Property of Citrons.

to smell sweete, but doe also defend them from moths. If they bee eaten rawe, they are of hard digestion, and ingender grosse humours: but hauing beene confectioned in hony or sugar, they heat the stomacke well, and fortifie it. They are good against melancholy and all maladies proceeding thereof. The graine is especially good against the stinging of serpents, being taken in drinke, and applied outwardly. Their sharpe iuice doth repress choler, and is very good against the plague: by meanes whereof phylitions doe happily vse the sirrope which is made of it against pestilent feuers. Likewise the sharpe and drie qualitie ruleth in the iuice of citrons, and therefore it is drie and cold in the third degree, but the rinde thereof is drie, with much bitterneesse: so that it is drie in the second degree, not cold, but temperate, a little differing from the meane. Their meate is of grosse and flegmaticke substance, and their kernell bitter, and loosening, heating and drying in the second degree. If a citron be boiled whole in rose water and sugar, till such time a sit bee all consumed into iuice, and if one take every morning to the quantity of a spoonefull of this iuice, it will be a soueraigne preseruatiue against the plague.

Of Limons. Limons also haue the very same propertie, and their iuice killeth the itch of the body, it cleseth the spots thereof, destroyeth wormes, taketh away pimples in the face, killeth wormes in the bellie, and being mingled with sirrope, it is singular good against hot and contagious feuers. This same iuice is of so strong and persing vertue, that if you powre it out twise or thrise fresh, and wash whole pearles therewith, sleeping them in it, and afterwards expose them to the sunne, they will within five or sixe daies become as soft as hony, in such sort that you may fashion them how you list. Likewise if you steepe for certaine howers golde therein, it will diminish in waight. In briebe, limons doe not much differ from the vertue and nature of citrons: but they are commonly somewhat lesse, longer, and not of so thicke a rinde, fuller of iuice, sharper in taste, almost alike in seede, of colour pale.

**Of Oranges,
and of their
fruit.**

Oranges are more round, and being ripe they haue a very orient golden colour, their peeles thicker then that of limons, and more bitter. The iuice within, whereof they bee full, is not in all of one taste; for some are sweete, some sower, and some tart. Orange trees are alwaies greene like citron trees. They haue leaues like laurell, broad, thicke, smooth, sweete, and pointed. Their branches likewise are flexible, pricklie, and couered with a greene whitish colored bark. Their blossomes are white, of a very excellent smel, and are diligently gathered by perfumers, where there is any quantitie, for the composition of perfumes. Some also distill water of them, not only for the excellencie of the smel thereof, but also to serue in medicine, especially against pestilent feuers which cause blisters. Being taken in drinke, it is very profitable when neede requireth to haue infected humours euacuated out of the inner part of the body to the vttermoost part by sweatings: for this water doth cause much sweating, and doth greatly comfort the heart. The peeles of oranges is hotter, sharper, and bitterer in taste then that of citrons and limons. And sweete oranges are hot in all parts: but the iuice of all others is cold, and resisteth corruption. Wherefore they are good against feuers, which the sweete are not. Moreover their iuice pressed out of the rinde doth easily inflame, and doth also penetrate through great tenuitie within a glasse, even to the wine therein contained.

**Of the Oliue
tree.**

The oliue-tree also is excellent amongst trees, and doth require a warme and temperate aire as that of Prouence. It is planted of twigs, and faire and fruitfull yong branches pulled from off the boughes of the tree, being very thicke, & of a foote and halfe long. Oliue trees haue long pointed leaues, thicke, smooth, greene above, and whitish vnderneath, bitter in taste, and somewhat sharpe. They bud in Iulie, and haue white flowers hanging in clusters, out of which grow the fruit, greene at first, and as they ripen paler; then waxe they purple: and at last turne blacke. They are gathered in the latter moneths of the yeare, being no sooner ripe. They are strowed vpon the floor, till such time as they become wrinckled. Afterwards they are ground, and then put into the presse with hot water, and so they yeeld their oyle. The wood of the oliue-tree is faire, full of veines speckled, massie, and burneth as well greene as drie. It is in no wise subiect to vermine, especially so long as it is planted, because of the odour thereof which is strong, yea it defendeth all other plants therefrom, which are neere vnto it, as likewise through the bitterneesse thereof it causeth Cabbages and Lettise to drie, and all other moist herbes, which are sowed in the plot with it. Oliues are gathered for two occasions, either that oyle may be extracted out of them, or that they may bee reserued for bankets, wherein they are reserued to excite the appetite: but all kindes

**Of the vse of
Oliues.**

kindes of oliues do not serue indifferently for these two vses: for the greatest are best to eate, and the best to draw oile out of. They which are kept for seallts are conserued in brine, and salted vineger, in such sort as they retaine their naturall verdure. For the proprietie of the oliue, it hath in it a very restrigent vertue; for the decoction of the leaues in a clyster, staieth the fluxe of the belly: and the iuice pressed out of the leaues with white wine and raine water, restraineth all manner of bloody fluxe. The licour which distilleth out of the greene wood as it burneth, healeth the itch, tetters, and ring wormes. New oliues being eaten prouoke the appetite, and get a good stomacke although they harden the bellie. Being very ripe they are moderately hot, otherwise they are more binding and cooling. The oile that is extracted out of oliues is of singular vertue, being either applied outwardly or taken inwardly, according to the indisposed parts of the body: it looseth and mollifieth the bellie, dulseth the malice of poysons, and doth subtilly driue them away, yea if any venom or burning happen on the skinne of the body, and begin to make an vicer or sore there, nothing better to heale this hurt, then to annoint it with new fresh oile of oliues.

The Pomegranate tree also is to bee no lesse esteemed of, then the forenamed trees, because the excellency of the fruite thereof. The leaues of it resemble those of the Oliue-tree of a darke greene colour, very thicke, and full of many red strakes, hanging by a red sialke. The branches are pliable, and full of prickles. The blossomes red, and open like bells, the mouth of them cut in fashion of a starre: out of which proceede thinned red leaues, with certaine small seedes hanging by the midst, like them in a rose. The fruit is covered with a rinde like vnto leather, red without, and yeallow within, full of infinite pointed graines, red, full of a wine-like ioyce, with a stone in them. And these graines are separated one from another with maruailous cunning of nature, by fine thin yealow skinned. Moreover there are three sorts of Pomegranates, sweete, sharpe, and winie. And the qualitie of them all is restrigent, but not alike. For by their taste you may iudge of their difference. And their graines are more binding and drying, then their iuice: the rinde more then the graines; and the blossomes haue the same vertue with the fruite. And the powder of a Pomegranate, dried in an ouen, in a new earthen pot close stopped, being taken in drinke, is maruailous singular to stay the flux of the body. The leaues also of a Pomegranate tree well beaten, or the iuice of them mixed with oyle of roses, doth very much ease inveterated paines of the head, being often laid to the forehead. The boughes of this tree do chase away venomous beasts, for which cause the ancients were wont to lay them ouer, and vnder their beds. The decoction of the roote being drunke, doth also kill great wormes in the bellie, and doth voide them out. Now haue we laid enough concerning trees for the subiect by vs vnder taken: To morrow we will discourse of the most singular hearbes & rootes, to the end that in each sort of all kindes of creatures, wee may haue somewhat wherein to acknowledge in the chiefest manner the infinite power, and vspeakeable bountie of him, who hath made all these things for the vse of man. It shall be then your charge (A S E R) to begin to entreate concerning simples.

Of the Pomegranate tree, and of the fruit thereof.

The end of the ninth daies worke.

The tenth daies worke.

Of Mallowes, Wilde Mallowes, Purple Violets, Betonie, Ceterach, and Saint Iohns-Worte. Chap. 73.

A S E R.



He knowledge of Simples hath alwaies beene had in such estimation amongst the Ancients, that many great Monarchs both Grecians and Romans, although they were much troubled in the gouernement of their estates, haue neuerthelesse studied how to obtaine this science, and to illustrate it. For indeed it is not onely pleasant and delectable, but also very profitable and necessarie. And for this cause they haue beene much commended who haue diligently

804 Of wilde mallowes and purple violets.

gently written bookes concerning plants, and concerning the vertues of them. And surely wee are not a little beholding to their diligence, by reason of the commodities that doe thereby redound vnto vs daily for the mainetenance of our health, which is the thing most to bee desired of vs in all the world. For so much then as wee haue so many goodly volumes amongst vs, that all persons may thereby with small travell become learned in this part of phisicke, which is abundantly therein entreated of, wee will satisfie our selues to passe away this day in discoursing onely concerning the most singular herbes and rootes, which we could therein note, and as we yet doe beare in memory.

Of Mallowes
and of their
propertie.

All herbes may be diuided into two kinde, one is vnder the name of pot herbes, the other of phisicke herbes: although in very truth, there is in all of them, yea in many of those which are most common, very apt and proper vertues for the aide and mainetenance of health, and healing of diseases. But omitting those which are vsed in common foode, and which are well knowne to euery man, wee will onely speake of the most excellent in propertie, in respect of their marvellous effects in the nature of men. Amongst which, although Mallowes be very common, yet are they worthy of consideration. And we reade that the auncients did sow this plant in their gardens of deliberate purpose: for in those daies they did eate them like other ordinary herbes. And euen to this day in Italy, they are so well ordered by the gardiners, that they will grow as big as a shrub, yea in fixe or seuen months. Wee neede not make heere a particular description of Mallowes; for there is none but knoweth them well enough: but their vertue is verie admirable: for their leaues sod, being eaten doe take away all horsenes; and being powned with sage leaues, they make a singular plaister for wounds and other inflammations: they are also very good against bitings of venomous beasts being applied with leeks & onions: and the iuice of them dropt in ones eare, appeaseth the tingling therein. Being sod rootes and all, till such time as the decoction be all very thicke and clammie, they are given to women (to drinke) who are deliuered of their children with great difficultie; which helps them much: and the iuice drunke to the quantity of halfe a pound waight, doth profit them much. Their seed also drunke with redde wine, doth deliuer one from all desire to vomit. And their young and tender stalkes being eaten with salt, vineger, and eyle (as Sparage also) are very healthfull and laxative. Sixe ounces of their iuice being drunke, is very good for melancholie people, and for made folkes. In briebe the Mallow is aery profitable in many thinges, and was for that cause called by the auncients (*Ommimorbia*) that is to say, good against all diseases.

Of the wilde
Mallowe, and
the property
thereof.

The wilde mallow hath no fewer properties, & was therefore called by the Greeks (*Althea*) as being singular amongst all simples, and fit for many medicines: the vse thereof being very ordinary in phisicke, and it is a common hearbe knowne by euery one. Being sod in wine, or in honied water, beaten, and applied alone, it is good for all wounds, against the kings euill, against wormes in the eare, impostumes, inflammation of the breast, rupture of the fundament, ventosities, and shrincking of the sinewes: for it resolueth ripeneth, breaketh and healeth. The leaues thereof incorporated with oile are good to apply to all bitings, and burnings by fire, the seede and roote of this plant haue the same operation with the leafe: but they are more subtile, and more drying and abstersiue. The seede is good against the Dysenteria, against spitting of blood, and flux of the bellie; and so also is the decoction of the roote. And both of them serue greatly for difficulty in making water for grauel in the body, and do breake the stone in the reines. I must not faile here, to remember amongst the most excellent herbes, the purple violet, for because of the admirable

Of the Pur-
ple violet, and
the property
thereof

vertures, which it containeth. I will not speake of the rare beauty of the flower thereof, nor of the sweete and pleasant smell thereof, though it be to bee maruailed at. But wee may affirme it to be as excellent and singular a medicine as may bee found in any part of the world. For Violets are temperate, and very good to alter and change the ill quality of humours, and to euacuate them. They chiefly purge choler, and qualifie the vehemencie thereof. They are good for paines in the head which proceede from heate: they cause sleepelesse: mollifie the pricking of the breast, and of the lungs: they are profitable against the squinancie, against the falling of the pallat in the mouth: they chiefly serue against inflammations of the breast, and of the side: and staunch thirst. Being drie they open the liner, cause inflammations to cease, and are very fit against the laundise. Moreover, the iuice of Violets, and the sirup that is made of them, mollifie the belly, and they be good to vse in plurisies, to purge. And if any one receiue a blow vpon the head, hee shall bee kept from dizzines, and other greater inconueniences, if soone after he is stroken,

hee

he drinke the flowers of Violets braied, and vse this drinke for some time. It is also a singular, and gentle purgation and of no lesse vertue then Cassia; if you drinke so much of the infusion of the rootes of Violets in white wine as you can holde in foure fingers, after they haue been beaten in a mortar, beeing steeped a whole night in wine, and afterwards strayed through a cleane linnen cloth, which drinke you may sweeten by putting sugar therein. This secret was taught me by a learned phisicion of our time, and I haue oftentimes seen the experience thereof.

Betony is likewise an hearbe that is stored with many great vertues, and properties. For which cause the Italians, when they would highly praise any one, say in a common proverbe (*Tu hai piu virtu, che non hata Betonica*) Thou art endued with more vertues then Betony is. This herbe hath a small stalke, and in many places is found of a cubite in height: hauing leaues like an oake, soft, long, cutte round about, of sweete smell, great neere to the roote, and the seed therof at top of the stalke lookes like that of sauary. Now for the property of this plant, the leaues thereof brayed and laide to wounds in the head, doe presently learch them and healing them from day to day, it is not long ere they fortifie the hurt part. Being beaten and applied to the forehead, they heale the paine of the eies, which likewise the decoction of the root doth, being sod in water, til one third part be consumed, if you wash your eies therewith. The iuice of the leaues being drunk, doth purge downwards that blood; the great abundance whereof doth dazzle and dimme the sight. Wherefore Betony being eaten doth sharpen and clarifie it. And being beaten with a very little salt, and put into the nostrils, it stancheth bleeding at the nose. And the warme iuice being distilled with oyle of roses, and put into the eares, doth assuage the paine of them. The vse of this herbe is very profitable for those, which are pained at the stomacke, and haue short breath, who spit corruption, who haue paine in their liuer and spleene, and are troubled with running of the reines; it prouoketh vrine, easeth the gnawing of the belly and guttes (if it proceede not from encreasing of humours) and is very good against droplics, breaketh the stone, stayeth the spitting of blood, and taken fasting, keepeth from drunkenesse, being drunke often with wine, it healeth the iauundise, refresheth those that haue travelled farre, sharpeneth the appetite, resisteth poisons, venims, and bitings of serpents, and all other venomous and badde beasts; beeing not onely taken inwardly, but also applied outwardly to the wounds. In summe this plant hath so many properties therein, that a very learned phisicion amongst the auncients hath written a whole booke thereof.

Of Betony
& of the property thereof.

Ceterarch hath many vertues of Betony, it groweth on walles and old ruines, and vpon rockes, and in shady places. It hath neither stalke, nor flower, nor seede, but hath many leaues growing out of a roote, which are cut like those of mountaine Polipody, redde and hairy vnderneath, and greene aboue. The decoction of this herbe is good for all melancholy passions, it consumeth spleen, is profitable for those that can hardly make water, breaketh the stone in the bladder, and is good for them that haue the iauundise. Some bray Ceterarch leaues, to lay them hauing bene steeped in wine vpon the spleene, which serueth well for to open it. The yealow powder which is found behinde those leaues being drunk with a little white Amber, and with the iuice of Plantaine or of Purslaine, is marueilous profitable for those that are troubled with running of the reines.

Anton. Musa.
Of Ceterarch
& of the vertue thereof.

Saint Iohns. woort also is a very excellent herbe. It is full of braunches of a sparine in height, reddish, bearing a leafe like to Rue, hauing a yellow flower like to a violet, which being rubbed betwixt the fingers, yeeldeth iuice as red as blood. This plant is called *Millepertuis*, (or thousand holes) because the leaues of it are all full of so small holes, that one can scarce see them, but onely betwixt their sight & the Sun. It beareth seed in rough, round, and somewhat long buskes. This herbe hath power to open, resolue, search, and binde againe. It heateth and drieth, and is of subtil substance; wherefore it prouoketh vrine. The seed thereof being drunke with wine, voideth the stone out of the body, and resisteth poisons, both the seed, and hearbe being eaten or taken in drinke, or outwardly applied, healeth inuenedomed bitings. The water distilled of this hearbe when it beareth flower, is singular good for those that are subiect to the Falling sicknesse, or are troubled with the paltie; if it be giuen them to drinke. The seed being beaten into powder with the iuice of Renouée, is good against spitting of blood. It purgeth the belly: the flowers and seede also haue a marueilous vertue to heale all wounds, except such as are in the head. Wherefore the

Of Saint
Iohns wort,
and the property thereof.

oyle, wherein the flowers and coddies full of seeds shall haue bene long time steeped in the sunne, doth heale very well all greene wounds, especially if it be mixed with Turpentine. If the belly be rubbed with this oyle, it is good against the Dysenteria: and a spoonfull thereof being drunke killeth the wormes. There is a singular baulme made of the flowers thereof, with the fruit of an elme and rose buds, putting all together in a glasse bottle, and setting it in the sunne, till such time as all be so consumed that it seemeth to be putrified: then must all be strained through a cloth, and kept so to be vsed, chiefly for hurts and wounds of the body. Now (A M A N A) doe you prosecute our discourse concerning Sym-
ples.

*Of Celondine, Cammocke, Wormewood, Hissope, Sage and
Mints. Chapter 74.*

Of Celondine
& of the pro-
pertie thereof

A M A N A. **I**N the description of plants, wee finde that there is mention made of two kindes of Celondine, otherwise called (Clary) either of them indued with many vertues. That which is called great Celondine, hath a slender stalke of a cubite long, and hath leaved branches. The leaues thereof are soft and greene, somewhat inclining towards a blew. The flower resembleth that of the white Violet, which buddeth out according to the order of euery leafe. It beareth long and slender coddies, made pointed, wherein the seede is enclosed. This herbe is of a very abstersiue and hotte quality. The iuice thereof is very good to take out spottes, and the pinne and webbe in the eyes: but because it is very sharpe, you must before you apply it, mixe it with those things that may repress the sharpnes thereof, as namely with womans milke: beeing put into hollow teeth, it loosoneth them that they fall out. If you rubbe warts therewith, they fall off and dry vp. The decoction of the roote being drunke with annise seed and white wine, doth heale the iaundise, and is good for eating vlcers, and being chewed it allwageth the paine in the teeth. Some make report, that swallowes cause their young ones to recover lost sight, by applying this herbe vnto them, and that for this occasion it deriued the name thereof from a Greeke word, which signifieth a swallow, as being very well known by these birds, and commodious for them. Some Alchymists say for (*Chelidonium*) (*Celidonium*) that is (the gift of heauen) vaunting that they can extract out of this herbe a quintessence, not onely fit for their purposes, but profitable also to conserue the health of man, and to heale many diseases. Celondine the lesse is without stalke, the leaues are round and thicke, the flower yealow, hanging at a small stalke. It keepeth but a very little while: for it springeth and dieth in the Spring-time. And it is so named, because it beareth flower in that season, when swallowes come in, as also great Clarie doth. It is hot and dry in the fourth degree full, because of the great sharpnes thereof. And therefore so soone as it is applied, it breaketh the skin, and causeth bad nailes to fall off. The iuice thereof sauued vp into the nose, doeth greatly purge the braine, And a gargarisme made of the decoction thereof with honic, hath the same vertue, and euacuateth all euill humours in the breast.

Of Celon-
dine the lesse.

Of Cam-
mocke, and
the propertie
thereof.

Cammocke (or Rest-harrow) hath also many singular properties. It is a plant well known by countrey-folkes, because that as well with the branches, as with the interlaced rootes, it oftentimes stayeth the plough, maugre the oxen. It also vexeth mowers and reapers much. For how thicke leather soeuer they weare, yet will this pierce through like an aul, and as with needles wherewith it is armed being ripe. This hearbe hath many branches of a span long, turned with many knots; the leaues thereof are small and slender like vnto the leaues of Lentiles, approaching very neere to the forme of Rue, somewhat hairie, and of a reasonable sweet sent. The branches are full of very sharpe and strong prickles. The flower is purple, enclining to white, and sometimes yealow. Amongst other properties that this plant hath, it is aboue all most singular in the roote thereof for to breake the stone in the reines, and to void it out, especially when the conduits through which the vrine passeth are stopped vp. Some that haue vsed for a verie long time, to take the powder of the peeke
of

of this roote with wine, haue bin holpen of the stone. And according to the testimony of *Mathiolas*. A certaine man hauing vled for many moneths together of the powder only of this roote, did helpe and heale himselfe of the bursines in the cods, after that all phisitions had giuen him ouer, except they might cut him as they had concluded. The decoction also of this roote, and water that hath beene distilled, cleanseth the reines of grauell, prouoketh vrine, purgeth the bladder, the mouth thereof being stoppt vp with clammy humours, and is singular good to open the liuer, and all vessels of sense, life and motion. To make this water, you must take fower pound of the rindes of greene rootes: and being cut small, set them a steepe in eight pounds of malmesie, or of good wine, then distil them in a glasse limbecke in balneo Mariæ.

Wormewood is almost infinite in adimrable vertues. It produceth a braunched stalke with whitish leaues, very much cut like those of Mugwort, small yellow flowers and round seed heaped in clusters. This plant is maruellous fit for inflammations of the liuer and stomacke. It is very profitable for such as are sicke of the dropie, if they often take the leaues thereof confected in sugar. Wormewood is of restraining quality, bitter and sharpe altogether being hot, abstersiue, comfortable and drying. And therefore it purgeth downwards, and driueth into the vrine all cholericke humours. It doth most principally comfort the stomacke, and for this cause wine was made thereof called by the same name of the tops thereof is a decoction made with the roote of Dandelion, which is very good to heale the iayndise. The iuice of wormwood mixed with the kernell of a peach killeth wormes. This herbe prouoketh vrine, being taken fasting it preserueth from drunkenness, doth sharpen the appetite: it is a soueraign remedy for those that are subiect to stuffings by eating toade-skooles, if they drinke the iuice thereof, with vineger. Being taken with wine it is good against poison, with milk & bonie it is good to rub the that are troubled with the squinancie. The fume of the decoction thereof easeth paines in teeth and the eares. And being made in wine of raisins it asswageth the paine of the eies if they be annointed therewith. Being laid with oyle of Roses vpon a stomacke weakned through long sicknesse, it doth fortifie it: with figges, vineger, and meale of darnell it is good against the dropie, and for those that are grieved in their spleene. Wormwood put into chests defendeth apparell from worrne eating. There is a conserue made with a pound of the tops of this plant, and with three pounds of Sugar, which may heale an olde and despaired dropie if it bee often vsed.

Hyssop is a common plant, but worthy of great consideration, it is like a shrub sprouting many wooden branches out of the roote, of a foote and halfe high. The leaues are set euery where about the stalkes here and there, being long, hard, sweet in smell, hot in taste, and somewhat bitter. It beareth flowres one the top of the stalke of a blew colour, like eares of corne. The qualitie of Hyssop is pearcing, attenuatide, opening, and abstersiue: and therefore it hath the vertue to heate and to purifie. Being sod with figs, water, hony, and rue, and taken in drinke: it is good for inflammations of the lungs, for an old cough, difficultie of breathing, catarrhes, and for those which cannot breath except they stand still: and it is good also to kil wormes in the belly. Being beaten with salt and Cumin, it is good against biting of Serpents, if it be laid therupon with hony. It is profitable for those that are subiect to the falling sicknesse, being ministred in any sort to them. Being taken in drinke it voideth fleame, and chiefly that which is in the breast and lungs. It serueth also for Aegmatick maladies of the braine and sinewes not only to purge them but also to fortifie them. It driueth away ventositie, moueth appetite, prouoketh vrine, freeth from quakings and shakings of feuers, and sharpeneth the sight. It maintaineth good colour in one, and is good for the spleene, and against the dropie, and is singular against the squinancies, being gargarised with the decoction of figs. The oile that is made of the leaues and flowers, helpeth refrigerated or benumbed sinewes and strengthen them. In briebe the admirable vertues of this plant haue begotten this proverbe, (Hee that eateth Hyssop shall liue but too long.) But the plenty thereof that is euery where, causeth (euen as it is with all other common things) that it is made but small account of, and is very seldome vsed in Phisicke.

Sage also is verie common, so that there is no garden but is filled therewith: yet the vertue thereof is not a whit lesse, as is daily experimented, to the great profit of many. It hath many long, square, and white branches. The leaues are like those of a Quince tree, but more long, more rough, more thicke, sharpe, strong, of good smell, and yet somewhat vnplesant. Many make two kindes of Sage, common Sage and wilde Sage. But wee may

Of worme-
wood, and of
the property
thereof.

Hyssop and
the property
thereof.

Of Sage, and
the property
thereof.

note that garden sage is all one with field sage: neither can much difference bee marked in them, save in the leaues, which are thinner, whiter, and rougher in wilde then in garden sage. This plant is very singular against all cold and flegmaticke diseases in the head, and against all paines of the ioints, either beeing taken in drinke, or applied in fomentations. Wherefore it is very good for them who haue the falling disease, or are sicke of the lethargy, and for those that haue their members benumbed or senselesse. It is profitable against defluxions of fleame, and maladies in the breast. It is good for great bellied women to eate, which are subiect to trauell before their time, for euery light cause, for it keepeth the child in the wombe, and doth quicken it. If you giue three or foure ounces of the iuice of sage to them that spit blood, that they may drinke it fasting in a morning with hony, the blood wil presently be staied. The vse of sage in pottage, and otherwise serueth to sharpen the appetite, and cleanse the stomacke being full of ill humours. In summe, when occasion is to heat, dry and binde, sage is a very good and fit medicine.

Of Mints, &
their property

Mints likewise haue great properties, and are very common, both in gardens and fields. Whereof though there be many kinde (for some haue small and crisped leaues, others haue the stalke and flower red, and others white (yet is there no great matter to be made of these differences, considering that one selfe same vertue resideth in all. Mints beaten, and made into a plaister doe comfort a weake stomacke. It is a soueraigne thing to restore the smell, and feeling to those that haue lost it, so that it be often held to the nose. The leaues thereof dried, and brought into powder, kill wormes in little children. The iuice drunke with vineger, stancheth blood; with the iuice of a sower pomegranate it restraineth vomitings, hickets, and the colicke passion. Mints laid vpon the forehead asswage the head-ach, and laid vpon too tender dugs that are full of milke, it easeth the paine of them, applied with salt it is good for bitings by dogs, and with honied water it is good against paines in the eares. The water of the whole plant distilled in a glasse limbecke in a bath of hot water, and drunke to the waight of foure ounces, staieeth bleeding at nose. They that loue milke, must presently after they haue eaten thereof, chew mint leaues, to hinder the milke that it doe not curdle in their stomacke, if also you sprinkle cheese with the iuice thereof, or with the decoction thereof, it will keepe from corrupting and rottenness. Now I referre to you (A R A M) the sequele of this discourse.

Of Thyme, Sauorie, Marierom, Rue, Parsley, and Fennell.
Chapter 75.

Of Thyme
and the pro-
perty thereof.

A R A M. **A**Mongst common herbes admirable in their properties, Thyme is worthy to be noted. Now there are two sorts thereof, one bearing sundrie twigs laden with very many little narrow leaues, hauing small heads, at the toppe full of purple flowres: and the other is as hard as wood, more branched, and like vnto Sauory. In property it is hot, and dry in the third degree. And therefore it prouoketh vrine, doth heate and being taken in drinke doth purge the intrailes. It is good to make one spit out the ill humours of the lungs, and in the breast. Foure drams of drie Thyme puluerized, being ministred fasting to one that hath the gout, with two ounces and a halfe of honied vinegar, doth profit them very much: for it purgeth choler, and other sharpe humours. It is good also for diseases of the bladder: and the waight of a dramme being taken with a spoonefull of honied water, it is good for such as beginne to haue a swollen belly: for the Sciatica, and paine in the reines, in the sides, and in the breast, for inflations and stiches about the forepart of the belly, for melancholy persons; for those that are troubled in minde, and are in continuall fearefulness, if three drams be giuen to them fasting with a spoonefull of honied vinegar it will doe them much good. It is profitable also against inflammation of the eies, and vehement paines thereof, and against the gout in the feete, being taken with wine. The vse thereof is very good for them that haue but badde sight. Out of thyme there is an oyle extracted of the colour of gold, which commeth forth with the water, when the herbe being fresh and greene is distilled in a bathe of hote water. This oyle smells like a Citron, & is very tart in tast, and good for all things, which haue need to be heated. But we must note that heede must be taken, that to all the foresaid purposes black thyme be not vsed: for it corrupteth the temperature of the person, & ingendreth choler.

And

And therefore that thimemust be chosen, which beareth a carnation flower, and that for the best yet which beareth a white flower.

Sauory also is an herbe knowne vnto all, and hath the same properties and vertues which thyme hath; beeing taken in such manner. There are two kindes thereof: one is like to thyme, somewhat lesse and more tender, bearing a buddefull of greene flowers enclining to purple. The other is greater and more branched, which is often founde in gardens having many boughes that spread about it, beeing round and woody. The leaues thereof are greater then those of thyme, somewhat strong and harder, which doe heere and there grow about the branches in bunches together, after the springing whereof there grow out little buddees enuironed with leaues, which are much lesse then the other, wherein grow small carnation flowers. The leaues and flowers of sauory beeing made in a garland or chaplet, and set vpon the head of such as sleepe, doe waken them. Being vsed in a caraplasme with wheat meale, sodde together in wine, it is very auailable against grieues of the Sciatica. But the vse of sauory is chiefly good for healthfull persons, whether it bee in pottage, or in sauce, or otherwise. And it being dried in the shade, and brought into powder, may be vsed instead of spices, and so may thyme and marierom, with marvellous profit for health: and strange drugs that are hurtfull may be spared, as pepper and ginger are, being commonly vsed.

Of Sauory.

Marierom is so good for all persons, so that there are but few people which haue it not, eyther in their gardens, or in earth pottes: the whole plant is odoriferous, and most profitable in phisicke. It is branched with small plyable twigges, with long whitish and hairy leaues growing about those twigges. It beareth flowers in great number on the toppe of the stalkes, and buddees of the colour of the herbe, beeing long, and composed of an heape of scales, well compact together, out of which groweth a little graine. In property it resolueth, and is attenuatiue, opening and corroboratiue. It is excellent against all cold diseases of the head, and of the sinewes, both outwardly applyed and taken in drinke: as also for grieues in the eares, noise in them, and difficult hearing, if some of the iuice of the leaues thereof bee dropt into them. The iuice thereof also being snuffed vp into the nose, purgeth the steame of the head, cleanseth the braine, and fortifieth it. The vse of this plant and of the decoction thereof, is good against all euill in the breast, which may stoppe the free course and recourse of breath. It is profitable for them that are diseased in the liuer, and in the spleene: not onely freeing the liuer and spleene from oppilations and stoppings; but also making them strong and found. The decoction thereof also being drunke, is good in the beginning of a dropisie, for difficulty in making water, and for pulling in ones belly. And the leaues thereof serue against the stings of scorpions, being laid thereupon with salt and vineger.

Of Marierom

Rue likewise by reason of the great and exquisite properties thereof deserueth to be remembred. This plant is alwaies greene, very thicke of iuicie leaues, many hanging at one stalke of small growth, but very broad, of a darke greene colour. It produceth many little boughes and branches, and on the top yellow flowres; out of which grow little heads diuided into foure parts, wherein small blacke seede is inclosed. This herbe is very attenuatiue, incisive, digestiue, resolutiue, prouocatiue, and driueth out ventosities very forceably. For it is hot in the third degree, and not onely sharpe in taste but bitter also: by meanes whereof it may resolue and penetrate grosse and clammy humours; and through the same qualities prouoke vrine. It doth also consist of subtile parts and is numbered amongst medicines, which drie greatly: and therefore it is good against inflations, aswaging the appetite of lust, it resolueth and freeth from all windines. The seede thereof drunke in wine, to the weight of fiftene ounces, is a singular remedy against all poyson. The leaues eaten alone fasting, or with nuts and drie figs, doe kill the power of venom, and are good against Serpents. The decoction thereof drunke is profitable against paines in the breast and in the sides, inflammation of the liuer, the gout, and shakings of agues; being eaten rawe or confected, it cleareth the sight, is good against difficultie in breathing, and against the cough: being mixed with French Cherries dried, it allaieth paines of the eies; being mixed with oyle of Roses and Vineger, it easeth the headache; being brayed and put into the nose, it stancheth the bleeding thereof. The distilled water of it, infused into an equall portion of wine and Rose water, is soueraigne for the paine in the eies.

Of Rue.

Parsley is ordinarie and common in all gardens, and the vse thereof great and very commodious

commodious for the mouth and stomacke. Neither is there any herbe more vsed in meats, and in sauces. But it hath many properties in phisicke, for which it is much to bee commended. For the decoction of the leaues or rootes therof openeth the passage of vrine, and purgeth out grauell that hath long laine in the vrine conduits: it easeth the colick & paines in the raines, being vsed in manner of fomentation vpon the grieued parts. The seed therof is yet of greater vertue in the foresaid effects: it serueth (being drunke) against venime of serpents, and driueth out ventosities. The often vsage of parsley doth take away stinking of breath, being applied in a cataplasme with crums of white bread it healeth tetters, as it waggerth the swelling of the dugs, & for women in child bed doth diminish their milk. There is also another kind of parsley called marsh parsley, commonly named (broad smillage) which hath as much or more efficacy in phisick then the other: especially the seed therof, which hath most singular vses. Which being sharpe with great bitternes, is hotte in operation, with a pearling vertue. Wherefore it is good for wringings in the belly, windines of stomacke, and for the colicke: it is singular in drinke, for paines in the sides, in the raines, and in the bladder.

Of fennell.

Fennell doth also consist of two sorts, one is of set fennell, and the other wild fennell. Garden or set fennell is very pleasant in taste, for the sauiory sweetnes therof, and is profitable being vsed in phisick. The decoction of the leaues serue greatly for paines in the raines being drunk, and prouoketh. The herbe of fennell eaten, or the seed sodden with barley water doth make very much milke come into womens breasts. The roote braied and applied with hony, healeth the biting of dogs. The seed is excellent to suppress wind, being taken after meales, though it be of hard digestion, and doth but badly nourish the body. But fennell is most principally good, both the leaues and seed therof, to cleere the sight, and therefore some presse out the iuice of the leaues, and tender stalks, which they preserue & keepe for this purpose. And they do also distill the water thereof for the same vse. In the western part of Spaine the fennell yeeldeth a licour like unto gum, which is of greater efficacy then the iuice thereof in medicines for the eyes. Wilde fennell is sharper in taste, hath greater leaues, and groweth higher, then garden fennell. The root thereof hath a good sent, and being taken in drinke doth profit them much that hardly make water: it is good against bitings of serpents, breaketh the stone, and healeth the iaudise, which the seed thereof doth likewise. Now (ACHITOB) doe you proceede in talke concerning simples.

Of Rosemary, Cammomill, the Lilly, Baulme of grasse or dogs tooth, and of Pimpernell. Chap. 76.

Of Rosemary, and the admirable propertie thereof.

ACHITOB. I T would be very hard to finde out in one plant onely more vertues and properties, then they who haue travelled to publish the science of simples, haue attributed to rosemary, and yet it seemeth to many that it is fit for nothing but to make garlands and nosegayes, and being so very common, is not esteemed to be of great efficacy. Indeepe it is a very ordinary plant, and in Prouence it groweth to such greatnesse, that the people vse it for fire fewell like other wood: and the stocke is of such compasse, that they make tables and harpes thereof: Yet all this lets not, but it may be of admirable vertue. For it is very good against cold diseases of the stomacke, against the colicke, and casting vp of meate, by eating it either in bread, or drinking it in powder with pure wine. It is profitable for such as are diseased in the liuer or spleene: for it doth not onely heat, purifie and open, but through the restraining vertue thereof it doth also fortifie. It is very good against all rheumes, and all cold maladies, against the falling enill, numbnesse of members, the Lethargie and Palsie. It is good to wash the head, and for fomentations of the ioints. It doth sharpen the sight, sweaten the breath, and being boiled in vineger and hard wine, it slaieth the rheumes that fall into the teeth and gums, if the mouth be washed with this decoction hot. The powder therof dried doth consolidate greene wounds, if they be washed before with wine wherein Rosemarie hath bene sodden, and then the powder be throwed on afterwards. The flowers thereof confected in sugar, are good for all things aforelaid, particularly against cold passions of the heart, against maladies of the breast, and against the plague. The decoction of rosemary made in water, and taken in drinke doth heale the iaudise. So likewise doth the seede being drunke with

with pepper and white wine. In the plague time it is good to perfume the house with this plant, for the fume thereof drieth away all aires.

Cammomell also groweth abundantly amongst corne, and in the fieldes, bearing yellow flowers environed with whitish leaves, and is of a strong savour. But to mollifie, *Of Cammo- mill.* solve, rarifie, and ipesen, this plant is of singular operation: And in this respect no medicine is better for wearie folkes then a bath of cammomell. The leaves beaten, and put into white wine make a profitable drinke, to heale quotidian and quarton agues: the decoction thereof drunke healeth paines in the side; and so doth the water distilled of the flowers being gathered without leaves, beaten in a mortar, and formed with oile into trochisks, afterwards dissolved againe in oyle, if they be therewith rubbed and chafed, which are troubled with fevers, from the crowne of the head to the foote, and that they presently go into bed to sweate, they shall be holpen, because of the abundant heate that goeth out of their body. Cammomill is especially good to dissolve fevers that are without inflammation of any chiefe in traile, principally those which proceede from cholericke humours and thickenesse of the skinne. Being taken in drinke, or the fume thereof received in at the fundament, it is a great helpe to voide vrine and grauell.

The lillie is likewise very worthy of consideration. It beareth long leaves, ever greene, smooth, and ioyce; it hath a stalke of two cubits high, round, straight, even, thicke, and strong all clad with leaves from the bottome to the top. At the top of the stalke grow three or fower little branches, out of which issue small long heads of the colour of the herbe, which in time become faire Lillies of exquisite whitenesse, crossed on the outside, and the endes turned outwards round about. At the bottome of the flower grow certaine yellow stalks, as it were dally on the vpper side, of the fashio of tongues, out of the midls of which groweth one long one, having a round head of the colour of the herbe. There is no flower so high, and it surpasseth in beauty all other whitenesse. Now for the vertue of this plant. The leaves thereof are good being applyed against the biting of serpents, being boiled they heale burpiings, and confectioned in vineger, are good for wounds: water distilled of the flowers, are profitable for women that are delivered of child with great difficultie, and voideth out the after burthen, being mixed with safforne, and Cinamon. The oyle drawne out of those flowers is good against all cold diseases of the sinewes, as cramps, and palsies, and to mollifie all stiffnesse in the ioynts, and all hard-swollen kernels. Lillies long time steeped in oile, being applied hot, do ripen hot impostumes without paine, and do breake them, especially such as are in the ioynts. And the body of the roots hath the same propertie. For being boiled, and braied with hony they heale cut and lame sinewes, cleanse the head of scabs, and clarifie the visage, and make it smooth. The seede of Lillies also taken in drinke, serveth against the bitings of serpents. And the water that is distilled of the flowers in a limbecke doth take wrinkles out of womens faces, and doth beautifie them very much.

Baulme is a very odoriferous plant, and smelleth much like a Citron: the stalke and leave *Of Baulme.* thereof are somewhat rough, and many stalkes issue out of the roote. The propertie of it is to reioyce the heart, to comfort cold and moist stomacks, to helpe digestion, to evacuate the stoppings of the conduits of the braine, to heale feeblenesse and faintnesse of heart, to fortifie it being weake, especially if the weakenes be such that it oftentimes breaketh ones sleepe in the night: moreover this herbe staith the panting of the heart, drieth away cares and sad imaginations which proceede either from the melancholie humour, or from fleame combust. It hath also a laxative vertue, not so feeble, but that it cleanseth and purgeth the spirits, and bloud of the heart and arteries, from all melancholie vapors: which cannot do to the other parts of the body. The leaves thereof taken in drinke, or outwardly applied, are good against stingings of Tarantula, of Scorpions, and against the biting of dogs: and it is good to bath such wounds with the decoction thereof. Being mixed with salt, they are profitable against the Kings euill, and mundise vlcers: and being applyed, doe assuage the paine of gowts. They are vsed in clysters against the flux. Also the leaves taken in drinke with Niter, are very good for them that are stopped by eating toad stooles, or mushrums: and in loch for them that are troubled with shrinking vp of the belly, and breath with such difficultie, that they cannot doe it except they stand vpright.

Grasse, or Dogs tooth is one of the commonest herbes in the field, yea even in leane grounds. The branches thereof lye along vpon the earth, and are full of knots, out of *Of Dogs tooth.* which, and out of the top it often sendeth new rootes. The leaves are very smal and pointed

it is maruailous in property. For the decoction thereof taken in drinke, healeth wringing in the bellie, and hard making of water, and breaketh the stone and grauell in the bladder. The root braied and applied, searcheth wounds. And the iuice of the decoction thereof may bee vsed to the same effect: which the herbe also doth, beeing beaten, and keepeth wounds from all inflammation: if to the decoction thereof bee put a little wine, or hony, and the third part of so much Pepper, Myrrh, and Franckincense, and bee made to boile afterwards againe in some copper vessel; it is a singular remedy for the tooth-ach, and the rheume which falleth into the eies, Graisse also that hath seuen spaces betwixt the knots, is very good for the headach beeing bound about it. It likewise stauncheth bleeding at nose. The seede thereof doth greatly prouoke vrine, and bindeth the bellie, and staeth vomiting. It is special good against byting of Dragons. There is found in some places of Germany a certaine kinde of graisse, which is tilled with as great care, as other corne, or pulse, because the people vseth the seede thereof in their meates, which seede they call (Mama) and they seeth it in pottage with fat meate, and finde it as good as Rice. It is smaller then millet, and very white. But it must bee beaten in a morter, to vnhuske it.

Of Pimper-
nel.

There are three sorts of Pimpernell. One groweth very great, and hath a long root, the leaves are couched round vpon the earth, beeing cut and indented about: the stalke is square, the flowers thicke in bunches, small and whitish. The next sort is little, and hath a red stalke; the leaves small, not so much cut, and thinner dented. The third kinde is the most common, which is often eaten in sallades, and set in gardens. The root of the two first kindes (wherein all their vertue lieth) is very good for paines in the reines, and bladder, which are caused by the stone. For it cleereth the reines of grauell, and driueth forth long kept vrine. The iuice also of this root being drunke with wine, is singular against all poisons, and bitings of venemous beasts. For which cause some esteeme much of this root, to be vsed against the plague. The third kinde of Pimpernell is different in vertue from the former, although they be very like in forme of leaves. For it is more restraining in taste and verie nourishing; for which cause it may be thought to be of a binding nature. Wherefore it stayeth the Dysenteria and other fluxes, and the vomiting of cholericke humours. It healeth wounds and vlcers, and it is of speciall vse in oyntments that are made for wounds in the head, and for cankers. Some phisitions haue much commended it in the cure of pestilent and contagious feuers; affirming also that the often vsage thereof is a soueraigne preservative against dangerous diseases. Now (A S E R.) do you proceede in this our treatise concerning simples.

Of Night shade, Alkakeng, Pellitorie of the wall, Fumitorie, Angelica, and of Maidens haire. Chapter. 77.

Of night-
shade and the
properties
thereof.

A S E R. I T is wonderfull to rehearse the vertues and properties, which many affirme to vs in their writings to consist in the *Solanum*, whereof the Ancients made fower kindes. But I will heere make mention of two onely, which are very common, sith that the rest are seldome found or neuer. The first kinde is called Night shade, which is a small little herbe, hauing many pits in the stalkethereof, out of which grow blacke leaves like to those of Basil, but a little greater. It beareth white flowers, yealow in the midsts, in fashion of a starre. The fruite thereof is round, hanging in clusters, full of a winie iuice, no lesse then Iuniper seede, wherein a small white graine is enclosed: this fruite is of diuers colours; for in some plants it is blacke, in others yealow, and in some enclining towards a greene. Concerning the propertie of this plant, the iuice of the fruite thereof, as likewise of the leaves mixed with oyle of Roses, and a little vineger, is singular against the headach, when it is caused by heate. It is good for such as are franticke, if one sleepe linnen clothes therein, and lay them to the forepart of their head. In like sort may they bee applied to the forehead against hot rheumes that fall downe into the eies. It is good also to gargle it against inflammations of the throate, and falling of the pallat. It is put in ointments to heale sore and grievous vlcers. The leaves thereof beaten with salt, and laid on a plaister, breake impostumes that grow behinde the eares. In briebe, when need is to refresh, to drie vp, or to restraine, night shade is very conuenient.

Now for the other kinde of *Solanum*, commonly called Alkakeng, it hath leaves like

vnto

vnto Nightshade, but broader, stronger, somewhat sharpe, and not so blacke: the stalke thereof is supple, which being growne vp enclineth towards the ground. The flowers are white, out of which rise little bladders as bigge as a nut, and growe sharpe: they are composed of eight sides, of equall distance one from another. And, they are first greene, and being ripe, red: within them they containe fruite one graine in each of them, beeing fastened to the bottome of the bladder, like to the seede of a red grape, both sharpe and bitter and full of a great number of small white graines within. In this fruite also is great vertue, not onely to prouoke vrine, but also to allay the burning heat thereof. For the iuice of it being drunke with the iuice of white poppie, or of the seede of Melons, or of Gourds, or with the decoction of Mallowes, or with barley water, is maruailous singular for the scorching heate of vrine. And this plant is so contrary to adders, that laying the roote therof neere vnto them, they are sodainely surprised with so great sleepe, that they die therewith. The fruite thereof steeped in new wine is very good being laid on the eie lids. Some put it in a vessell together with ripe grapes, which they suffer to boyle for certaine daies together, out of which they extract a very profitable wine, for such as are troubled with grauell: euacuating the grauell maruailously wel, and clensing the reins being drunke to the waight of fower ounces. And the same fruite taken in the drinke healeth the iauundice.

Of Alkakeng
and the vertue thereof.

Pellitorie is an herbe very well knowne, and hath many great properties, the leaues thereof are rough, the stalke redde, about which are bitter graines, which are fit to lay amongst apparell. This plant hath the vertue to refresh and binde, for which cause it is singular good to heale greene wounds. For it be laide vpon a wound (being halfe beaten and very fresh) and be not taken off for three dayes together, there shall be no neede to vse any other medicine. The waight of three ounces of the iuice thereof being drunke, is maruailous good to free vrine that hath long beene holden: and the herbe heated vpon a tile, and sprinkled with Malmesey, and applied to the forehead, is very good for such as are troubled with grauell, and cannot make water. The iuice thereof held within the mouth healeth the toothach. The distilled water thereof clenseth and clarifieth the visage: the leaues being applied, heale burnings, swellings, and inflammations, beeing fried with fresh butter, or capons grease, and laid in a manner of a ferge-cloth vpon the belly, they ease collicke. A cataplasme also made of greene pellitorie beaten with crums of bread, and oyle of roses or cammomell, resolueth impostumes which grow in the dugs. And being mixed with goates grease, or kids grease, it is good for gouts and fals. The iuice likewise mixed in like quantitie of white wine, and oyle of sweete almonds being newly made, alayeth the paines and torments of the stone, and dropped into the eares with the oyle of roses, it healeth the pain of them. Some minister them to gargle for inflammation in the throat. And some giue them for an old cough. It is seene by experience that this herbe is abstersiue, in so much as it is verie good to expell wormes.

Of Pellitory.

Fumitory is an herbe much branched and tender, hauing very small leaues growing here and there, of a white ashie colour, and in great number vpon euery side. The flowers thereof is purple. This plant is one of the most gentle medicines, and least annoying, that may be amongst laxatiue remedies. But it is euery where so common that none esteeme of it. It is not onely laxatiue, but doth also fortifie the inferiour members, bindeth their veines which are too loose, as also those of the stomacke, and of the liuer, and healeth feuers that proceede by choler, or through stoppings. It euacuateth the cholerike humour verie much in vrine: the seede thereof is bitter and somewhat sharpe: and it is somewhat more hot, then the herbe that is temperate: so that the whole plant is purifying, penetratiue, opening and laxatiue. And because of the colde and stipticke quality thereof it bindeth, restraineth and fortifieth. It doth gently loosen the bellic, it purgeth choler and burning humours. Wherefore it is good against the meazels, against cankers, and all infections of the skinne, and other maladies which doe proceede from oppilations: the iuice thereof cleareth the sight, and causeth teares to issue even as smoake or fume doth, whereof it seemeth to haue taken name.

Of Fumitory

Angelica is a most excellent plant, and very worthy to be here described. It is aboue a cubit in height, it produceth a knottie stalke, crested, and full of pits, the leaues thereof are long, and indented round about, the flowers white growing in bunches out of which springeth a little graine, and smooth like a lentill. The root is as thicke as a reddish, diuided into many branches, sharpe in taste, and sweete in smell. Also there are sundry sorts thereof: for one kinde is set in gardens, another sort is wilde, and another groweth in watry places.

Of Angelica

And

All this plant is hot and drie in the second degree full, or to the beginning of the third: Wherefore it is opening, attenuating, and resoluing. It is singular against poysons: so that taken in drinke, or often chewed, it preserveth from the plague; being taken alone, it attenuateth flegmaticke and clammy humours. And so doth the decoction of the roote thereof, which doth readily heale the cough that comes through colde: for it causeth one to spit out and voide all clammy fleame. The same decoction received in wine or water, healeth vlcers in the interior members, dissolueth clotted blood, and fortifieth the stomacke. The roote beaten to powder is soueraigne against fainting of the heart and other passions thereof. It is singular against bitings of mad and venemous beasts; being laide therevpon with Rue, or taken inwardly: for which cause many of our moderne phisitions imploy it in their counterpoisons and preseruatives. There is given halfe a dram of the roote, with a dram of treacle, and the distilled water hereof, to such as haue the plague, who are constrained to sweat; and seauen howers after to resumethis drinke: and by this onely counterpoison some haue bene holpen. This roote chewed, and put into holow teeth asswageth the paine of them. It also sweetneth the breath. Whosoever shall hold a little peece thereof in his mouth, or in the morning drinke two spoonefulls of wine wherein it hath bin steeped, hee shall not easily bee infected with euill aire all day after. The leaues thereof with the leaues of Rue and hony, applyed in a cataplasme, heale the bitings of mad dogs, and stingings of serpents. And being layde vpon his head that is sicke of an ague, it attracteth to it selfe much of the heate of the ague.

Of Maiden-
haire.

Maidenhaire also is a very exquisite plant; much like vnto ferne, but with smaller leaues, set in order heere and there one ouer against another, in fine small branches, sharpe in taste, blacke and shining. It is temperate in heate and coldnesse; and therefore it drieth, purifieth, & resolueth: It is good to cause one to spit and void out of the brest and lungs, al grosse and clammy humours. It staith the fluxe of the bellie, resolueth the kings euill, and other tumours, and being taken in drinke is singular for hardnesse of water, when one can make it but drop by drop, and it breaketh the stone. The decoction also thereof is good for them that draw their breath with paine, and is profitable for the spleene, and against the the iaudise. And the herbe thereof being laide vpon the bitings of serpents, is a singular remedie therefore. To open also the infulsion thereof made in parsley water, or in endiue water, or in broth of blacke chich pease, or in a little goats milke, is very good: & adding sugar thereto, it healeth inflammations of the side, and doth greatly prouoke vrine. Briefly all the vertues that Phisitions attribute to Venus haire called commonly (*Capilli Veneris*) agree with Maidenhaire. Now (A M A N A) let vs heare you choose out other plants for the subiect of your discourse.

Of Rheubarb, Licorice, Aloes, Sene, Saffron and Centurie.

Chapter 78.

Of Rheubarb,
and the excel-
lent vertue
thereof.

A M A N A. **S**ith that it is not our purpose to write an entire Historie concerning simples, but onely to consider of the most excellent in their effects, me seemeth that it is sufficient for vs (so to make way to another matter) to adde to our precedent discourses, that which I intend now to speake concerning some singular plants: amongst wich I preferre Rheubarb to the first place, which is very plentiful in all India. The leaues of it are commonly two foote long, broad aboue, and so growing narrower towards the stalke, hauing a certaine cotton or (at it were) haire round about it, as is commonly seene in the herbe called in French *Bouillon blanc*. The stalke thereof is but a foote high, or little more, and is all greene like the leaues. In the middle thereof groweth out a very small branch, hauing certaine flowers about it that enuiron it, which are like vnto purple violets saue in colour onely, which is different being white and blew, of sharpe smell, and very vnpleasant to their nose that smell thereat. The roote is very deepe in the ground, of a foote and an halfe long, and as thicke as a mans arme, some more, some lesse; and out of it there do many small ones sprout, which (before the great one bee cut) are digged vp with the principall, to the end that it may more easily bee cleft in peeces. It is on the out side of an ashie colour, and full of yellowish iuice, while it is fresh and greene, and so clammy, that in touching thereof it causeth the fingers to sticke together. Now this roote is

an excellent medicine, gentle, and without danger, wherein many singularities requisite in a laxative simple are comprised. And Rheubarb is best while it is greene, of a blackish colour, some what enclining to a redde, and heauy, although it be of a rare body, and which being broken, is mixed with radde and skie colour within: and being chewed waxeth as yealow as Saffron. Besides it purgeth choler and flemme: it clenseth and fortifieth the stomacke and liuer, and healeth the paines and prickings of them. It clarifieth the blood, openeth and healeth all maladies that proceede of stoppings, as the iaudise, the dropisie, smelling of the spleene, and long feauers. It is good against spitting of blood, and slancheth it, out of what part soeuer it run. And it may be taken at all times without danger, and in all ages, yea it may be ministered to little children, and to great bellied women: although the vulgar people thinke otherwise, supposing that Rheubarb is a very violent medicine, and that Phisitions vse it but in halfe despaired maladies: which is not so.

Licorice is very worthie to be numbred amongst the most excellent Phisicke plants. Of Licorice.
And thereof are two kinds, one bearing fruite, and the other not: that which beareth fruite groweth abundantly in Germanie, and in the territorie of Bamberg and other places. And it is a very branchie plant, of two cubits high, being thicke of leaues, and fatte in manner of gumme: the flowers thereof are like an Hyacinth: the fruite thereof great like plantine berries, and more rough and hairie, enclosed within little cods, like those of lentiles, hairie also and full of small prickles, of yellow colour enclining to a blacke. The other kind of Licorice is very well knowne, and groweth of it selfe in many places. In vertue it is astringent, cleansing, and alaieth the bitterness of humours: and therefore it is very good for heate of the vrine. Being chewed, especially whilest it is fresh, it slancheth hunger and thirst, and retayneth that vertue for many dayes. And the iuice thereof being made thicke and held in the mouth, till it melt of it selfe, hath the same effect. It is good for the breast and lungs, and is therefore ministered to those who haue short breath, or are in a consumption or plurisie. The iuice allwageth the prickings, not onely of the arterie of the lungs but of the bladder also: and doth excellently staunch thirst, as being tempered with moisture, and colder then our nature. And it is to be noted, that the roote wherein lye all these properties is much better being fresh taken out of the ground, then when it is drie, and is more pleasant in taste being employed in medicines.

The Aloe is a plant, which is seene greene in many townes in Italy, in windows, and galleries: it is kept in pots full of earth, more for pleasure to content the eie, then for vse in medicine. But the licour and iuice that is pressed out of it and brought to vs, is extracted out of the Aloe that groweth in the lower Syria, and Arabia, and in the Indies, where the best is. This plant hath thick and fat leaues, with certaine little prickles here and there on all sides. The roote thereof is fat and oilie, bearing a white flower, out of which groweth a little graine, like that of Smalage. In the thicke iuice thereof prepared for medicine there is found grauel and earth, which is nothing but the seedlings of pure Aloes, but the good is pure and cleane, not sophisticate, without grauel, or little stones, reddish, brittle, of a good smell, close like a liuer, & very much enclining to the colour thereof, easily melting, and very bitter, that which is black, and hard to breake is worth nothing. The Aloe is profitable for many things because of the drines thereof without any sharpnes. It purgeth choler and flemme, the head, and stomacke, and is very good for paines in those parts, it quickeneth all the senses, openeth the liuer, and healeth the laundise. It killeth wormes in the belly, being incorporated with oxe gall, and vineger, and laid vpon the nauell. Some apply the powder thereof to wounds to seach them; it healeth vlcers, and stayeth them. It appeaseth the paine of the head, being applied to the temples, and forehead with vineger, and oyle of roses. In briebe the propertie thereof is to restrain, to drie, to prouoke sleepe, to binde the bodie, and yet to loosen the belly.

Sene hath leaues like Licorice, thicke, fat, and in taste like Beanes: the stalke thereof Of Sene.
is a cubit high, out of which issue many branches as pliable as a leatherne thong. The flowers thereof are yealow, straked with small purple strakes; after which there grow certaine cods crooked like a sickle, wherein is inclosed a blacke seed, enclining to greene, very like to kernels in grapes. It is sowed in diuers places in Florence, and prospereth very well, especially in the territorie of the citie of Florence; but the best is brought from Alexandria in Egypt, and out of Syria. It purgeth without any annoyance, choler, flemme, and melancholy. It mundifieth the heart, the liuer, the brain, the spleene, the lungs, and all parts of the body, and is profitable for all the accidents of them. It openeth the inner parts, and main-

taineth

taineth a man or woman in youth, for sloweth age, and causeth ioy of minde. The leaues thereof are good to wash the head with cammomill; for they fortifie the braine, the sinewes, the sight, and the hearing. Briefly it is a good medicine in all long diseases, and such as proceede of a melancholy humour. And therefore it is very profitable for them that raue, and are out of their wits: likewise for vlcers ouer all the body, for palsies, for the head ach, falling euill. It fortifieth the heart especially, being mixed with some other ingredient fit therefore, as namely with purple violets. It is very good in the infusion or decoction thereof to adde some cloues thereto, to correct a little that annoiance, which some say it doth to the stomach, and to fortifie the vertue thereof. And being mixed with some infusion of roses, or laxatiue sirup of roses, it is an excellent purge for all euill humours. There is a siruppe made of Sene, being taken Greene from the plant, and mixed with infusion of roses, which is very good to that effect: and is so gentle that one many minister thereof to women with childe, and to little infants, and people of all ages.

Of Saffron.

Saffron is a common plant, and yet hath many vertues. It beareth many leaues, long, narrow, smal, full, not round, hanging downewards, thicke, and soft. The flower thereof is skie coloured, & very faire to behold. Out of the middle thereof grow certaine red threedes, big at the top: with which out of the same place almost, there grow other yealow ones in fashion like tongues. That Saffron is good, which dieth your hands with the colour thereof, and that smelleth somewhat sharpe, and is not very brittle. In propertie it is good for feebleness of stomacke, and faintness of heart, being taken in some small quantitie; it preserueth from drunkenness, and healeth the bitings of serpents, and stinging of spiders. It is restorative, the astriction thereof very much aiding thereto: which qualitie proceedeth from cold and earthines, although that the qualitie of heat exceede therein: in such sort as in all the substance thereof, it is hot in the second degree, and dry in the first. But the smell thereof is naught for the head, and being taken too much it troubleth the spirit.

Of Century.

Centurie is likewise worthy of great consideration, because of the properties thereof in phisicke. There be two sorts of it, one is called great Centurie, and the other is lesser Centurie. The great hath leaues like a walnut tree, long, green like Colewoorts, indented about, a stalke of two or three cubits high. The flower thereof is blew, and the roote very big, full of iuice, sharpe with astriction and sweeteness. The lesser sort hath leaues like rue, a square stalke, somewhat more then a span long, the flowers thereof are red, inclining to purple; and the roote is small, smooth and bitter in taste. For their properties, the vertue of great Centurie consisteth in the roote thereof, which serueth for ruptures, convulsions, difficultie in breathing, old coughes, pleurisies, and spitting of blood. It is also given to them that are sicke of the drop sic, of the iaudise, and are pained in their liuer, being either steeped in wine or beaten to powder, and drunke. Of the lesser, *Galen* hath composed an whole booke, which he dedicated to his friend *Papias*, concerning the great and admirable vertues therein. For it purgeth choler and fleame, for which cause the decoction thereof is good against tertian fevers; which also, and the iuice thereof helpeth stoppings and hardness of the liuer and spleene. Being drunke likewise to the waight of a dram with honie, or laide vpon the navel, it auoideth wormes out of the belly. The leaues of this herbe, wherein, and in the flowers thereof lyeth all the vertue, being applied fresh to greene wounds, search them, and heales vp olde vlcers. But now changing our talke, let vs leaue phisicke plants, and say somewhat concerning those more excellent ones, which particularly serue for the nouriture of Man.

Of Wheate, Rye, Barley, and Oates: and of Rice, and Millet. Chapter 79.

ARAM. **A**mongst herbes and plants, wherewith men are fed and nourished, the chiefe degree is by good right assigned to Wheat, as to that graine wherof the best bread is made, which onely with water, may very well suffice for the maintenance of our life: having many properties also in the vse of Phisicke. Now according to the diuersitie of places wherein it groweth people doe name it; and one sort differeth from another; but wee will heere speake of that which is most common amongst vs. All Wheate hath many

many very small rootes, but one leafe, and many buddes, which may diuide themfelues into sundry branches. All the winter time it is an herbe, but the weather waxing milder, there springeth out of the middest thereof a small stalke, which after three or foure knots or ioyns, beareth an eare, not by and by seene, but is hidden within a case. The stalk being made, the flower bloometh some foure or fife daies after, and about so long endureth. That past, the graine swelleth, and ripeneth in forty daies, or sooner, as the climate is in heat. The fertility of this plant is marueilous; as we behold by daily experience. For there are some places in Italy especially in the tetrity of Sienna; about the sea coasts, where there hath bene seene to grow out of one onely graine foure and twenty eares of corne, and that one bushell of seede hath yielded an hundred. The best wheat should bee hard to breake, massiue, waighy, of the colour of gold, cleere, smooth, and kept 3. moneths, ripe, faire, and growing in a fat soile, to be the fitter to make better bread of. And the meale also must not be too much ground, neither yet too fresh, nor too long kept before it bee vsed, for if it bee too much ground, it maketh bread as if it were of branne; that which is too fresh doth yet retaineth therein some heat of the millstone: and that which is kept too long will be spoiled either by dust, or by mouldines, or else will haue some bad smell. Now besides the common vse of wheat, the matter how to make it in drinke is very notable, which drinke serueth in stead of wine in those countries, where the vine cannot fructifie. For there they take wheat, and sometimes barley, rie, or oates, every one apart, or else two or three sorts of these graines, or else all mingled together, and steepe them in fountaine water, or in water of the cleaneft and cleereft riuer that may be chosen: or else for better in a decoction or wourt of hops, and this is done for so long time till the graine beginne to breake: then is it dried in the sunne: being dry, it is beaten, or else ground; afterwards sodden in water, in which it hath first bene steeped for the space of three or foure howers; putting thereto a good quantity of the flowers of hops, and skimming the decoction or wourt very well: that done, it is powred out, and put in vessels for the purpose. This drinke is called Beere. And they which will haue it very pleasant to the taste after it is made; doe cast into the vessels sugar, Cinamon, and Cloues, and then stirre it very much. Some doe put cockle into the composition of beere, the more to sharpen the taste. And sith we are entred into this speech, wee will here note, that wheat doth easily conuert into cockle: chiefly when the weather is rainy and cold, for it commeth of corne corrupted by too much moisture, or that hath bene too much wette by continuall raine in winter. It springeth first out of the ground, hauing a long leafe, fat, and rough, with a slenderer stalke then that of wheat, at the top whereof there is a long eare, hauing on all sides little sharp cods or husks, out of which three or foure graines grow together being couered with a very hard barke. The bread that hath much thereof in it doth dizzie and hurt the head, so that they which eate thereof do commonly fall into a sound sleep, and their head is much troubled. It annoyeth the eies & dims the sight. Some also do make (* *Amylum*) of wheate, which serueth for many things. They take very cleane wheat of three moneths old, which they wet fife times a day, and as often by night, if it be possible, being wel soaked and steeped, they powre the water away, not shaking it, to the end that the thicke, and that which is like creame may not runne out with the water. After that it is verie well mollified, and the water changed, it must bee sifted, that the branne which swimmeth at top thereof may bee done away, and then must it be kneaded very hard together, calling fresh water still vpon it. And so must it be laid in panniers or dossers to drie, and then vpon new tiles to bee parched in the sunne, with as much speed as may be: for if it remaine neuer so little a while moyst, it waxeth sowre. The best is that which is white, fresh, light and smoothe. It hath power to mollifie in sharpe and rough things: and is good against rheumes that fall into the eyes. Being taken in drinke, it restraineth spitting of blood, and allwageth the sorenesse of the throat.

Of wheat, & of the forme and fertility thereof.

Beere.

Of Cockle.

* As some thinke water cakes.

Of Rie.

Of Barley.

Next after Wheat, Rie is in common vse to make bread of. This plant hath many stalks smaller then those of Wheate, and blacker, as the graine is also. Meale made of Rye, is good for plaisters to drawe. The decoction of the seed voideth wormes out of the belly, especially if Coriander seed be mixed therewith. The straw being soked in water, is good to bind instead of rush or broome.

Barley is also much vsed every where. It beareth a broad leafe, and rougher then wheat, and hath a britler & lesser stalke of eight knots, with one only rough broad leafe vpon the stalk. The grain is lapped in a cod, which is close shut: out of the top whereof groweth a long

and sharpe beard. The best is that which is whitest, most full, heavy, easie to boyle, not waxing mouldy. There groweth a certaine kinde of it in many places; the graine whereof is easily taken out of the huske or codde, and is therefore called clesed barley. Besides, all barley drieth and cooleth, and is also abstersive. The meale thereof boyled in honied water with figs, resolueth all inflammations and impostumes: with rosin and pigeons dung, it ripeneth all hard swellings: with melilot & heads of poppie, it easeth the paine of the sides: and with quinces or vineger, it appeaseth inflammations of the goute in the feete. The ashes of burnt barley is very good for burnings being laide thereupon, and applyed to flesh that cleaueth not to the bone. Concerning barley bread, besides that it lyeth heavy vpon the stomacke, it engendreth also cold and clammy humors: it nourisheth little, causeth windines; and yet some say it is very good for them that haue the gout in their feet.

Of beere.

There is a certen kind of drinke called Beere made of barley, which is commonly vsed instead of wine in all the north countries, to wit in Germany, Bohemia, Polonia, Flanders, & other cold countries of Europe. And if one take too much thereof, it will inebriate or make drunken as well as wine, and that for a longer time, because that beere is most grosse and materiall, and of harder digestion then wine: whereto it is so like also in force and vertue, that Aquavita is likewise made therof. Next after barley, oates are a graine very commodious. In leafe and stalke this graine resembleth wheate, but it beareth on the top therof as it were little two legd grasshoppers, hanging where the graine is enclosed: which though it seeme to be created of nature rather fit for beasts foode, then for man: yet in Germany they oftentimes eat it in good fat flesh pottage, being boyled therein after it hath bin cleansed of all filth, as is vsed in rice. Oates also in the vse of phisick do very neere approach to the quality of Barley: For being applyed, it drieth, and moderately resolueth. But it is a little more cold, and somewhat more restraining in temper, so that it is good for the flux in the belly, and profitable for those that haue the cough.

Of oates.

Of Rice.

We may likewise consider of Rice, which the Ancients did hold to be a kind of corne. The leafe thereof is very thicke, resembling that of a lecke. The stalke thereof is about a cubit long, knotty, bigger then that of wheate, and stronger: on the toppe of it groweth an eare parted into little branches, on both sides whereof is the graine included, in a yealow huske, rough, and hauing creuises on the side, of an ouall figure, and being taken out of the huske it becommeth white. It groweth in some places in Italy in moist ground: but it aboundeth in Asia, Syria, and Egypt. Rice is very vsuall in meat, and nourisheth meanely, but it is made of more easie digestion, and of better tast being sod in cowes milke, almond milke, or fat flesh pottage. It is very good to giue to such as haue the laxe, and colick. The flower thereof is good in repercussive plaisters. It staieth inflammations that rise in the dogs. The decoction of Rice also is very profitable in clisters, against laxes or fluxes; and in drinke likewise. Now to end this talke, we will say something concerning Millet, for it hath many proprieties both in food and phisick. This plant beares leaues like those of a reed hauing a stalke of a cubite long, thicke, knottie, and rough. At the top thereof doe hang certaine hairy heads, in which the graine groweth in great abundance, being round, masculine, yealow, and lapped in a thin skinne. In many places bread is made of this graine, and even at Verona it is caried hote about the streets, whereof they make much account; for it hath a sweetnesse very pleasant to the taste, if it be eaten a little after it is drawn out of the oven: but being hard, it is vnpleasant. The common people of Trent, are nourished with Millet boyled onely, eating it with milke, and it is the best food that they can get. Besides there are very good fomentations, or searge clothes made of Millet, to drie moderately, and to driue out ventosities, especially being mixed with salt. It is happily applied against griping in the belly caused through windinesse: but it is much better yet being mingled with flowers of Cammomill. It is commonly fried in a pan, and then put hote into a bagge, and so laide vpon the diseased parts. It hath the vertue to preserue medicines long time from moulding and putrifying, if they bee buried in an heape of Millet: yea and fresh flesh is long kept thereby in hote weather. Now to finish this dayes discourse, it seemeth good to mee (ACHITOB) that you speake of the Vine and fruit thereof, of which men make their most delicious drinke.

Of Milke.

meec (ACHITOB) that you speake of the Vine and fruit thereof, of which men make their most delicious drinke.

Of the Vine: of Grapes, of Wine, and of Aqua-vita.

Chapter 80.

ACHITO. **I**T were a very superfluous to make here a long discourse concerning the Vine, and concerning the diuers qualities which are founde in this plant, of which we doe not onely receiue Grapes, a most pleasant, and delicious meate) but haue also that most exquisite drinke which wee call wine: for all the world hath so much cherished the vine, that there are few people of any condition soeuer, but can discourse sufficiently well of it, and of the nature thereof. Wee will briefly then declare that which wee shall thinke most notable therein, and chiefly in the vse of medicine. The leaues, and tender branches thereof helpe the head ach, being laid thereupon, and appease inflammations and heat of the stomacke. The iuice of them drunke serue a gainst Dysenterias, or fluxes, spitting of blood, weaknes of stomack, and the corrupt appetite of great bellied women. The licour of vines, which lieth thick vpon the stock thereof like gum, being taken in drinke with wine, purgeth grauell. The ashes of the branches & stones being mixed with vinegar, helpeth the hard bindings of the fundament, and is good against the stingings and bitings of vipers, and against inflammation of the spleene, beeing laid thereupon with oile of Roses, Rue and vinegar.

Property of
the Vine.

As grapes are the most singular fruits of Autumne, so also are they the most nourishing of all the fruites of summer, which are not to be kept, and they engender the best nourishment, especially when they be perfect ripe. But all Raisins doe not nourish after one manner: for sweet ones haue a more hot substance, and therefore they cause thirst, do swell the stomacke, and loosen the belly. Contrariwise, tart ones do bind, do nourish little, & are of hard digestion. Greene and sower ones are naught for the stomacke. And the bigger grapes are, the better they are, especially if they be gathered very ripe. They which are kept hanged vp are best for nourishment, because their great moisture is dried. The fresh and very ripe grape is good for burnings, if the wine thereof bee prest out betwixt ones hands vpon the hurt places. The mother of the wine or grapes being kept and mixed with salt, is profitable against inflammations of the dugs & hardnes of them through too much abundance of milk. The decoction thereof clisterized, serueth greatly for dysenterias or fluxes. The stones or seeds haue a restringent vertue, & are profitable for the stomacke. Being parched and beaten into powder, it is good to eate with meate against the fluxe, and weaknes of stomacke. Dry grapes or raisins haue yet greater vertues and properties in the vse of Physicke, and especially they which are sweetest, and of most substance, as they of Damascus, of Cypres, and of Candia. The meate of them being eaten is good for the cough, for the throate, the reines and the bladder: being eaten with their stones, they serue against Dysenterias. Being boiled in a platter with Sugar and flower of Millet, of Barley, and an egge, they purge the braine: being reduced into a plaister, with flower of Beanes and Cumin, they appease inflammations. Besides, the nourishment of Raisins is so distributed through the body according as their nature is, sweet to the sweet, sower the sower, meane to them that participate with both qualities, and the sweete, full and fat raisins doe nourish more then the sharpe and leane. They which are without stones, either by nature or arte, if they be sweet, they are so deprived of all astringtion, so that they bee maruellously lenitive. And therefore are they most fit for paines of the breast, for the cough, for sore throates, for maladies in the reines and bladder, and are good for the liuer.

Of Grapes.

Property of
dry raisins.

But wee may not heere forget to make mention of the fruit of the wilde Vine commonly called in French (*Lambrusque*) because of the admirable properties thereof. The grapes of it are gathered and put to dry in the shade: they are of a restringent vertue, good for the stomacke, and prouoke vrine: they binde the belly, and stay spitting of blood.

Now must wee speake of Wine which is made of the Raisin, and grape produced

Of wine, and
the properties
by thereof.

by the vine. Concerning it many affirme that it is the most sweet licour of all others, the principall aide, and chiefe proppe of humane life, the chiefe restorer of the vitall spirits, the most excellent strengthener of all the faculties and actions of the body, reioicing and comforting the heart very much: and for these causes they say that the Ancients haue called that plant which beareth the fruit, out of which we receiue this wine (*Vitis quasi Vita*) life. But yet wee must not deceiue our selues by so many praises attributed to wine, considering that the vse thereof by the least excessse that may be, doth bring so many euils vpon man, that they cannot be numbred, nor sufficiently bewailed. But being vsed temperately, we must confesse, that it is a thing of greatest efficacy in the world, to nourish and strengthen the body. For it engendreth very pure blood, it is very quickly conuerted into nourishment, it helpeth to make digestion in all parts of the body, it giueth courage, purgeth the braine, refresheth the vnderstanding, reioiceth the heart, quickeneth the spirits, prouoketh vrine, driueth out ventosities, augmenteth naturall heate, fetheneth them who are in good health, exciteth the appetite, purifieth the troubled blood, openeth stoppings, conuaiteth the nouriture throughout the whole body, maketh good colour, and purgeth out of the body all that which is therein superfluous. But if wine bee taken without great mediocrity and temperance, it doth by accident refrigerate the whole body. For the naturall heate thereof by too much drinke remaineth choaked, even as a little fire is quenched by a heape of wood cast thereupon. Besides wine is hurtfull for the braine, for the marrow of the backebone, and the sinewes grow out of it. Whereby it falleth out, that this principall part beeing hurt, there succede in time, great and dangerous maladies thereupon, to witte, the apoplexie, the falling euill, the palsie, shakings, numbnesse of members, conuulsions, giddines of the head, shrinking of ioynts, the incubus, the catalepsia, lethargie, frensie, rheuems, deafenesse blindnesse, and shrinking of mouth and lippes. Moreouer wine immoderately drunke corrupteth all good manners, and discipline of life. For this is that makes men quarrellers, wranglers, rash, incensed, furious, dice-players, adulterers, homicides, in a word addicted to all vice, and dissolution. Besides, it is to be noted, that wine is fitter for old people then for them of other ages: for it moderateth and maintaineth the colde temperature of auncient folkes, which haue come vpon them for many yeeres. But it should not bee sufferable (if wee follow the counsell of the elders) for children and young folkes to drinke thereof, till they attaine to the age of twenty yeeres. For otherwise it is as much as to put fire to fire. And yet if wee would follow the counsell of the Sages, it should not bee drunke at all, except in certaine indispositions which might happen to the body, according as the vse was in times past in Greece, namely, at Athens, where wine was onely solde in Apothecaries shops, as Aqua vitæ now is. But aboue all, heede must bee taken that in the great heate of the yeare, wine bee not drunke that is cooled by snow, yce, or very cold water, as wee see by great curisitie done among vs. For it greatly hurteth the braine, the sinewes, the breast, the lungs, the stomacke, the bowels, the spleene, liuer, raines, bladder, and teeth. And therefore it is no maruell, if they which ordinarily vse it, are in time tormented with the colicke and paine of the Stomacke: also with conuulsions, palsies, apoplexies, difficulty in breathing, restraintment of vrine, stoppings of the inward members, the drop sic, and many other great and dangerous diseases.

Of the vse of
Wine.

Of Aquavitz
and the man-
ner how to
distill it.

It resteth for conclusion of this discourse, that wee say somewhat concerning wine distilled through a Limbecke in a bathe of water, which the Sages haue called for the admirable vertues thereof (*Water of Life*.) For to make which: Take of the best wine a certaine quantity according to the vessell wherein you will distill it, and that fill to the third part of the pot or body: then cover it with the head thereof very well closed, so that no vapour may issue out, set it vpon the furnace over a moderate fire, in such sort that the wine boile not. And to haue very good Aqua vitæ, you must distill it foure or five times and more: for the more it is rectified, the perfecter it will bee. And in the first distillation it is sufficient to receiue the tenth part of the wine put into the Limbecke: for the second the halfe; for the third another moitie or lesse: so that the oftner you distill the lesser you haue, but better alwaies. Now you may know whether Aqua vitæ haue attained to full perfection, by these signes: [If it arise to the like quantitie of water, or very neere, as the liquor put in: if being lighted or set on fire it burne all away, & leaue not any marke of moisture in the bottome of the vessel: if a cloth being dipt therin, & lighted, wil not burne at al: if

if a droppe of oyle being cast therein sinke to the bottome, and if a drop of this water spilt in the palme of your hand, doe presently consume and evaporate.] Now the vertues and properties of this Aqua-vitæ, are very many. For as it preserveth from all corruption those things which have bene steeped therein, so all corruption being done away, it keepeth repaireth, maintaineth, augmenteth, and prolongeth the life of those that receive it. And it doth not onely preserve the naturall heate, and maintaine it in vgor, but it also regenerateth the vitall spirit; quickeneth and warmeth the stomacke, sharpeneth the braine and vnderstanding, cleareth the sight, repaireth the memory, especially if they vse it, who are of a cold temper, being subiect to rawnes of stomacke, windmes, and other cold maladies. Thus then haue we declared enough concerning the plants and froits which the earth produceth for the commoditie of man. Wherefore, we will to morrow consider of the diuersity of terrestriall creatures created to the same end, that we may be the more induced to glorifie him, from whom we receive all these benefits.

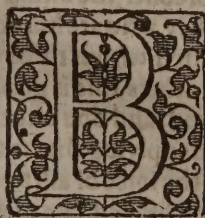
The end of the tenth daies worke.

The eleuenth daies worke.

*Of terrestriall beastes, and especially of Serpents: namely
of the Aspis or Adder, and of the Viper.*

Chapter 81.

ASER.



Being this day to discourse concerning living creatures of the Earth, so much as the subiect of our speech doth require for the accomplishment of our worke. It behooueth vs to consider that the terrestriall beastes, being as it were innumerable in the species, yet they consist of two principal kinds: to witte, of Insect, and of perfect beastes. They of the first kinde are called of the Latines by this word (*Insecta*) because of the incisions which appeare vpon their bodies, retayning life in that part, which we behold diuided, and cut off, and they are engendred for the most part of putrefaction: but these things agree not with perfect creatures, who take their forme in the matrice. Now wee will heare summarily entreate of Insect animals generally, and consequently of the most excellent of their kinde, whereof some creepe vpon the earth, as serpents, and others flye, as flies. We are first then to note that all insect beastes are wild, and are very hardly tamed and made milde, for they haue their inner senses very weak; where, as such creature as are made tame and familiar, must haue the facultie of imagination and good memory. Moreouer, these kindes of beastes haue little blood, or none at all, as Philosophers hold, who finde in them a certaine vitall humour only, which nature hath given them instead of blood: for wiche cause they are naturally fearefull; and feare hindreth creatures from being tamed. Likewise they haue commonly but short life: and beastes, who should be made familiar, require time for that purpose. Furthermore, in this kinde of Insect beastes some are engendred onely of putrefaction, as flies: others of eggs, as Serpents: and also by an other manner, which is perfected in the matrice by eggs, as the viper. Now in all this kinde of beastes, they are most admirable, which we haue here named, to wit: serpents because of their greatnesse and puissant effects, and hony-flies or Bees, and silke wormes also, because of their worke.

*Of insect
beasts.*

But amongst the many kindes of Serpents, the Aspis or Adder is very worthy of consideration, and much to be feared: for there are three sorts, each whereof causeth him that is bitten by them soone to die, except he be quickly and very well succoured. One sort is named (*Ptyas*) another (*Chersea*) both earth serpents: and the third is called (*Chelidonia*)

Of the Aspis.

which abideth about banks and rivers, and especially of Nilus. The *Ptyas* and *Chersa* are of ashie and green color, drawing a little to the colour of gold. But the *Chelidonia* hath a blacke backe, and white belly like to swallowes. And both the one and the other sort are of five cubits long in the regions of Africa. They raise vp their necke when they will cast their venime; wherewith when one is attayned their present remedy is speedily to cutte away all that which is bitten, or else it is hard to saue them from death: and yet many speake of diuers remedies; and amongst others they commend very strong vineger, aduising that it should be giuen to the patient to drinke, even so much and for so long time till hee feeles the right side of his flanks: for they say that the liver is first deprived off feeling in such an accident. Some vse *Opopanax* (a drugge extracted out of *Panaces Heracleum*) which is giuen to drinke in wine mixed with water, to cause them vomit the venim already spread throughout the whole body. And after such vomiting they must take very good treacle in drinke, and apply it also vpon the biting. *Mattheolus* describeth a quintessence, composed of *Aqua vitæ*, and some simples, and aromaticall drugges, which is an excellent remedy of great efficacy, when such accidents happen. For indeede it is most certaine that waters artificially composed, and ingeniously distilled, consisting of most subtile parts, are in a moment disperfed throughout all the veines and arteries, and euery part of the whole body. And therefore they cause, that the blood and spirits waxe not cold, and doe not cougeale in those vessels which containe them, whereby also the naturall heate comming to augment it selfe, doth strongly resist the force of the venim, and doth presently surmount it.

In discor.
lib. 5.

of the viper.

The Viper also is a kinde of serpent, it hath a flat head, and broad neere to the ioint of the necke, which is naturally small, it hath a quickeie, and a naile in the nothrill thereof hauing all the rest of the body short, with the taile also, and is of a pale colour. Her pace and motion is very quicke, and shee beareth her head aloft, shee differeth from other serpents, in that they lay but egges, and she bringeth forth her young ones alieue, which before they come forth doe so gnaw and eate her belly, that she liueth not long after. And although the viper be very venemous, yet is her flesh very good for the composition of treacle, yea though her venim remaine with her after death. Moreover, the biting of the viper is as much, or more dangerous then that of the *Aspis*: for they who are hurt die within seuen howers after, except they bee well succoured, and at farthest within three dayes, except they be holpen by excellent remedies; of which, amongst others, this is good: cleaue a chicken in two, and lay the inside of her hotte vpon the wound, and doe oftentimes reiterate this order, scarifying the flesh round about the biting, and applying diuers times cupping glasses thereto. After which, you must giue the patient of the iuice of ash tree leaues to drink, and lay the same leaues vpon the wound, or else cammomil brayed, or a plaister made of barley meale, and honied vineger. Some vse briar taken in drink with wine, or the iuice of balme, leaues drunke also with wine. Some say also that the viper being flayed, her taylor and head cut off, and her intrailles drawn out and cast away, afterwards sod like an Eele, and eaten by him that hath been bitten, doeth greatly aide him to obtaine health. As Treacle also beeing chiefly made of vipers flesh, eaten, and applied to, is a singular remedie in such accidents.

Hist. nat lib.
8. c. 14.

Lib. 3. c. 5.
Lib. 10. c. 74.

I could heere discourse of many other kinds of Serpents: but it is not our intent to represent a perfect history of liuing things, considering that many authors haue written thereof for our learning. Wherefore we will content our selues onely to adde to that which we haue said concerning Serpents, how that *Plinie* hath noted, that in the Indies there are so great, and such prodigious ones, that they will swallow an Hart, or a Bull all whole, and that in the dayes of *Attilius Regulus* Generall of the Romanes, in time of the warres against the Carthaginians, there was seene a Serpent in Africa of an hundred and twentie foote long, neere to the flood of Bagrada, which was assailed with engines of warre, and all maner of weapons, in such sort as if they had determined to giue assault to some strong citie: that in the reigne also of the Emperor *Claudius*, there was a serpent killed, named (Boa) which was found in mount Vatican, that had a childe found whole in her belly. This author doeth make mention of a certaine towne in Italy called *Amycla*, which had beene abandoned and left desolate of the inhabitants, by reason of Serpents that chased them away. But this is most admirable which hee reporteth, that Spiders seeing a Serpent layde along vnder a tree where they haue weaved their cobwebbes, will runne directly downe by a threed vpon the head of the Serpent, and will pierce him so to the quicke of the braine, that

that they will constrain the serpent to bite and gnash his teeth, to tumble and torment himselfe, without ever being able to get away, or breake the spiders threed in such sort that he shall still remaine there. Hee saith also that a Locust will kill a serpent, in wringing him hard by the throat, and will not loosen till such time as he be through dead. But who will not greatly wonder at that which the same author testifieth to have seene by experience that a serpent enclosed and enuironed with ashe leaves on the one side, and fire on the other, hee should rather choose to cast himselfe into the fire, then to save himselfe through the ashe leaves? So much is this tree contrary to serpents, that even lie the shadow thereof both at morning and even; and indeede to drinke the iuice of the leaves thereof, and to lay the same leaves vpon the wound, is soueraigne remedie against all their bitings. Whereupon *Plinie* taketh occasion to note, how that nature doth herein shew herselfe a very benigne and provident mother towards men, in that the ash should alwaies budde before serpents should creepe out of the earth, and that these trees should still bee greene, till such time as serpents should haue withdrawne themselves. Now let vs speake of the other kindes of Insects chosen by vs, as the most excellent, to wit (Bees and silke-wormes) concerning which (*A M A N A*.) let vs heare you discourse.

Lib 11 c. 29.
Lib. 16. c. 13.

Of Bees, and of their honie and waxe, and Silke-wormes.

Chapter 82.

A M A N A. **M**Any graue authors haue not disdained, diligently to search out, and curiously to describe the history of Bees, being chiefly moued thereunto through the admiration of their cunning in compoling two so excellent commodities as are hony and waxe: we will here then deliuer that which we esteeme to be most worthy of note in their writings. First Bees are rusticke and wilde; or tame and familiar. And the wilde are more il fauoured to behold, more fierce and naught. Of the tame there are two kindes. One kinde are round and short, and of diuers colours, and these are the best. The other are long and liketo waspes, and the worst of these are rough and hairie. All of them hate stincks and infections, and flie from them, for which cause they neuer sting such as are perfumed with sweete odors. They neuer flie against the light, nor vpon any flesh, nor to bloud, nor to any fat thing, but doe onely seeke out leaues and flowers, which haue an odoriferous iuice. They delight in harmonious sounds and noises, whether by it commeth, that being scattered, they are assembled together, by the sound of a bason, or of some little bells, or by clapping the hands gently together. They vse great policie amongst themselves, and there it no swarme but hath a king and captaine, which is bigger then all the other Bees, and hath short wings, straight legs, a brauer march then all the rest with spot in his fore head, serueth as a Diademe or crowne, and is in euery part more slicke, smooth, and faire then all the rest. When hee goeth any whither, the whole troupe followeth, encompassing and garding him, not permitting that hee bee easily seene. And whilst all are at worke, the king goeth from place to place cheering them, and hee himselfe doth nothing else. Hee neuer commeth forth except when the whole troupe goeth into the fieldes: which may bee knowne certaine daies before by the noise which the Bees make within their hines, attending for some faire day to part in. If the king loose a wing, the troupe doth not forsake him: for alwayes every one of them desireth to be neere him, and to do him seruice. And if he be weary they helpe him on their shoulders: if tyred, they carrie him: and in what place soeuer he resteth, all the swarme encampeth: If perhaps they loose him, they establish a new king of the race of the former, hauing diuerse selected and knowne among them to succede those that faile. For the rest of their gouernement, their witte is no lesse admirable then their worke, as is recorded to haue beene obserued by *Aristomachus Solensis*, who delighted himselfe for 58. yeere together to nourish diligently these little animals, so much he loued them, neuer applying himselfe to any other thing. By which kinde of meanes it was knowne that in the day time the Bees ward, and watch at the gate as in a campe, and rest in the night till such time as one amongst them being as Sentinall, wakeneth them with two or three sounds as it were of a trumpet. Then all of them assemble to see if it be faire weather: for they can iudge of the windes, and of the raine, and in foule weather they bouge not: but if the weather be faire and calme, all goe

Of Bees.

to work. Some bring in their feet, that which they haue drawn out of flowers: others, beare water in their mouth: and some againe helping them with a small haire do lade themselues with a drop of water over all their body. The yonger sort go forth to doe these thinges, and the older trauell within the hives, where their offices are appointed them. For some builde, others polish; this brings in matter, that victuals; another water, and all of them haue all things common, and obserue equalitie in meate and worke. They watch who are idle, and chastise and punish them even sometimes by death. First they make their combs and waxe, whereof they build their lodgings. After they bee lodged, they consider how to multiply themselves, and last of all they make their hony. And they haue this wittie industrie, to mixe in the matter, wherewith they first besmeate or overcast their hives, the iuice of the most bitter herbes they can finde, to the end to put such small beastes or flies out of tast that would sucke thereof; euen as if they had bene informed, that their worke was sought after. In briebe all their manner of life, order and policie is euery way admirable.

Of Hony.

But what may we say particularly concerning their hony and waxe, the vse whereof is so commodious and profitable to man? It is certaine that these industrious creatures know how to choose and gather a kinde of dew, which falleth from heaven (at the rising of certaine stars, especially in the dog daies) vpon the leaues of plants, whereof they make hony. And the best is that which is of a deepe yellow colour, and hath a pleasant smell, beeing pure and neat, shining euery where, and sweete in tast, being also of a meane substance betweene liquid, and thicke. In vertue it hath the propertie to hinder corruption, and rottenness: and therefore some make gargarismes thereof to cleanse and mundifie the vlcers of the mouth. It preserveth life especially in those that are of cold complexion: so wee behold that the Bee, which is a feeble, and tender creature liueth nine or ten yeeres, because shee is nourished by hony. It is a steriue, opening, and attracteth humours. Beeing in time applied to any part of the body which is bruised by some blow, or fall, it is a singular remedy to heale any such bruise, if so be the skinn be not broken. And the waxe (which is made of the combs taken out of hives, after that they haue bene well pressed, and that all the hony hath been drained out) is likewise of singular vtility for men. The best should be very yealow, sweete, fatte, light, pure, close, euen, neat, and cleansed from all filth. It is of meane qualitie betwixt hot, cold, moist, and dry things, and is of a grosse and clammy substance: retaining an hot and resolute vertue, which also aboundeth in hony. It is ministred in drinke against Dysenterias: but aboue all it is profitable in the composition of ointments, which are made for wounds.

Of Waxe.

Of Silke-wormes.

Now let vs speake of Silke wormes, which next to Bees merit most admiration amongst all insect beastes. This worme is first bredde of another worme of the same kinde which hath hornes, for thereof commeth a snail, which afterwards produceth the silke worme called Bombyx, and by some Nedyalus, which is like to a butterflie; and layeth eggs through the copulation of the male and female; out of which egges in the end those wormes creepe who by so maruailous industrie do make vs our silke, that in a short time is drawne out of their mouth by a small threed, which afterward is weaved with such wondrous art, that therein is nothing broken, false, or vneuen, but euery whit perfect from the beginning to the end of euery bottome or clewe, beeing one fastened to another. And that which maketh their labour seeme more wondrous, is; that these creatures are without flesh, blood, or bones; without vaines, sinewes or arteries; without scales, or any intrails: as also outwardly they are seene to be without teeth, nailes, prickles, or bristles, haire, eies, or eares: and yet in lesse then fortie daies, how small soeuer they be when they are engendred, they become thicke and great; hauing the benefit of eating, & sleep, and they cast their skin foure times. And then their bodies beginneth to glister, oftentimes shewing the sheene of silke which is in their belly, which if they must make white, they haue their head as white as silver: if the silk must be yealow, their head will be like gold: if Greene, or tawny, their head will beare the signe thereof. Then do they seek where to fasten it, and so weaue their silke in order, till such time as they haue performed their work, which doth not only serue for clothing for men, but for a singular remedy also to comfort a sicke heart, to reioice it, to recreate sadde, and melancholy spirits, as we may acknowledge by that excellent confection called of Phisitons (*Alkermes*) which for the most part compounded of the decoction and infusion of silke in the iuice of kermes, being drunke is a soueraigne medicine against faintnesse and syncope. But hauing already said enough concerning Insect beastes, for the

the subject of our discourse, we will consequently speake of some perfect beasts, according as wee shall make choise of, as of the most worthiest to enrich our present worke, to the ende, as we haue decreed that the creator may be glorified: wherof (A R A M) you must now entreate.

Of the Dog, and of the Horse. Chapter 83.

A R A M. **A**mongst perfect beasts, the Dog and Horse do by good right deserve the first and chiefe degree, as well because of their admirable sense, as also because of the utility, pleasure, and commodity, which they bring to man. Concerning these creatures, then shall our present discourse intreat: and first of the dog; which (as many authors as-
 firme) tooke his originall from the wolfe, being tamed by the industrie of man. Now there are many sorts of dogs, all which we may comprehend vnder two kindes: the one is, of them which are to keepe house, and the other to chase withall. The house dogge ought to bee of grosse and bigge bodie, being square set, and rather short then long: his heade of the house
 great, his throat wide, thicke lips, bigge hanging eares, his eyes blew and blacke, hur- dogge.
 ning and sparkling, his necke thicke and short, his brest large and rough, his shoulders broad, legs thicke and hairy, and a short and thicke taile, which is a signe of force, (for the long and small taile noteth swiftnes) his paw and nailes great, his barking high, bigge and fearefull: about all vigilant and very watchfull, not running heere and there, but stayed, and more slow then hastie. Hunting hounds are of sundry sorts. They which are swift
 are either white or browne, or gray, or blacke. And the white are best, for they are well the chase.
 winded, quicke, fierce, and will not leane the chase for any heat whatsoever, neither will breake off for the prease of hunters, nor for the noise and cry of men, and they obserue change better then any other kinde of hound, and are more certaine: but they feare the water somewhat, especially in winter time. If they bee cleane white, or spotted with redde, they are the better. The browne doth second them, and are of a great courage, forward, quicke and fierce, fearing neither water nor cold, but they cannot endure heate, and are not so easie to gouerne as the white. The gray are not so quicke and furious as the rest, neither yet the blacke, who are commonly the biggest bodied. Yet there are good dogs of all haire and colours, but to choose a faire and good hound indeede, these signes must bee obserued. His head must bee meanelly thicke, more long then flat, his nostrils wide and open, eares broad, and reasonable thicke, crooked reines; thicke loines; bigge and large hanches; faire thighes; the right hamme-joynt well knit; the taile thicke, neere to the raines, and the rest small to the end: the haire vnder his bellie rough, a thicke legge, and the paw of his foote drie, and like to the pawe of a foxe; great nailes, as high behinde as before and the dogge must bee short and crooked, but the bitch must bee long. For open nostrils declare the dogge to bee well winded: and crooked reines and straight hams signifie quickenesse, the taile thicke neere to the raines, long and small to the end, denote strenght and force in the raines, and that the hound is well breathed, haire rough vnder the belly declarerth that he is painefull, fearing neither water nor colde, a thicke legge, foxes foote, and great nailes, demonstrate that hee is not heauie footed and that he is strong in members to runne long without tiring. Besides houndes, there be gray hounds, blood hounds, water spaniels, tumblers and mungrels, all which are of diuers kindes, but our meaning is not to set downe an entire narration thereof, considering that it is not necessary for that purpose, which we haue decreede in our discourses. Wherefore wee will content our selues to note in generall, that there is no beast of greater sense and loue, nor more docible then the dog. For there bee few things fit for the pleasure of man, but may be easily taught to this kinde of creatures, especially in all points concerning hunting. Also histories abound with testimonies of their knowledge, and loue towards those that nourish them. *Plinie* reporteth of a dogge, which defended his master being assailed by theeues, till such time they had slaine him: and that after his death the dog would not leaue his body, but kept it both from the birds, and from other wild beasts that would haue deuoured it. That another dog also knowing one amongst a troupe of people that had slaine his master, flew vpon him.

Carda. in 10.
lib de sube.

of the house
dogge.

Of dogs for
the chase.

Hist. nat. lib.
8. cap 40.

and bit him with such furie, that the murtherer was constrained to confesse the cause of the dogs rage, reuealing his owne mildeed.

Of the horse. Now speake we of the horse, which of all beasts is most profitable for man, and is full of meekenes and docilitie. He is praised in seuen and twentie conditions: of which he seemeth to take three of the woman: to wit, yoong age, meeknes of manners and beawtie: three of the lion, courage, force, and to be tall before, not bowing in the midst, nor higher before then behinde: three of the Eagle, a good eie, a little head, and to beare his head straigh and a loft, three of the ox, the foote great, thighes moderately thicke, and short & strong ioints: three of the hart, quickenes, deliueres to run and leape well, and lightnes: three, of the asse, strong hooves, an hard skinne, and a strong able backe, three of the foxe, a faire taile, agilitie, and a faire skinne, three of the goose, to eat well and quicke, and to digest it, to haue full bowels, and in his pace his feete equally distant, without enterfering, and three which are proper to himselfe, a quicke and calie pace, liuelinesse, promptnesse, and gallantnesse of heart; and readinesse to obey the bridle and spur without being slow therein. If then we will know when an horse is perfectly faire, wee must first note that hee haue a small head, a gallant and faire forehead, drie and cleane flesh, great and blacke eies and standing out; short, sharpe and straight eares, little, drie and thinnelips, and not vneuen, a wide throat, big, open, and red nostrills, his necke neither too short nor too long, but meane, loftie, not too fat and crooked like an arch and vault, with a fine curled and long mane, also that he haue a large breast, soft, and bearing out like that of a dove, big boned legs, but leane, & drie of flesh, straight, high, and even from the foote to the knee, thicke, long, fat, sinewie, and fleshiethighes, but yet answerable to his buttockes, sides, and flankes, high heeles, thicke and short ioynts, and not close to the hoofe which must bee hard, high, round, blacke and hollow, hee must also haue the backe short, not bunched, nor high like an asses backe, but even, not too high nor too low, broad, long, great, straight and well flesht shoulders, a smooth, strong, massiue, thicke, and as it were a double crupper, a short taile of bone, small, strong, long haired, which hee must beare close betwixt his thighes, a large and round flanke, full sides, and long about the belly, which must be round, small, and well set vnder the sides, that must bee broad and long with a little distance from the hinder part to the ioynt of the haunch, and with small and equall coddles. Moreouer, hee must haue to bee good, a stately pace, a deliuer trot, a swift gallop, a light course, a bounding and sudden leape, an assured and ready pace, quicke at hand, & prompt to turne every way, to recule backe, and to runne suddainely forward, not stamping or rattling with his bit, nor kicking against the spur, but conforming himselfe to the will of his master, without starting, or being afraid of any thing that hee seeth, heareth, or feeleth, not flinging and kicking amongst other horses. In a word that horse is to bee esteemed which hath a lively and couragious heart, which is obedient, gentle, deliuer, quicke, and well mouthed, having a good foot, and strong reines. For haire, the bay is

That which
is required in
a faire horse.

How an
Horse is
good.

What haire is
best.

Of the com-
modity by
Horses.

best of all others which being of diuers colours, doe depend neuertheless vpon these fower, bay, russet, blacke, and gray. For these fower colours proceed of fower principall humours whereof the body of an horse is composed, and which agree and accord with the fire, aire, earth, and water. For choler which resembleth the fire engendreth the bay, blood which accordeth with the aire, produceth the russet or reddish coloured. Fleame which is answerable to the water, causeth the gray, and melancholy which agreeth with the earth, begetteth the blacke. The bay haire then excelleth all others, as being that which beareth the signe and marke of a couragious horse, hardy in warre, and most singular in iusts and combats, in so much as hee feareth nothing, nor looseth courage howsoeuer he feele himselfe wounded, because also he seeth not, by reason of his colour, the blood runne streaming out of his body. The russet haire betokeneth a quicke, hardy, and prompt horse, but not of great force, and the blacke is Melancholy, and vnsonnd, and the gray is heauie, and fearefull. Moreover, by howe much more these colours are diuersified, and mixed with markes, and spots, by so much is the goodnesse or badnesse of the horse greater. Wee may also say truly, that amongst all the beasts which God hath created for the seruice of man; there is not one which may compare with the Horse, either in beawtie, labour, vnderstanding, or profit, and commoditie. For the Horse onely, serueth for an honourable grace for man: who makes him to goe at his pleasure, sometimes softly, sometimes apace now a trot, anon a gallop, another time with swift posting speed, and sometimes he plaieth with him, causing him to make many risings, and diuers curuets, bounds and leapes: and other

other time he maketh him runne wheeling about in a round ring, then to bound, and rebound, and lastly to goe easily forwardes. And by meanes of this vse and exercise, a man chaseth away melancholy humors, fortifieth his stomacke and whole body, and augmenteth his disposition and grace, and abilitie: Moreover there is no iourney so difficult, which hee will not vnder take with a good horse, knowing that hee can passe any whither and saue himselfe from the assaults of theeues, and robbers; yea and oftentimes the horse fighteth with feete and teeth for the safety of his master. But these generous beasts doe especially declare their valor and courage in the cruell encounters of battailes, and fights, being incited by the fearefull noise of gunshot, by the hideous thundering of cannons, by the sounding of trumpets, and rumbling of drums: then I say when all being in confusion, it seemeth that the earth opens, that the place flies in peeces, and that hell swallowes vp all, in respect of the shiuering of launces, clinking of armor, and the deadfull cries of men, who are there, by thousands, hewen in peeces. And many doe scape by the onely meanes of their horses, God shewing them such fauour as histories are full of testimonies thereof, and of the admirable sense, wherewith nature hath endued these beasts. Amongst which *Alexanders* horse *Bucephalus* is very much celebrated, chiefly because that hee would not suffer any to ride him but his maister, although he had beene cloathed in kingly robes. It is also said, that this horse beeing wounded at an assault of *Thebes*, he would not permit *Alexander* to mount vpon another, till such time as hee had brought him out of all danger. *Plinie* reporteth, that a certaine king of *Seythia* being ouerthrowne in battell, when his enemy came to disarme him, his horse ranne vpon him with such fury, that he killed him, reuenging so the death of his maister: And that after the death of king *Nicodemus* (who was slaine) his horse would neuer eate, but died through hunger and sorrow. And that one named *Antiochus* seazing vpon an horse of one *Galatus* slaine in fight, mounted thereupon, reioicing at the death of the other: which the horse of the dead man vnderstanding, did in rage and despise so sling, and runne, that he bare *Antiochus* ouer mountaines, and rocks, casting himselfe at last downe from an high place, so breaking his owne and his riders necke. But wee haue said enough hereof. Now (*ACHITOR*) let vs heare you continue the discourse concerning beasts.

Hist. nat. lib. 8.
cap. 42.

Of the Elephant, of the Camell, and of the Rhinoceros.
Chapter 84.

ACHITOR. IT seemeth that there is no beast, which approacheth neerer to the sense of man then the Elephant. For hee is endued with so excellent witte, discretion, and memory, that hee surpasseth in these gifts of other beastes; as becometh in strength also. Hee is bigger then two great oxen, couered with blacke haire, hauing eyes like to those of swine & such a mouth also, being couered with a truncke, or snout that hangs downe to the ground, which serueth him for an hand to put his victuals into his mouth, both meate and drinke: and out of both sides thereof two great tuskes doe issue, which are fastened in his vpper iaw. His eares are two spannes broad, his thighes and legs thicke and long, in such sort that some are found of fiftene foote high: his nailes (beeing five in number about his feete) are round, and each naile a palme broad, and his tayle is about three handfuls long. In many regions of *Africa* they vse these Elephants to ride ordinarily vpon, and they serue for many domestick busineses also, so that the traffike of them there, is as that of horses heere. But the *Indians* vse them in the warre, putting vpon this beast, a certaine saddle beeing girt very streight about him with two yron chaines, vpon which they set two wooden houses, on either side one, and in each of those houses do three men lodge, betweene which houses and the Elephants necke, is a little seate placed, vpon which a man sitteth like as if he were on horsebacke, who guideth this beast by his wordes, which he vnderstandeth very well: and he carieth neither bridle, nor halter, nor any thing else vpon his head. And euen as they, which are within these houses vpon his backe are armed with coates of maile, with bowes, launces, swordes, and targets: so likewise will he be couered with a mayle, especially vpon his head, and snout, to which men fasten a sword of two fathomes in length, thicke, and as broad as a mans hand, wherewith this beast doeth himselfe in fight. In all things else he is of incredible force. For *Lewel de Barthema* in the

Of the Elephant.

discourses

Lib. 3.

Hist. nat. lib. 8

discourses of his Indie voyages doeth testifie that he did see three Elephants alone drawn a ship out of the sea, and set it aland, after the people had gotten vnder it three great wedges of wood. For kneeling down vpon the earth on the sea shore, they did with their heads cast the ship on drie land. *Plinie* recordeth many other wonders concerning these beasts, saying, that they honour the starres, and principally the Sunne and Moone, that some haue beene scene, who being sicke, haue fallen downe backwards, casting vp herbes towards heauen, as if they would offer vp the fruits of the earth in sacrifice, and prayer to obtaine succour from above: that all of them doe honour a king, and fall downe vpon their knees before him, and that they bring chaplets of hearbes, and flowers vnto him. That some of them haue beene scene to record by themselves in the night time, that, which they haue beene taught in the day time, to the ende that they might the better put it in practise. That marching in troupes, the eldest amongst them goeth formost, as capitaine: and another behinde them as ordering the rereward: that intending to passe any riuer, they put the yongest elephants formost, knowing that the great elephants would sinke lower, because of their excessive heauinesse, and would by that meanes make the fould more difficult to passe, by reason of the water, which would gather there. That they doe no harme except they be prouoked thereto; and also that they are so gentle towards other weake beasts, that passing by a flocke of small cattell, they will gently turne backe with their heads all those beasts which they meete, for feare of hurting them, or treading them vnder their feete. They are very long liued, to two hundred or three hundred yeares, as *Aristotle* affirmeth: and when the male and female couple together as man and woman, they withdraw themselves for this purpose into most secret and hidden places: and the females beare their yong ones for two yeares together, and doe neuer bring forth but one, and that but once onely in their life. Of their teeth is the true iuorie made: but because there are but few to be had, therefore some saw and cut in pieces the bones of Elephants, which they sell for iuorie. Moreouer, Historiographers report that the first time that Elephants were scene at Rome, was in the triumph of *Pompey*, after he had subdued Africke, for hee had two yoked to his chariot: and that in the turnies, and fence playes which *Germanicus Caesar* made, to shewe pastime to the people of Rome, there were Elephants that leaped, as if they would skippe and daunce: and that fortie two Elephants were brought in triumph to Rome after the memorable victorie, which *Rufcius Metellus* did obtaine in Sicily against the Carthagenians.

Of the Camell.

The camell is also a very tractable beast and profitable to man, very ingenious: and apt to receiue discipline. For they serue to ride vpon, to beare great burthens, and also to shew men pastime in many exercises which is taught them by vse. There are some in all parts of the world, but they abound in Africa. And the Arabians hold them for their greatest riches and possessions. There are three kindes of them; one whereof is very great, another sort are very little: these two kindes haue but one bunch vpon their backes, and the other are of meane stature, and haue two bunches, each whereof are fit to carrie burthens, and to rid vpon also, besides, some of them resemble asses in colour, and some are reddish: and they haue their hooves almost clouen in two, but not exactly, so that their foote expresseth a kinde of semblance of five toes fleshie vnderneath, which maketh them tender in stony places. The best Camells are those of Africa, because they beare their charges for the space of fortie daies together, without ever eating any oates, but only such grasse as is in the fields, or some boughes, and their least burthen is of a thousand waight, being by a naturall instinct sovrge to the seruice of man, that with the least touch which may bee vpon their necke or knees, they will presently bend and kneele vpon the ground to receiue their load; which when they feele to bee answerable to their strength, they rise againe vpon their feete. There are some of them so swift, that they will run fifty miles and more in a one day, but these are of small stature, being good for nothing but to ride vpon. The noble men of Arabia, Numidia, and Africans of Lybia do neuer vse other steeds. And when the king of Tumbuto would haue any matter of importance to bee signified to the merchants of Numidia with speed, he sendeth a Poste vpon one of his Camells, who runneth from Tombuto to Darba, or Segelmessa in the space of seuen or eight dayes, which are about foure hundred and fiftie French miles: being a cuntry full of deserts, so that the way is very hard to find out, but by the very direction of the Camell it selfe. When these beasts are lustie, which lasteth for fortie dayes together with them, they waxe verie fierce and outrageous, and will remember the least blow that their masters shall strike them with

Of the Camell, and of Rhinoceros. 829

with a sticke, so that if they may fasten their teeth vpon any of them, they will lift them vp into the aire, then cast them down again, & murder the with their forefeet, in terrible and grievous manner: but that time being passed, they become gentle and tractable, as before. They neuer drinke but from five daies to five daies, and sometimes they stay nine, or fi- teene dayes, whether it be by custome, or that this beast is dry, or else that Nature hath so well provided that this creature which lieth in deserts, should haue no neede to drinke oftentimes in those places, where water is seldome found. He daunceth at the sound of the trumpet, and seemeth to reioyce at musicke, refreshing himselfe, and taking new courage, then, when (being tyred with a tedious iourney) his guide beginneth to sing some merry song: and some also haue bin seene to dance at the sound of a tabor, as the Author of the de- scription of Africa doth testifie. Lib. 9.

Now speake we of the Rhinoceros (which is named by some the Bull of India) beeing Of the Rhi-
admirable amongst other beasts. For he is almost as bigge as the Elephant, his thighe noceros.
is bigger, of the colour of wood, being all naturally armed with shels, which hee beareth like bucklers. He hath in the vppermost part of his forehead an horne for the length of a span or more, very hard, strong, straight, and very sharpe, which turneth towards the forehead, and when he will fight he whetteth it. And there are some also which haue another little horne vpon the skinn of their backe, which is so hard and difficult to penetrate, that no arrow how sharp soeuer it be, can pierce it thorough. And therefore the Indians arme them- selues with their skinn, as wee doe with harneis and murrions, and couer their horses with it, as we doe ours with barbs and armour. This beast hath continuall warre with the Elephant, and is his great enemy, fighting chiefly with him, yea and with all other beasts, when the female bringeth forth her young ones: of which the male is so carefull, that nothing dare come nigh him, but he will wreake his forie thereon. And hee remaineth for the most part victorious ouer the Elephant, if hee can picke him vnder the belly, as beeing the softest place of all his body. For when the Rhinoceros doth strike him there, he giueth him so deepe a wound, that the Elephant can hardly scape death. And he hath this wit na- turally, that when hee will prepare himselfe to fight, hee whetteth his horne against some rocke, which horne the Indians vse in many things, and especially against all poison: so that being bitten or stung by any serpent, or other venomous beast, they their haue recourse to this horne. Whereupon the authour of the vniuersall Cosmographie taketh occasion to suppose, that that which is attributed to the Vnicorne, is the propertie of the Rhinoceros, and that the pieces which are shewed vnder the name of Vnicornes horne, are of the horne of this Indie beast: considering that there are as many such Vnicornes, as *Plume*, *Soliman*, and *Munster* write of, as there be Phenixes or Griffons. But omitting such disputations, let vs consider vpon other excellent beasts, the discourse whereof (A SER) I referre to you. Then. lib. 11.

Of the Lion, of the Tigre, and of the Panther.

Chapter. 85.

A SER. OF all fourefooted beasts, the Lion doeth beare away the chiefe prize. Hee Of the lion.
hath a long bodie of tawnie colour, a fierce looke, his tayle long, which hee oftentimes moueth, his haire before soft, and broad, his skinn impenetrable: his hinder part narrowe, a great head, a wide throate, his necke and teeth so strong, that hee can carrie away a camell, and hee is armed with very great and strong clawes: besides he is so hardie that hee feareth not alone to assaile two hundred men. And then are they in their chiefest strength, when the haire of their necke is so long that it couereth their necke and shoulders. Africa nourisheth many of these beasts, beeing most cruell, especially in the kingdom of Fez, & in all Ethiopia: but they which keepe in the cold mountaines, are not so dangerous, nor so troublesome to men. For in a little towne named (Pietra Rossa) which is very neere to a Forrest that stretcheth out all along the foote of a mountaine of the said countrey, Lions doe oftentimes enter, with so great mildnes, that they gather together, and eat the bones and other things which they finde cast about the streetes: and the women and children are so accustomed thereto, that they are in no wise afraide of them. So many Historiographers doe write, that the Lion onely amongst wilde beasts, will doe no- thing to those that couch and humble themselves before him. And how furious soeuer

he be, yet will he rather runne vpon a man then at a woman; and will neuer set vpon children, except he be very much oppressed by hunger. He knoweth when the Lionesse, who by nature is very lasciuious and wanton, doth suffer herselfe to be couered by the Leopard and then doth he runne furiously vpon her to chastise her: which causeth the Lionesse to haue the craft to go wash herselfe in some riuer, to take away the sent of the Leopard: who hath beene with her: or else she will follow the Lyon a farre off, to the end that he may not smell her. This beast drinketh little, and eateth but in one day of twaine: and if he bee well sufficed, he will remaine three daies after without eating. When he findeth himselfe to be assailed with shotte, he declareth his greatnes of courage, in that hee maketh no account thereof, endeavouring to defend himselfe by the onely hideousnes of his countenance: and it seemeth verily that he protesteth to be constrained to annoy those who pursue him, in defence of himselfe: in such sort, that rather through rage then for feare of death, he sets him in his owne guard. And he demonstraterh also another generositie of hart, in that that feeling himselfe ouermatched both by dogs and hunters, if it be in an open field where he may be seene, he will make semblant to despise and scorne the hounds, sometimes making head against them, and will retire by little and little for his honour, alwaies standing vpon his guard: but after that he hath gotten the wood, where he may not be seene to flie, hee runs away as fast as he can, knowing very well that the place couereth his shame. If he feeles himselfe stroken and wounded, he can marke him who gaue him the blowe, and will euer turne vpon him, how great a number soeuer there be of people: and yet for all his fury hee quaketh to heare the rumbling of wagons, and is afraid to see a cocke which setteth vp himselfe and clappeth his wings, and more afraide when hee croweth: but about all hee feareth fire. They say also that Lyons be neuer sicke but through pride: and that they which nourish them, beeing minded to chase them, yea to madde them, doetye apes neere vnto them, whose trickes and gestures they take in scorne, and vexethemselues much thereat. But it is strange that these furious and prooue beasts, are tamed by the industry of man, euen to make them so familiar as to serue them. For histories report that *Marcus Antonius* during the ciuill warres of the Romanes; cased Lions to be coupled to endure the yoke, and draw his chariot; and that he entred Rome in triumph in such equipage. That *Hanno* also, capitaine of the Carthaginians did first vndertake to touch Lions with his hand, and that he made them go vp and downe the towne like little dogges: whereupon the people doubting so quicke and pearcing a witte, which could inuent how to tame the fiercest beast of all others, tooke occasion to suppose their common wealth but badly assured in his hands, and so they banished him. *Belon* also in his obseruations recounteth, that there is an auncient Church at Constantinople, to every pillar whereof there is a Lion tied, which the great Turke causeth to be nourished, and that their gouernors loofethem, handle them, and tie them againe when they list, sometimes leading them through the city.

Of the Tigre

The Tigre approacheth neere to the force of the Lion, and is more to bee feared, because of his crueltie and swiftnesse, which they find true who chase after their young ones. For when they carrie them away running with all speede vpon good horses, the Tigresse returneth to her denne, and finding it emptie, taketh her course as swift as the winde, following them by the tract, which haue robbed her of her young ones: who perceiuing her approach by the noise that shee maketh, vse to cast her downe one, which shee taketh in her mouth, and carrieth to her denne with incredible speed, how heauie soeuer it bee: and afterwards returneth to the pursuite of the rest, alwayes pursuing her fawnes, till such time as shee beholdeth that shee cannot come at those who beare them away, because they haue gained some towne, wherein they are immured. These beastes are very common in Hircania, as also in the Indies; and in *Aethiopia*: and the inhabitants there doe hunt them much, because it is a very dangerous beast, which would doe much harme if it might multiply: as also because their skinn is very faire, whereof they make very excellent fures, which haue spots of diuers colours, wherewith they clothe themselves. But how soeuer cruell the Tigre is, yet the Hircanians doe nourish and tame them for their pleasure. And *Plinie* affirmeth, that the Tigresse hath such feare and respect of man, that so soone as shee perceiue him out of her denne, shee presently conueieth her young ones thence: whereupon this author doeth take occasion to admire the power of nature, in that the greatest and cruellst of all beastes doe presently vnderstand wherefore to feare, without euer hauing seene any thing before, which might cause feare. He recounteth also, that the Emperour *Augustus* was the first

Lib. 1 de singul. 76.

Hist. nat. lib. 8 cap. 4.

Of the Tygre and of the Panther.

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first that ever shewed the people of Rome a tame Tygresse in a cage, and that after him *Ibid. c. 17.*
Claudius Cesar shewed fowre at a time.

The Panther is another common beast in the regions of Africa, very sauage, and whom the inhabitants dread much. Some say that Lucernes and Leopards are one kind of beasts, and they serue for males to the Panther, not differing from them but in whitenesse, which is very great in her, hauing little blacke spots set vpon her body in manner of eies. Also very faire fures are made of her skinne, which are called Lucernes. Moreouer some say that all foure footed beasts doe very much loue the smell of the Panther: but the fiercenes of her countenance doth feare them: and that to entrap other by her odour, shee hides her head that she may catch them. Some also write that she hath a marke vpon her shoulder like to an halfe moone, which augmenteth and decreaseth as the moone doth. This kinde of beasts haue the craft to watch passengers in woods, hiding themselves close in the thickest groues of trees which they can finde; out of which they start vpon them like theeues. And they haue this by nature, to fold in their claws, when they go that they may alwaies keepe them sharp and vnbroken and can open them when they will, and shut them when they graspe any thing. But omitting the fiercenes of this beast, who will not greatly admire the sense and imagination of a certain Panther wherof *Plinie* writeth? Shee desiring to meet with some passenger, lurked close in the midst of an high way: One by chance comming thither, and finding her, would for feare haue turned this bridle. But the poore beast couched and fell downe before him, making signes to sawne vpon him, and moaned, and tormented himselfe in such sort, as he might easily vnderstand thereby that shee was in great paine, and indeed her young ones were fallen into a pit far off from that place. The man taking hart, at the beasts manners, who drew him gently by the garment, did follow her to the same pit: whether being come, and knowing the occasion of the Panthers grieve, hee drew her young ones out of the place wherinto they were fallen, deliuering by this means their dam of paine, and redeeming also his owne life. For this beast, which could haue bereft him of it, did contrariwise in acknowledgement of the benefit received by him, leaping and skipping with her little ones, keepe the man company out of the Forrest, shewing him by many signes, that shee rendred thanks vnto him. But here change wee talke: and let vs heare you (*A M A N A*) deliuer that which you haue learned concerning the nature of other beasts.

Of the Panther.

Of the Wolfe, of the Beare, and of the Ape. Chapter 86.

A M A N A. Amongst all sauage beasts, there are none more common then the Woolfe. For Asia, Africa, Europe, and many places of that fourth part of the world, which late Cosmographers and other famous men haue by their long nauigations discovered, do nourish these creatures. And although many haue thought that England had none of them, yet there are some found in sundry places, and especially about Barwicke: And in times past the countrey hath bene much vexed by them. But histories record, that *Edgar* their king, who liued in the time of *Lotharius* king of France, a very politick prince, being aduertised of the spoile which these beasts did, made an edict throughout his land, that euery Nobleman should bring vnto him each yeere tenne wolues, or else the skins of them, and that the Prince of Wales, as he who receiued greatest commoditie by hunting of them, should euery yeare bring him an hundred. Whereby it came to passe that in lesse then tenne yeares, there was no mention made of any of those beasts. Now although they bee verie common, yet are they therefore worthie of no lesse consideration, and wonder. Many authors haue written concerning their shape, manners, nature, and differences, as also how to hunt and take them. There be few which are ignorant, that the wolfe is a beast hauing gray haire, mixed with blacke, whitish vnder the belly, a bigge head armed with long and strong teeth, and short and stiffe eares, whereupon the prouerbe arose (I hold the wolfe by the eares) when he which speaketh is in doubt of what hee shall doe. This beast feedes onely vpon flesh, saues sometimes on fish, although *Aristotle* and *Plinie* write, that being oppressed with hunger hee eateth earth. But indeede this opinion did first spring, because that these beasts are oftentimes seene to digge vp the fields for flesh, which they burie after they haue had their fill, to serue them when they want

Of the wolfe.

Arist. lib. 8. ch. 1. de hist. anima.

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Hist. nat. lib.
10. c. 8.

Auth. de la
Maison rusti-
que.

Of the Lynx.

Of the Beare.

ought to prey vpon. When they be sicke, they know how to vse certaine herbes, to make them vomit, and to loosen their belly. And their custome is to assaile weake and fearfull persons that trauell alone, much rather then hunters. They are so known to the fishermen along the lake of Meotis (as *Pliny* reporteth) that these honest people are wont to giue them part of their fish, which if they faile to do, they will in the night seare and breake their nets. When the she wolfe hath young ones, if she find her selfe oppressed with dogs, or men, she taketh one of her whelps in her mouth to beare away, that she may not loose them all. And she neuer leaues them except the he wolfe remaine for their gard, going both by tornes out for victuals: & if they haue taken any beast, they bring it vnto their whelps, laying it down before them to feed vpon. If they be somewhat big, they will then bring home some lamb aliue, to makethem kill it, and teach them their craft. But I finde nothing more admirable in the nature of the wolfe then that which hath beene noted by the authour of the countrye farme, that there breed and engender certaine serpents in the kidnies of an old wolfe: which being growne doe at last worke their breeders death, and become very venomous things. Concerning the sublety and craft of wolues to intrap their preyes, it is very well knowne by euery one, being to the great hurt of people; but their industry is very great in forrests, where they can tel how to hunt the Hart and Does, watching them in fresh places, as hounds should do, yea they can direct themselues, like a course of grey hounds to watch and lurke in the borders of the wood, whilest others hunt within. Besides, it is a common thing, and many haue written thereof, yea *Isidore* himselfe, that if a wolfe espy a man before the man perceiue him, he can take away his voice, because that with his corrupt breath he infecteth the aire: which being so putrified doth also corrupt the breath of the man, neere to the said beast, whereby he remaineth deprived of voice, and hoarse, howsoeuer hee be endamaged therby: and that is it which hath begotten the common prouerbe (*Lupus est in fabula*) which is said, when one speaking of another, that comes in vnlooked for, doth hold his peace, as if that the other parties arriual had taken away his voice & speech. But if the wolfe be first seen by a man, it is thought that this malicious effect is not of so great power and that he looseth much of his fiercenes: the cause wherof may be that knowing himselfe discovered, he hath not the leisure to spread abroad his venom, and instead of running vpon the man, he deuileth how he may runne and flye from him. If this reason be of any value, I doe not thinke that it hath bin yet written by any one, at leastwise as I haue read or heard. There is also another kind of wolues, called Lynx, the furre of whom Princes weare, which (as *Plinie* saith) resemble other wolues, but that they are spotted like leopards. And *Oppianus* writeth that they are ingendred by a Wolfe and a Panther: yet that cannot be affirmed of the Lynx of Germany, for there are no Panthers.

The Beare is a beast, in whom many things are found worthie to bee noted. Barbarie and Newfound land nourisht a great number, whom the inhabitants doe hunt after diuers manners. But they doe chiefly entrap them by meanes of certaine deepe pits, couered ouer with leaues and branches, which they digge in the way that these beasts are accustomed to frequent, and especially neere vnto trees, where there is some swarme of Bees: for the Beare loueth bonie aboue all other meat, whether it be for that he delights to glut himselfe therewith, or else to heale the soreneesse of eyes whereto hee is very subiect: and so passing vpon these pits, hee falleth thereinto, and is there slaine by these Barbarians. The male when hee couereth the female, doeth embrace her, as man doeth woman; and the shee Beare being full doth retire apart into her den, not bearing aboue thirtie dayes, and doeth oftentimes bring forth siue Beare-whelps: which at first doe seeme to bee but an heape of white flesh, without any forme, without eyes, without haire, and is as small as a mouse, with some little apparance of nailes, but through very much licking the shee Beare reduceth them into such forme as they haue. When this beast is vnprovided of a cave, he buildeth his lodging with wood, of which he makes so huge an heap, and piles it so well that the raine cannot enter thereinto. After that he paues it, and makes his litter with the softest leaues of trees that he can find. In winter time the male keepeth within his den for fortie daies long, and neuer bougeth, and the female for foure moneths: and the first foureteene daies they sleepe so profoundly, that it is impossible to wake them, though they be beaten with staues: and one would not thinke how fat they then be: this time being past, they sit vpon their taile and liue of nothing else, but by sucking their forefeet. Being come forth of their den, they first eate of the herbe called Wake Robin, or Cuckow-pintle, to open their pipes, which are all as it were stopped vp. Their food is corne, leaues of trees, grapes

Of the Ape and of the Hart.

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grapes, apples, hony, circuses, and antes: which they vse especially licking them vpwith their tongues from off the ground, when they are sicke with eating the fruit of Mandrakes: for by this meanes they heale themselues. They go vpright vpon their hinder feet when they list, and descend downe trees backwards. And when they fight against the bul, or other horned beaſt, they hang themselues by all their fowre feet vpon them, and vpon their head, that they may thereby tire their enemy, and so vanquish him. To conclude, there is no creature more subtile in his simplicity.

But if we would speake of crafty beaſts: subtile in al agility and sport, then must we haue respect to the Ape. For nature hath bestowed very good sense and maruailous craft vpon him. Also he doth very neere approach to the shape of man, both in his forme of countenance, nose, eies, and ey-lids: the vnder part of which, there is no beaſt that hath except the Ape. He hath also nipples vpon his breast like a man, and vseth his hands and legs as man: hauing nailes and fingers made and disposed as ours, of which the middlemost is most longest. His intrails likewise are almost like to those of man. Africa & many Isles of the new found lands nourish these creatures in great plenty, and of diuers kindes, some whereof are called Monckies; and they haue long tailes: and others are lackes or Marmosets, and they haue none: they liue of herbes and corne: & when they mean to steale some eares of corne there assembl twenty or thirty of them together, and one staies for a scout out of the field, where he no sooner espieth the Lord of the ground to come, but he squeaks very loud, at whose cry all the rest runne away, and do saue themselues by nimble flight, climbing vp trees, and skipping from one to another, yea and the she apes, with their yong ones vpon their shoulders, will leape from tree to tree like the rest. And they are commonly so fond of their yong ones, that with too often embracing, and too much clasping them, they at last kil them. They which are tamed and taught, do maruailous & incredible things. Besides the author of the vniuersall Cosmography hath noted, that in the solitarie Island there are Apes, greater, vn happier, and wilder then are in all the world else, which bee named Magots: who being seene a farre off, a man would iudge them to be humane people. Whereupon he thinketh that some are a litle deceived, who haue written concerning Sauesges, & men being rough all ouer their bodies like goates, liuing vpon soailes and rawe flesh hauing perhaps taken such Magots, (because they haue not bin accrete to distinguish them,) for very men. But enough of this, I would haue you (ARAM) to pursue the subiect of our discourse.

Of the Ape.

Lib. 3. c. 16.

Of the Hart, of the Boore, and of the Vnicorne, Chapter 87.

ARAM. I Will now speake of the most gentle and simple beaſt of all the world, in his nature, and which neuerthelesse is indued with great force, which hee sometimes vseth to the cost of those who hunt him: and that is the Hart or Stagge, in whose chase great Lords take much pleasure. He is so simple that he museth, and is astonished at every thing: in such sort, as if hee see a Cowe or an Horse come neere vnto him, hee neuer taketh regard whorides him; or if he perceiue him, hee lookes downe at his feete, as if hee were amazed, what bowe and arrowes, or weapons soeuer he haue. Hee museth also at the songs and piping of shepheards. When Stagges be not in rut, they are very sharpe at their victuals: and feeling themselues fat, they search out solitary places apart, and there abide, knowing very well, that they are not then apt for the course, and that they are then also chiefly hunted. Being pursued, they do oftentimes stay their flight to take breath, and looke heere and there round about them; but when they perceiue the hounds that followe them, they runne as before. And they make these stoppes, by reason of a certaine pipe, which doeth greatly paine them, and which is so tender, that it presently breaketh with the least wound that may be. They endeavour to runne with the wind, that it may carry with them the sent away from the hounds, so that they may not easily take them. They heare a farre off, and haue a very good eare, when they stand vpon their feete: but if they lie downe, they be very deafe. Plinie recounteth, that when the harts or stags of Cilicia will passe from thence into Cyprus, they swimme ouer the Sea, but alwayes in troupes, and in order, resting the heades of the one vpon the crupper of the other, and that by turnes, in such sort,

Of the Hart

Hist. nat. lib. 8
cap. 32.

that the hindermost goe before in their turne, and the foremost turne behinde: directing their course by the smell of the land, because they cannot see the shoare. The buckes onely are armed with hornes, and they alone of all beastes cast their hornes every spring time: yet some haue seene (but very seldome) horned does marked to twelue yeeres. When they feele that their hornes will fall, they seeke out the most solitary & desert places that they can find, whether it be to hide them because they are ashamed to haue lost their arms, or else to disappoint men of the benefit that doth redound vnto them therby, for their horne hath many properties in vse. And many say that of those hornes which harts cast: the right are neuer found againe, so that it is holden for certaine, that they bury their right horne. Their age is knowne by their heads, because that every yeere they haue a knag more, and there are some seene that are marked to two and twenty. Beyond which, none doth note their age, although they liue much longer. For histories record that about an hundred yeeres after the death of *Alexander the Great*, there was an Hart taken, about whose necke this Prince whilest he liued had put a collar of gold, and that he was growne so great afterwards, and so fat, that the said collar was hid within his flesh, & couered with his skin. Moreouer, stags doe change their place of abode, and their food according as the Sunne doeth approach in height. For in the moneth of Nouember, they keepe themselves to bushes and briers, the tops whereof they eate to restore their nature after they haue beene in rut. In December they withdraw themselves to the thickest of Forrests, which may defend them from the colde windes, snowes and yce. In Ianuary they cometo the borders of the Forrests, and to tilled lands, to feede on greene corne, as ry e, and such like. In February and March, because they loose and cast their hornes, they thrust themselves amongst the bushes, wherein they remaine al Aprill and May. In Iune and Iuly they goe into woods and corne fields, and then are they fattest. And in September and October they leaue their woods, and fall to rut: and then haue they neither any certaine place nor meate because they follow the waies which the does haue passed, liuing then with a little, and feeding vpon what they chance to meete with.

Of the Bore.

The Bore is another beast, in whose chase many exercise themselves, and take singular pleasure: But as the Hart is gentle and fearefull, so is the Boare hardie and furious, not fearing the dogs, but attendeth for them in quier, & oftentimes also he pursueth them, to teare them in pieces with his teeth; the biting whereof, chiefly in the chest of the body, is almost incurable. His place of abode is neuer certaine, and therefore some say hee is but a guest, because he doeth but run out of one Forrest and wood into another: and yet he delighteth to remaine in the same countrey and place where he was first farrowed: so that if any dogs chase him out of any wood or Forrest, hee presently runnes without any stay to his native place, which he supposeth to be his safeguard and refuge. The meat which he liketh best, is hasell nuts, beechmast, and acornes. His flesh is better then harts flesh: And therefore the ancient Romanes made such account thereof, that in their most magnificent bankets, they would serue in the whole Bores to be set vpon the table. Yet *Pliny* saith, that the Bores of the mountaines in Pamphilia and Cilicia, hauing eaten Salamanders, become very venomous, in such sort, as they poyson those that eat of their flesh. Besides, when these beastes feelee themselves more heauy then of custome, they seeke for Iuie, and eate thereof: or else for crabs, which they finde in sand when the sea ebbs. The sow or female beareth but once a yeare, although the Bore be very apt to couer her. And the Author of the foresaid naturall History doth affirme vnto vs, that in the Indies there are very great wild Bores, which haue two tuskes in their mouth of a cubite long, and two other that issue out of their front like the hornes of a cow. And *Cardanus* saith, that in the same Countrey there are Bores like to others in forme, in voice and manners, and in their litteridge, which are growne in two moneths, and yet are smaller then conies, and can scarce bite: differing nothing from other, saue that they haue five or sixe toes vpon their feet instead of nailes.

Hist. nat. lib.
11 C. 53.Of the Vni-
corne.
Hist. nat. lib.
8. c. 21.

But let vs leaue these fierce beastes, to consider vpon some others, and let vs speake first of the Vnicorne, which at this day is so greatly esteemed of, the horne of whom is holden of great vertue in Phisicke, and singular against all poysons. *Plinie* describeth the Vnicorne, to haue a bodie altogether like an Horse, an head like an Hart, feete of an Elephant, and the taile of a Bore, bearing an horne in the midst of his front, of two cubits in length: and he saith that these beastes are nourished in the land of the Orsians in India. *Lewes de Barthelema* in his nauigations into Arabia, affirmeth that he did at Meca see two Vnicornes: and saith that the body and colour of this beast is like an horse, of a darke gray, hauing feete

elques

clouen before, and hoofed like a goat. And that these two beasts had beene given to the Soldan of Meca, for a very rich and precious present, by a king of Ethiopia, to the end to haue peace with him. *Belon* hath obserued out of the testimonies of diuers authors, that there are two sorts of beasts, who beare one horne onely; one of which is the asse of India, which hath not clouen feete; and the other is the Orix, being a kinde of goate, that hath clouen feete. And he maketh mention of many Vnicornes hornes, esteemed to bee of verie great price: especially of two, which are in the treasure of Saint Markes at Venice; each of them beeing of a cubit and a halfe long, the greatest end whereof exceedeth not aboue three inches ouer. He speaketh also of that which our king hath, which is at Saint Denis, being seuen foote long, and waigheth thirteene pounds, and fower ounces, in fashion like a taper, being broad at the lower end about a palme and three fingers, and so groweth lesse and lesse towards the end, and hath a pit in the great end aboue a foot deepe, which is the place, wherein the bone is fastned that holds it firme to the head of the beast that beareth it. But this author doth mocke at the folly of those, who many times doe buie pieces of bone, which are cut of teeth of the Roheart, and of the hornes and ribs of many other beasts, for true Vnicornes horne, paying sometimes for one of these little pieces three hundred ducats: so much is Vnicornes horne esteemed, being most excellent for many vses in phisicke. *Theuet* also flouteth at these abuses, and at many fables inuented vpon this matter: alleadging that he had seene an horne taken from a beast of a cleane contrary shape to that, which the Vnicorne is described to be of, whereto the same vertue was neuertheless attributed. And that the countrey of the Sauages breedeth a beast called Pyraissouppi, as big as the foale of a Mule hauing almost such an head, as rough as a Beare and clouen footed like an Hart, which beareth two long straight hornes, that doe come neere to Vnicornes horne, and wherewith the Sauages cure themselues when they be bitten and wounded by venemous beasts and fishes. But now chaunge we our talke, and (*ACHITO*B) let vs heare you speake againe concerning some of the most rare and woorthie beastes of the Earth.

Lib. 1 de obseruat. c. 14.

Lib. 5 de cosmog.

Of the Hiena or Ciuet cat, of the Muske cat, of the Beauer, and of the Otter.
Chapter. 88.

ACHITOB. **I**n our discourses wee haue any worthy matter, whereinto admire the workes of God in the nature which he hath ordained vnto them, we shall find no lesse in the consideration of these, wherof I purpote now to speak, the odour of whom is very sweete. And amongst the rest the Ciuet cat called by auncients the Hiena, is worthy of great maruell. For from her commeth an excrement so odoriferous, that alsoone as it is smelt, doth pierce through all the senses and spirits, and serueth to compose very excellent perfumes. This beast fashioned like a Bedouant but of bigger bodie, hauing blacke haire about the necke, and long the ridge of her backe, which shee setteth vp right being angry. Shee is mouthed like a cat, and hath fierie and redde eies with two blacke spots vnder them, and round eares like vnto those of a Badger. Besides shee hath white haire, full of blacke spots vpon her bodie, with a long taile blacke aboue, but hauing some white spots vnderneath. The auncients haue spoken of this beast as of a wilde cat, and *Iohn Leo* in his description of Africke, doth name her so, saying that shee is common in the woods of Aethiopia, where the people do catch her with heryong, whome they nourish in cages with milke, and porridge made of branne and flesh: and that they receive ciuet from her twise or thrise a day, which is the sweate of this beast: for they beate her with a little sticke, making her leape vp and downe about the cage, till such time as shee doth sweate, which they take off from vnder her thighes, and taile, and that is it which is called ciuet. *Belon* reporteth to haue seene one in Alexandria, so tame, that playing with men, she would bite their noses, eares and lips, without doing them any harme: and that she was alwayes nourished with womens milke. *Mathiolus* likewise saith, that hee hath seene many Ciuet Cats at Venice, which had been brought out of Syria, and attributeth certaine properties to their excrements, for which cause they haue beene more sought after now, then in the dayes of our fathers: so that they are nourished at this day even in France. *Cardanus* also maketh mention of a beast called Zibetum, which

Of the Hiena.

Lib. 9.

2. Lib. obseruat. cap. 26.

Lib. 1 de Di-
of cap. 20.
De subt. li. 10

is found in Spaine, that is like to a cat, and carrieth a bladder in her members, the seede whereof is receiued into a spoone, beeing of so excellent an odour, that three drops thereof surmounteth the waight of three pounds of any odoriferous tree.

Of the Muske
cat.

But the Muske cat doth yet surpasse all other odour, and meriteth all maruell in the nature therof. For it is a beast like vnto a goat in forme and haire, but that she is of a more blewish colour, and hath but one horne, and is bigger of body. There are many in Africa, but chiefly in Tumbasco and Sini. When this beast is in rut, with the heat and rage that he then endureth, his nauell swelleth, and filleth it selfe with a certaine blood, in maner of an impostume: which at length through much wallowing, and rubbing against trees, hee maketh to breake, out of which runneth this blood, being halfe corrupted, which in tract of time becommeth very odoriferous. And the people of the countrey doe gather it amongst stones, or vpon the stocks of trees, as the best muske that is: because it is full ripe, after that it hath rested some certaine time out of the body of the beast which engendreth it, and that it hath bin perfectly concocted by the sun; which the other muske cannot be, that is taken out of the liuing beast, after that it is catched in chase. And therefore this most precious muske is shut vp & referued in boxes, and in the bladders of such of these beasts, as haue at any time beene taken, to serue to such vses as it is fit for: whereupon commeth that there are muskes very different in goodnesse. For there is but little brought to vs in true bladders of this perfect muske, being ripe, and gathered as before saide: but all the flesh of this beast being beaten together with the bones, is commonly put into an old bladder, and sold vs for pure muske. Which wee may very well know in that we vsually finde little peeces of bone in our muske. And yet this same thus prepared smelleth so sweetely, that wee may easily iudge, how precious and exquisite the odour of the true and perfect muske is.

Of the Castoreum.

The Castoreum which proceedeth from the Beuer, is also very much esteemed for the vertue of the sent thereof. This beast is as bigge as a dogge, long, gentle, of blacke and shining haire, with a very long taile, and feete like a goose, hauing strong teeth, and so sharpe, that he vseth them as a saw to saw and cleaue timber, whereof he maketh himselfe a lodging with maruailous cunning. They are found neere to the riuer of Iller, or Danubius, and neere to the Rhine also, and in many places of Africke. In his stones doth lie a most exquisite licour, which is proper to him: And therefore *Plinie* reporteth, that the Beuer feeling himselfe oppressed with hunters, biteth off his stones with his teeth, as if he knew

Hist. nat lib. 8
c. 30.
De subt. li. 10

wherefore hee were pursued: and that is it which Philosophers call Castoreum. *Cardanus* affirmeth that this beast is a kinde of Otter, euen as house wels are a kinde of wild wels. For (saith he) in one selfe same kinde of beasts, nature doth by little and little conuert it selfe from small to great ones, from foule to faire ones, and from weake to strong ones.

Of the otter.

Besides the Otter (called by *Plinie* *Lutra*) liueth commonly in the earth, and in the water, and hath haire softer then feathers: and his stones are fit and profitable for the same that Castoreum is. But (as *Matthiolus* hath very well noted) the vse of strange compositions

De Diosc. lib. 6
cap. 25.

doeth bring many discommodities to those, which thinke to serue themselues therewith, because they are either sophisticate, or corrupted before they come to vs. And therefore he saith, that the vse of Pontick or common Castoreum, which is black with rotnennes and putrifaction, is very venemous. But me thinketh (companions) that we stretch out too long our discourse concerning terrestriall beasts, considering that we haue not vnderaken to write a perfect history of them, but onely to set before our eyes some of the most rare and most excellent, to make vs meditate vpon, and to admire the workes of God. There are many authors out of which one may gather the entire knowledge of liuing creatures, and especially out of *Aristotle*, who hath described their nature in fiftie Books, by the commandement of *Alexander the great*; & after him, *Plinie* hath declared vnto vs in his natural History many things concerning the same subiect, which were not known before. Wherefore as when wee entreated of the Spheres and Meteors, wee referred all to the true Astronomie and Philosophie of Christians: so let vs now doe as much vpon our discourse concerning beastes, reducing all that which wee haue spoken to an inward meditation vpon the prouidence of God, considering that the effects thereof do continually appeare in the commoditie, profite, and vtilitie which redound vnto vs by these creatures, yea, by the most venemous of them: as (A SER) you may giue vs to vnderstand.

Of the right vse of venemous creatures.

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*Of the right vse of venemous creatures, and wilde beasts: and of the
iustice and bountie of God which shineth in them.*

Chapter. 89.

AS E. **V**EE must needs beleue for a principle, that if sinne had not entred into the world, there had neuer any creature beene hurtfull vnto man. For hee had beene a peaceable Lord and master of all living things, and all things had beene obedient vnto him, if hee had beene obedient vnto God, as he ought to haue beene. Wee haue a cleere testimony thereof, after the fall of *Adam*, in those beasts which came vnto *Noah* at the flood, to enter and remaine within the arke with him: as also in those lions into whose denne *Daniel* was cast. But as man hath beene very rebellious towards God, not acknowledging him for his Lord, according as duty did require him: euen so all creatures, which should shewe obedience to man, not onely haue beene, and are rebellious towards him, but do also many times make warre against him, and do greatly annoy him, euen according as it pleaseth the soueraigne Lord to chastice and punish the sinnes of men, by meanes of them. In this sort then must wee thinke vpon venemous and cruell beasts, who doe not onely seeke to hurt vs, but doe also serue the wicked, where-with to compound their poisons. For wee behold how God hath created many and diuers kindes of them, who beeing good in their nature, inso much as they haue all beene created by God, and in that hee is a worker, who cannot performe any euill businesse, they doe neuerthelesse oftentimes greatly hurt men, in steade of ministring aide vnto them, yea they do sometimes also worke their death. And therefore we must consider, that the fault doth not proceede from the creature created good, but from the sinne of man, being punished by the iust iudgement of God, by such scourges of his iustice, as it pleaseth him to make choise of: the worke neuerthelesse, which hee hath done by his creatures remaining good, inso-much as it serueth to chastice those, who do deserue it.

Genes. 7.

Dan. 6.

There are in earth, and in the sea many very venemous beasts, who by their poison kill men, as are serpents, vipers, scorpions, and such like. And although it may seeme that these creatures haue beene created onely but to doe hurt: yet hath not God giuen their beeing without good and iust reason. For hee hath so well disposed all things, that venims and poisons themselues serue very well for many other vses then to kill, and im-poison: for they are profitable and necessarie in many occasions, and serue for medicines and remedies in diuers accidents. And concerning their particular effects, which turne to the damage of man, besides that which wee haue said, that they are instruments of the diuine vengeance vpon sinne; God will thereby moreover make them acknowledge, and perceiue their infirmity, and what all humaine power is, when it riseth vp against his maiestie, and that men thinke to resist him. For who may be so dull, and dis-furnished of reason, that cannot vnderstand how vnsure their life is, and how feeble their force and power, considering that there needeth but some small venemous herbe, or some little portion of other venom and poison, or the stinging of some small beast, or the biting of some others, which are but as wormes creeping vpon the earth. I doe not onely say greatly to torment, but also to bereaue of life the greatest, and most fearefull giant, or prince in all the world. Herein then haue we a goodly example to teach vs to know what we are, what we can do, and how wee must feare, and be in continuall doubt, though we suppose our selues to bee neuer so strong and mightie. And wee may also instruct our selues, when we behold that there is no man so assured but that is somewhat moued; and receiueth some feare, yea and many times very much, at the onely sight and meeting of an adder, or viper, or of some other venemous beast. We may also imagine that if the eternall creator of every soule, doth shew himselfe so much to be feared in such small and vile creatures, who doe not sub-sist, nor retaine any power; but such as proceedeth from him, what might this bee in comparison of his whole puissance, if he would declare it vpon his enemies? But indeede this neede not, because hee can doe his pleasure by far lesse force: as when hee was displeased with the proud arrogancie, and peruerse obstinacie of *Pharaoh*, and of the Egyptians, who held the God of the Hebrewes in disdain; hee would not warre vpon them with great armies of men; but did onely raise vp trou-pes of frogs, of flies, and of lice, against which the proud tyrants could

Of the diuers
vses of vene-
mous beasts.

Exod. 8.
Psa. 78. & 105
Numb. 21.

Leuit. 26.
Deut. 28.
Ioc. 1.

Deut. 32.
Ose. 13.
1 King. 7.
2 King. 2.

Amos 3.

Of the boun-
tie of God
which shineth
in venomous
beasts.

not resist, but remained vanquished. Againe, how did he after that chastice his people in the wildernesse by fiery serpents? How many times afterwards did hee bring many people into extreme necessity, as if a strong army, or fire had passed through their countrey, and that onely by canker wormes, catter pillars, grasse hoppers, and such like vermine, where-with he threatneth those that rebell against his statutes? And doe wee not consider what vexation oftentimes flies, lice, wormes, rats and mice, do put vs vnto? Haue we not goodly occasion to be proud, high minded, and to esteeme much of our selues, seeing that there is not so much power in vs as to inuent the meanes how to defend and saue our selues from such little creatures, who trouble vs day and night, both at home and abroad? And may wee not hereby iudge, how we could defend our selues from woules, beares, lions, tigers & other savage and wilde beasts, in whom there is no doubt, but that wee haue very euident signes and testimonies proposed of the wrath and fury of God? For who is so stout that is not much scared to encounter with, or to beare the voice onely of any of these beasts? We know that God hath menaced the transgressours of his commandements with them. For he saith thus, [I will send the teeth of beastes vpon thee, with the venom of serpents creeping in the dust. And so hath he oftentimes done in the land of Samaria, and in Iudea, yea not sparing the young children, as was declared in them, who were deuoured by the Beares, because they mocked the Prophet *Elizans*. How many such examples of the wrath of God doe Histories set before their eyes, that haue beene executed in the daies of our fathers, yea amongst vs, who cannot bee ignorant, how that many times Woules haue deuoured little children, digging downe the houle sides for them, they being close by their parents. Wherefore the Lord did say by *Amos*, [The lion hath roared, who will not bee afraid? The Lord God hath spoken, who can but prophesie?] Let vs learne two things: first, that if the onely voice of the lion terrifie those which beare it, by much more reason must the word of God moue vs. Secondly, that the true seruants of God cannot be silent when the Lord shall haue commanded them to speake: but will attribute all glory to his name not standing in feare of venomous serpents, wilde beastes, and other scourges of his wrath, but dreading the Omnipotent onely, who executeth vengeance vpon the wicked, when, and how he pleaseth.

And as by this discourse, we must acknowledge the image of God being angry, and the patterne of his fury in al those creatures, which may hurt vs, and how much he is to be feared & dreaded in his most high Maiestie, considering that his iudgements are so terrible, being executed but by the smallest creatures of the earth: so on the other side must wee consider vpon the great bountie and benignitie of God, of which hee giues vs testimonies, not onely in beasts created to the onely purpose to serue and profit man; but also in those which seeme not to haue beene made; but onely for their hurt. For as we haue already said, venims and poysons may serue to many other vses, then to kill men, and venomous beasts are not so full of poyson throughout all their bodie, but that they may profit in sundry occasions: witnesse the viper (a most fearefull serpent) whose flesh is very requisite in the composition of true treacle, which is a most soveraigne remedie against all venom and poyson. And there are many verie dangerous diseases, against which this flesh of the viper and of other serpents is very profitable, according to the testimonie of phisitions. Who likewise teach, that the Scorpion (whose stinging is mortall) carrieth with him the true remedie for health, if hee be brayed, and laide vpon the wound which hee hath made; or else if being burnt, the ashes of him be drunke with wine. But how many rare properties doe they assigne to the oyle which is made of scorpions? In briebe to speake in a word, there is no beast so venomous, none so savage, none so cruell, be it great or small, by which men may not receiue much profit, if their nature were well knowne. All which wee may better learne, if we consider how that many creatures are nourished with that, which to others is venom and poison: the discourse whereof (A M A N A.) let vs receiue from you.

Of the nourishment of many animals, by that which is venom and poyson to others, and of the naturall amitie and enimity which is amongst them Chap. 90.

A M A N A. I T may seeme to many, that hornets, caterpillers, canker wormes, grasse hoppers, spiders, and such like vermin, were not created to any other ende, saue

to endamage men: but though wee doe omit a thousand properties, which all these creatures haue by nature seruing to vse in phisicke, and that wee doe but onely consider, how they serue for food and nourishment to many other creatures: yet shall we in this haue enough wherein to acknowledge the profit, which doth retorne vnto vs from most vile and contemptible creatures, and by so much the more magnifie the providence of God who ordaineth all things for our good, For it is very certaine, that these small creatures (which otherwise seeme to bee vnprofitable) doe serue for food and meate to birds and fowles, and to such fishes as wee doe ordinarily eate of, so that we may rightfully say, that wee our selues are nourished by catterpillers, grasshoppers, and such other vermine, considering that wee eate those beasts that deuoure them, and doe liue vpon them. Let vs but onely note the meate which Turkie cockes, and other common fowles, whom wee so carefully bring vp for vs to feede vpon, do most seeke after. Certainly, there is no beast which eateh more vncleanly and filthy meate, for they spare neither serpents nor toads: and yet wee esteeme of their flesh, eggs and chickens, as of very good and delicate meat. This is in truth a marvellous kinde of naturall chymistrie and inimitable art, to so sublimatethat which of it selfe is poison, and would proue so to man, that hauing passed through the limbecke and fire of a small creature, it is not onely purged thereby from all annoyance but doth also sustaine life, and serue afterwards for wholesome nouriture to man. And doe wee not beholde, that the nightingall and the wood sparrowe (are fat with eating venomous spiders) which serue both for meat and a medicine to them? *Plinie* hath written, that deere and quails do feede vpon poyson, and yet euery one knoweth that their flesh is a delicious kinde of meate. But what another wonder is this which the same author declarereth, that there be certaine beasts which are not venomous of themselves, and yet are dangerous meat, when they haue eaten any venomous beast or herbe? For in the mountaines of Pamphilia and of Cilicia, the bores that haue eaten Salamanders, are very venomous in such sort as they poyson those who eate of their flesh: and yet they themselves can conuert such poyson to their owne nourishment. What reason can we giue of so excellent a secret in the nature of beasts? I haue neuer yet learned any reason of the Philosophers. Let vs then stay at the admirable effects of the providence of God, who in those beasts, which we doe commonly eate for our sustenance, doth performe this marvellous chymistrie whereof wee now spake, and who causeth the force of poysons to bee spent in the deserts, to the small hurt of man, to the end that his omnipotencie, bounty and benignity may be declared in all things towards vs.

Excellent
chymistrie in
the nature of
beasts.

Hist. nat. lib.
10. c. 7.

Moreover, haue we not also worthy matter, whereby to giue glory to his name, in that he hath created the beasts so different in nature, with a naturall and secret amitie, and enimitie which they doe greatly beare one towards another? For it is very certaine, that God maketh all this serue to the profit and commoditie of men: in so much as there is a kinde of amitie commonly in priuate and tame beasts, towards such as they are, all seruing him who hath bene established for their master: and that enimitie doth rather remaine amongst wilde beasts, as also in tame beasts towards the wilde: In such sort as many sauage beasts, which doe nothing but harme, haue by this meanes many of their owne kinde their aduersaries to make head against them, and to resist them in whatsoever they would doe. But we may especially wonder in that the most mightie, great and strong beasts, yea the most furious and cruell are commonly put in feare, by the smallest and most weake. For what is an hog in regard of an Elephant? or a cocke in respect of a lyon? there seemeth to be no comparison betwixt them: And yet the onely voice and grunting of an hog maketh the Elephant afraide, and the lion is not onely seized with feare at the crowing of the cocke, but is much troubled when he seeth him but set vp his crest. Also there are verie little beastes, who doe not onely put verie great and cruell ones in feare, but doe also kill them: as the Ichneumon, which is a little Rat of India, doeth kill the great and cruell crocodile (a most dangerous serpent) cleauing and piercing his belly, after it is secretly entered thereinto thorough the mouth of this beast, which is able to deuoure men, and yet striketh no feare into this feeble creature. Which (as *Plinie* recordereth) hath another warre against the Aspis, ouer whom it remaineth victorious by this meane. It doeth many times wallowe and tumble in the dirt, and as many times doth drie it selfe in the sunne: then feeling it selfe sufficiently armed with slime, it assaileth the Aspis, alwaies holding vp the taile against him, to receiue the blowes thereupon, which the serpent shall strike, wherewith hee can in no wise offend the bodie of the Ichneumon: in the meane space it picketh out some

Of the natural
amity and
enimitie of
beastes.

Hist. nat. lib. 8
cap. 24.

such

such fit place to strike him through the throat, that he therewith dieth: and presently after it doeth prepare it selfe, as before, to fight with another. In this discourse we may behold a perfect image of humane things, considering that we cannot be ignorant, how that it commeth oftentimes to passe, that God abateth the most mightie and strong tyrants, by the most lowly and abiect persons; and Kings, Princes, and highest esteemed people, by meane and very lowe esteemed men. And let vs also note, that although the amitie and enmitie amongst living creatures, proceedeth from a certaine instinct of nature, so disposed by the creator, and the causes whereof are either hidden, or hardly knownen: that neuertheless, the best reason, and most certaine which may be alledged concerning those examples, which wee haue heere touched, is, that God would declare vnto vs in them, how he doeth mocke at the pride and arrogancie of men, and at all their puissance and force. For if he bestowe so much power vpon little beastes, as to affright, yea even to slay the most furious, and that hee can overthrow, and destroy the most stout and valiant amongst men, by their owne selues, how much more should he astonish them, if with his almightie hand hee should beat downe their pride, and punish their sinnes in his ire? Though the people (saith the Prophet) rage and murmure; though Kings band themselves, and Princes be assembled together against the Lord, yet hee that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall haue them in derision, also they shall perish in the way, when his wrath shall suddenly burne.

Now concerning that, which particularly respecteth the amitie betwixt priuate and domesticall beastes, and their hate towards those that are wilde, although that the neereft cause be very euident (as that they do loue one another, because they are nourished together, and receiue no damage one from another, hating the wildenesse of those, who desire to deuoure them) yet must wee passe farther, and acknowledge another more remote, and yet most certaine cause therein, which is a naturall instinct to conserue and multiplie their owne kind for the vtility and seruice of man, according as the bountie and benignitie of our God hath by his admirable providence disposed of their nature, wherupon let vs heare you (A. R. A. M.) plot out the subiect of your discourse.

Of the vtility that commeth vnto men by beasts, and chiefly by priuate and domesticall tame beasts, and of the wonderfull providence of God which declareth it selfe in them. Chapter 91.

Of the commodity that men haue by tame beasts.

A. R. A. M. **S**ithence God hath so disposed all things by his providence for the good, and commodity of men, that they may receive some profite even out of the most venomous, cruell and sauage beasts, as we haue already heard: we may in no wise doubt (as indeede experience doth daily teach vs) but that they doe receive great aide and helpe from priuate and tame beasts, as are sheepe, kine, oxen, bulles, asses, mules, horses and such like. For wee are serued with their labours, and trauaile, with their fruite, with their flesh, with their wool, and with their skinnies. For from whence receive wee our clothing, except linnen, but from beasts? With how many sorts of wooles and of skins doe they furnish vs? And from whence haue wee the silkes, cloth, and workes which are made and which serue to cloath the most stout and proud tyrants, and other princes of the earth? Haue wee them not by the industry of wormes, and small vermine? In very truth, we may very well say, that wormes cloath wormes, and that the most stately amongst men doe take from the most vile amongst creatures the substance of their brauerie and pomp. For what are men, but poore wormes of the earth, who to make themselves a little excell the rest, do take from other wormes the ornaments of their magnificence? And if wee consider what commodity the milke which is drawne from some beasts doeth deliuer vnto a thousand thousand persons, if wee consider of the great multitude that there is of all kinde of fourefooted beastes, of birdes and of fishes, all which doe serue vs for foode and nourishment in diuers manners: if how many sundry tastes and saouours wee finde in all these meates of different natures, according to the tastes, complexions and dispositions of men, and which are so tempered, that they be good for those that are in health, for those that are sicke, for great, for small, for yong, for olde: shall we not bee rauished with all these wonders, thereby to giue glorie to the soueraigne Creator and moderator of all nature? What shall

shall we more say in that the skins of earthly beasts, are of so many diuers colours, and so well compact, either of woole, or of haire, or of good skins, of the variety & diuersity that there is in the feathers of birds, and in the colors of them, & in their songs, which minister much pleasure to melancholy persons: are not these so many excellent testimonies of the power of the omnipotent; who created all these things through his bounty & benignity towards vs? Surely there is nothing so vile and contemptible in the least creature that is, but doth preach the Maiesty of God vnto vs. And therefore he said vnto his seruant *Iob*, [Hast thou giuen the pleasant wings vnto the peacocks? or wings and feathers vnto the Ostrich?] For we see, that they which will decke themselves do put vpon their heads the faire plumes of the Ostrich, and of other foules, which are sold very deere: also euery one admireth the taile of the peacock, wherwith he sets forth himselfe, which he turneth like as into a wheele or a roundell, being so gallantly garnished, that there seeme to be as many eyes or sunnes, as there be feathers therein.

I speake not heere of the nature of beasts, nor of the industry which God hath giuen to euery one of them, to know what is conuenient or hurtfull for them, and to couet the one and auoid the other: as also how they are furnished with care and power, to preserue their life, and the liues of their young ones. But I will here bring into the number one of the least and most common sort, which wee behold euery day in our houses: for perhaps the consideration thereof will not be altogether vnprofitable vnto vs; and that is the cock. If any question be made concerning his beauty, in what birde may wee finde more, bee it, that wee consider of his plumage, and the diuersity of colours, which is commonly therein, or of his faire kingly crest, or his stately pace and braue carriage, which cannot bee more magnificent in the greatest monarch of the world? And if this birde were not so common, but were very seldome seene, there are but few other creatures which would bee preferred before him, although there were nothing worthy of consideration in his nature, saue that which wee haue already declared. What shall wee say then if wee will but meditate, of what heart and courage hee is in fight? Is there any other creature which can lesse endure to bee overcome, and is more ashamed thereof? Againe, what curtesie vseth hee amongst the hennas, with whom hee is conuersant? and how much doth hee loue them, euen to prouide for meate to feede them, and to take it out of his owne beake, to giue vnto them, calling them when hee hath found it, as the henne calleth her little chickens together: But that which I finde most strange in him, is the agreement which by nature hee hath with the Sunne, which is such, as one may very well thinke, that hee hath some naturall Astronomy and Astrology, which is bred in him. For hee vnderstandeth and perceiueth the course and motion of the heaven and of the Sunne, and when his rising doth approach, so that hee declareth it by his crowing, very timely in the morning, and that diuers times before any other creature can perceiue it; yea or men themselves, except they rise out of their beddes to behold the sky. And yet for all that they must haue obtained some knowledge of the course and of the motion of heaven; either by the science of Astronomy, or through long vse and continuall obseruations thereof, as is with shepherds, and those that watch in the fields. But if the heavens bee covered with cloudes what can the most expert of them know therein, saue by meanes of clocks; which they haue in their houses? The cocke then is more skillfull in this art. For without euer moouing from the place where he is at roost to sleep, and what weather soeuer there be, faire or fowle, yet doth not hee faile to sound out the chimes at his howers, so as there is no clocke so certaine: and he serueth also for one to them that haue no other. And therefore we may very well say, that how many cocks there are in the world, so many naturall and domesticall clockes are they for those who haue them in their houses. And doe we not see how that souldiers, especially Almaines doe commonly carry these creatures with them, to serue as a trumpet to the to sound out the approach of day. But the cocke did not serue for a clocke only to *S. Peter*, but for a preacher also, to recall in to his memory the words, which he had heard of his master, and for to draw him out of his sinne, and to induce him to true repentance as he did. And the like ought wee to doe, so often as this bird croweth in the morning, not onely to thinke our selues aduertised of the approach of the sunne, which bringeth vs the temporall day, after the darknes of the night but we must euery day wake out of the sleepe of sin, wherein we are so soundly laide; and prepare and dispose our selues to receiue Iesus Christ, the true Sunne of iustice, which bringeth vs the eternall & perpetuall day, that is neuer changed into night; & the light which

Many things
to be considered
of in the
nature of
the Cocke.

Math. 26.
Mark. 1. 4.
Luk. 22.
Iohn 13.
Goodly do-
ctrine that we
ought to
learne by the
crowing of
the Cocke;

cannot be obscured by darknes. By this brieue discourse then we may iudge how many excellent matters we should find to entreat vpon concerning the nature of liuing things, to make vs still more and more acknowledge the wonders of the prouidence of God, if wee would pursue to the full, that which might be said concerning this matter in searching out the secrets of the diuers faculties of creatures. But we will content our selues onely to adde to this which wee haue saide, that which well deserueth to bee considered of in this place, concerning the multiplication of such beasts as are most profitable for men, and by whom they receiue most commodities, whereupon (ACHITOB) let vs heare you presently discourse.

Of the blessing and prouidence of God, in the multiplication and conseruation of those beasts, that are most profitable to men, and by whom they receiue most commodities. Chap. 92.

Genes. 1.

C. 9.

C. 7.

Goodly contemplations
vpon the fertilitie of
beasts.

Other considerations to
the same purpose.

ACHITOB. The holy Scripture teacheth vs, how that God after hee had created the beasts, he blessed them, saying, [Increase and multiply, and fill the waters, and the earth.] And that afterwards when the deluge had ouerwhelmed euery liuing soule, saue *Noah*, and his family, and two of euery kinde of beasts; God likewise repeated the same benediction of them, saying, [Bring forth fruite and multiply, and fill the earth.] Through which word that admirable fruitfulness, which wee beholde in all creatures, did first come, and is for euer conserued. Wherein, if wee haue any woorthy matter deliuered vnto vs to acknowledge the prouidence, bountie, and benignitie of God towards men, it is principally in this point which is notorious vnto all, that the vertue of this blessing hath been such, that those beasts, from whom wee might receiue most commoditie, and which are most tame and familiar, haue much more multiplied, then the other wilde and cruell beasts, who might bring any perill or endomagement vnto vs. Whereto GOD himselfe had in some sort a regard, when hee commaunded *Noah* to enter the arke, and to take of cleane beasts, seuen and seuen, male and female: but of vncleane beasts, two and two onely. So that by this meane, there did most remaine of the number of those, the vse of whom was most necessarie for man: giuing vs also a certaine testimony of his fatherly bounty to vs, by which hee is induced to haue respect vnto vs in all things.

But if wee consider what fecunditie there is in certaine sauage beasts, and yet how it vanissheth, and is surmounted by the multiplication of the other sort (wherewith we serue our selues) by a certaine kind of manner, which is altogether incomprehensible vnto vs: there is no person but will finde himselfe rauished in the contemplation thereof. For let vs take for instance the wolues onely. It is certaine, that they are more fertile then sheepe, kine, and other private and domesticall beasts, which serue for the maintenance of our life, and to other vses for the commoditie of the same. For the sheepe doeth bring forth, and nourish but one lambe, the cowe one calfe, the mare one foale, and so of the rest: whereas the wolfe bringeth forth and nourissheth many whelpes. Moreouer, none of those tame beasts, nor no man himselfe doeth eate any wolues: but they, and many other wilde beasts, which liue vpon prey, yea man himselfe, doe eate vp lambes, sheepe, kine, and their calves, and many times foales escape not: and yet we neuerthelesse doe daily behold, how all these poore beasts, which are a continuall prey to men and other creatures, doe increase and multiply each one more in his kinde, then wolues and other cruell beasts, who eate and deuoure them. Are not these then admirable effects of the prouidence of God, the reason whereof doeth surpasse the capacite of our vnderstanding? In very trueth these things are no lesse woonderfull (although there bee great diuersitie of the subject) then the multiplication of the people of Israel amongst the Egyptians, which was by so much the greater, by how much the more they were oppressed by tyrannie and cruell dealing.

Let vs also note, how that this eternall wisdome fauouring the fertilitie of those beasts, that are most profitable for man, hath assigned to such as liue vpon prey and rapine, an habitation in desert and obscure places, in rockes, caues, and in denues. For so it pleased God to separate them from the other, to the ende that they might the lesse annoy them. Moreouer, hee sundred them amongst themselves: in such sort that they doe not liue together

gether in companies, as others do, that they might not ouerrun them. For wolues, beates, lyons, and such like doe not communicate one with the other, as priuate and domesticall beasts do: because they cannot agree one with another, as the peaceable & innocent beasts. So likewise eagles, haukes, faulcons, and other birdes of prey, do not flie together in volec and troopes, as pigeons, cranes, geese, and such like do, which serue vs for food. Thereupon then ensueth, that wilde beasts cannot gather so much power, as to hurt the other, vpon whom they make continuall warre: and who by this meanes are often saued from peril. Let vs adde in regard of birds, that they of prey are not so fruitfull as those which are giuen vs for foode. Witnes the great number of chickens which the hen doth hatch at one time, and the number of the young ones of partridges and quails, in comparison of those who fly to deuoure them. And although doves do bring forth but one at a time, yet they recompence that, in so much as they breed almost euery moneth in the yeere. In meditation then vpon these things, we must consider what, and how great the bounty of God is towards vs: and that all his creatures must be as so many preachers still to announce vnto vs the puif- sance and infinite wisdom of him; and as mirrors wherein hee presenteth himselfe euery where before our eies. And when we serue him not according to our duty, we are wel wor- thy to be set to schoole to such masters, as being beasts, more brute, more wild, more sauage then they who liue with vs, and are created for to serue vs. It is then as *Isay* said to the Isra- elites who were ingratefull and rebellious against their God, [The ox knoweth his owner, and the asse his masters crib: but Israell hath not knowne, my people hath not vnderstood.] And indeed in these 2. kinds of creatures we haue a goodly example to raise vs out of our sloth and ingratitude towards God, if we do but consider onely, what benefits do redound vnto vs by the seruice which we haue of oxen in tilling of our lands, and drawing of carts & wagons, and by asses in bearing al loades & burdens which are laid vpon their backs. Where- in we are also to esteeme of the providence of God, in regard of the forme of the bodies, & members of these beasts. For he hath so disposed them, that their onely composition & fi- gure doth admonish men of the works wherein these creatures must be employed, and of the vses, whereto they must be put. For oxen do cleere shew vs, that their backe is not fit to beare packs nor saddle, but that their necks is fit for the yoke, and their shoulders to draw carts and wagons, whereby one may easily iudge as also by their heauines, that they are vn- fit to beare burdens like the asse: whose backe, head and shoulders, are apt for the same.

Moreouer shall we not consider of the great bounty, and providence of God, in that he hath created the puissant and strong buls so docible, that men doe easily teach them to leaue all their fiercenes, and make them so tame, that a little young boy shall lead them like sheepe, and put the yoke vpon their necke, couple them, and make them labor as he listeth. This may make vs wonder at the indocility and wildnes of man, heeing so difficult to correct and tame. For wee see that one onely childe can easily direct a great troupe of beasts, bee they oxen or bulles, and gouerne them himselfe. But contrariwise, the nature of man is so vatoward, that many masters and gouernors are scarce sufficient to guid one onely childe. And what may we more say, in that all the government of these beasts is done without any neede to muzzle their mouthes, or to tie or fasten them in chaines or halters, and without keeping them in bits and bridles like horses, which men tame by such meanes? Surely we need not doubt, but if God had not ordained by his providence, that oxen and buls should serue men in those vses whereto they would employ them, that wee should be able to draw no more seruice out of them, then out of the wildest beasts that are in the world. By so many testimonies then, as wee haue in the nature of beasts, of the puif- sance, bounty and benignitie of the Creator of all things: let vs conclude, that we may very well say to all such as doe not consider vpon the so admirable workes of God, and vpon his providence therein, that which *Iob* said to his friends, speaking thus, [Aske the beasts, and they shal teach thee: or speak to the earth, and it shall shew thee; and to the fishes of the sea, and they shall declare vnto thee, who is ignorant of all these, but that the hand of the Lord hath made all these?] And to morrow (companions) wee will take a view of the goodly riches and treasures, which are hidden within the entrailes and precious stones, the dis- course whereof (A SER.) you shall begin.

Of the docile-
lity of buls.

Iob 12.

The ende of the eleuenth daies worke.

CCCC 2

The

The twelfth daies worke.

*Of Mettals, and especially of Gold.
Chapter 93.*

ASER.



S we haue already contemplated those things, which appeare to be most rare vpon the earth; so do we now desire somewhat to refresh our spirits by the consideration of those things which are hidden within the in-trailles thereof. That then shall bee the subiect of our discourse for this day, to the end that as the contemplation of the highest heauens did open an entrance into our discourse, so we should conclude it, by a treatise vpon that, which is within the earth, neere to the center of this great Vniuers: to witte, vpon mettals & stones. Not that we intend to speake of the, as by a particular description of their nature & species: for then I dare affirme that there are so many kinds of mettals engédred within the earth, that they cannot be particularly described: and sith that nature adorneth the earth with aboue five hundred kindes of plants, and with as many beasts, it is very likely, that she exerciseth no fewer meanes vnder earth, wherby to enrich it. But as we haue proposed vnto our selues no other ende in all our discourses of heauen, of earth, and of the creatures therein contained; but onely to consider vpon the most worthy things therein, which might incite vs to an holy meditation of the providence of God, thereby the more to glorifie him: euen so will we doe in that which we now intend to declare, concerning mettals and precious stones.

What metall
is, and of the
kindes thereof.

Mettall is that which is pliable by the hammer, and hard, stones are hard, but not pliable; and waxe and mud are pliable, but no hard. Mettals are seven in number, (as the planets are. For gold representeth the Sunne; siluer, the Moone: amber called electrum, Mercurie, iron, Mars, lead, Saturne, brasse, Venus, and copper Iupiter: or else wee distinguish them in this sort. All metall is perfect, soft, and pure as gold: or, it is pure and hard, as siluer: or, it is hard and impure, as iron: or, it is soft and impure, as lead. And for amber it is compounded of gold, and siluer, as cyprus copper is made of brasse, and iron: containing an equall substance of brasse, and of iron: which causeth that iron too much concocted and high tincted, is easily changed into brasse, and rechanged againe into copper. But wee will now speake of gold, which is the most perfect and purest of all mettals. In very trueth nature neuer tooke delight to make a more perfect elementary substance then golde is: for it is as pure and neate in the qualitie thereof, as are the simple elements whereof it is composed. And therefore by good right doe we hold it in price of excellencie farre aboue all other riches, and doe esteeme it in our iudgement to bee much more precious then all other mettals. For beeing in the composition thereof proportioned in equall qualitie, sithly correspondent in the symmetry of the Elements which compound it, it is euen from the originall thereof so purified already, as are the simple elements: In such sort, that by their conjunction together in equall power, there is ingédred so delicate, & perfect a mixture of indissoluble vnion, composing an accord so faithfully, that there is made thereby an incorruptible paste, which is permanent to all eternity in the excellency and goodnesse thereof. Wherfore gold cannot be vanquished by iniurie of time, and of antiquitie, neither can containe in it selfe nor support any excrescence and superfluitie of rust. For though it bee put into the water, or fire, and there remaine for any long space of time, yet is it neuer stained, neither doth accept any other quality, but that which is naturall, nor yet doeth faile any whit: which is the particular priuiledge that it hath aboue other mettals. For they are all subiect to alteration, & therefore change and corrupt for a smal matter, and accept a good or bad quality in their original, or end. But gold is incorruptible, and therefore not subiect to such mutations: yea though it be drawne out in so small wire, that it be as fine as threds in a spiders web, and though it be buried in most piercing medicaments, as are sublimatum, and

and verdegreafe, falt, and vinegar, and that it remaine two thousand yeeres therein, it will not for all that bee corrupted, but contrariwise the more refined, but all gold hath not one selfe same perfection: for their mines and sources are different in goodnes. Sometimes also gold is counterfeit, sophisticate, and falsified through the infidelity or avarice of those, who mingle it, and multiply it with other mixtures of mettals of lesse value, and lesse pure then it is. But pure and refined gold is alwayes perfect by nature in al those qualities, which we have already touched, and it is found in diuers manners; to wit, mixed with sand, as in Bohemia: on the shore side amongst the waters neere to Gold bourgh, and Rife grond: and amongst the stones in mountaines as in Calcecut, and in the Indies. But the first generation thereof is at the top of mountaines, in the highest places, because that the sunne doth ther more easily purifie that, which retaineth too much earthines in it. And whē the raine and torrents doe flowe downe the mountaines, they carry the gold downe with them to the foote thereof, where it is gathered amongst the sand: or else in waters neere thereunto whether it is driven by violence of the floods: except perhaps the ground open with those raines, and the gold doeth there stick, as it oftentimes chanceth. And that, which is alwaies found in the entrance of the mine, is not the finest: but the farther you goe, the finer and purer it is, of better waight, and greater value. That then which is found in waters & rivers, is fished for and is in forme of little graines: and in rocks and mountaines it is taken out, by deluing and digging. And therefore there are holden to be three sorts of gold mines. For some are called pendent, some iacent, and others oblique and running. The pendent are those which are found in the superficies of mountaines, and haue the earth vnder them. They which are iacent or lie, are belowe in the field and plaine ground, carried thither by torrents and stormes of raine. And the other that are oblique, haue a crosse course whether it be in that which hangeth, or lieth, all whereof is driven by floods into the next riuers: for which cause there are riuers throughout all the world, the sand whereof seemeth to be of azure and gold, hauing indeede pure and fine graines of good gold. Now according as the mines are, so are there diuers means vsed to take out the mettall. For in those places which are dry, without water, they which are expert in the veine of mines, hauing true knowledge what may be in that place, doe cause it to be digged eight or tenne foote deepe, and as many foote long and broad: and as they proceede in their work, they still wash the earth that is digged vp, continuing so till such time as they finde the gold, which is sometimes so deepe, that they are driven to set vp arches of wood ouer them, that the earth may not ouerwhelme them. And when the mines are pendant along the mountaines, the difficulty is then more great, wherefore they also set vp engines to defend them from dangers, which are there very imminent. For some, to wit, those that dig into the rocke, are quite hidden therein, even as those that cut stone, are within a quarry; others creep scrambling vp the sharp rockes, with a basket at their backes, seeking out the earth of the mine to carry it to the water: others wash the same earth in a sieue, by meanes whereof the golde is separated, remaining in the sieue, after that the earth is runne out by little and little. Moreouer, out of these mines there issueth a stinking breath or damp, which doth oftentimes choake and kill them that worke therein, being not able to indure so bad an aire: some also are drowned by waters, which suddenly gush out of those places where they haue digged, when they thinke not of any such thing, quickly ouerwhelming them, before they can make signe to those that are aboue to helpe them. Againe, these miserable poore soules are oftentimes affrighted by euill spirits, who inhabite in great numbers in those hollow and solitary places, as many haue experimented to their great hurt. For sometimes it happeneth, that these diuels tumble great stones and whole rockes vpon them, throwe downe their engines, ouerturze their ladders, breake their cordage, and doe a thousand other mischiefes, whereby men are oftentimes slaine. Concerning riuers wherein the graines and sands of golde are found, the dangers are not so great therein, but the paine is no lesse. For if the riuers be little, the Indians vse to emptie and let it out till it be drie: and then take off the bottome thereof, and wash it, as aforesaid: and if the water bee very great, they turne it out of the channell, which done, they goe to gather the golde in the midst of the riuers, betwixt the stones and great pibbles, so that sometimes there commeth greater profite by this fishing, then by washing the digged earth, to separate the gold. But howsoever, yet is there great paines alwaies vsed to obtaine the riches of this mettall, so much coueted by men, and whereof the abuse is very great, as wee may in some sort touch, after that wee haue spoken of other mettals, which shall serue (A M A N A) for the subiect of your discourse.

How gold is found.

How gold is taken out of mines.

Of Siluer, Amber, Iron, Lead, Brasse, and Copper.

Chapter. 94.

A M A N A. **T**HE most noble amongst mettals next to gold is siluer, for although that copper in colour, and lead in waight do neereſt approach vnto gold yet in tenuity of ſubſtance, in purenes and ſaltneſs, ſiluer is ſo like vnto it, that good ſiluer may be rightly ſaid to be imperfect gold in ſubſtance, failing in colour: and that by ſucceſſion of time it is ſometimes changed into gold: as in many yeeres ſpace lead turneth into ſiluer. The mines therof are more ordinary then gold mines. For France, Italy, Spaine, England, Germany, and many other regions of Europe doe beare ſiluer in diuers places, as well as the other parts of the world. And it is there engendred in ſower manners: to wit, eirher in the earth, which being gathered together, and then molten in the fire, doth yeeld ſiluer, or in lead, wherewith it is often found mingled, or in brasse, or in ſtones, out of which it is alſo extracted by fire. For in the mountaine called (*Mons Regius*) ſtones retaine very much ſiluer: which being alſo but into the fire, there is found in euery pound of ſiluer that runneth out of them, halfe an ounce of gold at leaſt. Siluer is alſo many times found to be mixed with copper, as in Alfaria neere to the Rhine, in the mountaines of Saint Anne, and in Meiſſen: for there are ſtones full of copper, in which is great abundance of ſiluer. And when it is ſeparated from lead, it leaueth a ſcumme, which we call (*Lythargyrium*) which is a kind of impure lead, retayning ſome vertue of ſiluer. For quick ſiluer, though it agree in name with ſiluer, yet it approacheth neerer to gold: for it is like vnto it in tenuity, & waight and to ſiluer in colour onely. But for all this it is no mettall, but a water condemat, not by heat (for it is not hardned) not by cold (for then it would be a ſtone or mettall) but by ſome other terreſtriall, rare and pure portion, whereby it commeth to be very waighty and cold ſpleadant and liquide, and is therefore rancked among thoſe metalline ſubſtances, which differ but little from water: and indeed the mountaines where quick ſiluer groweth are very greene, and full of fountaines.

Let vs ſpeake now of Amber, which wee haue put into the number of mettalles. Many authours doe diſagree very much in the diſcourſe of Amber. For ſome reckon that which is called (*Electrum*) amongst pliable and had metalline ſubſtances: others will not acknowledge it to be any other then a gumme of a tree, which is very much like to that of the Pine and Firre tree, producing Roſin, and is very common in Arabia the happy. *Philemon* writeth, that in two places of Scythia. Amber is digged out of the ground, like a kinde of ſtone, and in one place it is white, in another yealow. But omitting this argument, we will follow thoſe who make Amber a mettall, whoſe nature and property is in meane betwixt gold and ſiluer, and that ſuch is the true and naturall amber, as that, which we uſe in our beads is artificiall. And it partaketh more of gold then of ſiluer, becauſe it is more pure and perfect, and apt to be wrought. For if it did conſiſt more of ſiluer, it could not endure the forge and hammer. There are veſſels made thereof for beauty and profite: For good amber doth diſcouer poyſons in theſe two manners, by cracking and making the ſigne of an arch within. For when the rare humidity thereof commeth to be conſumed by the force of venime, it cracketh: & the colour changing, it ſeemeth that in ſtead of the great ſplendor thereof, there doth a kind of ſtaine repreſent it ſelfe like vnto an arch. Now that this kind of amber is very rare, it is not becauſe there is not enough to be had in mines: but auarice and ignorance of the vertue thereof cauſeth that the gold is extracted whereby it ceaſeth to be amber.

Concerning Iron; it is taken out of the earth, and to make it malleable, the maſſe thereof is (when it is taken vp) laid to dry in the ſunne, and that which is earthy doth ſofter in the raine, as that which is moiſt doth melt by the ſun, and the moiſt ſharpe part thereof, which is as the venime of it, is conſumed by the fire. The mines of this mettall are common in Europe, as in diuers parts of France, which are enriched by the forges that are there ſet vp, to bring this minerall ſubſtance to his perfection. Which by how much the more it is concocted and purged, by ſo much the more it is better in goodnes, in ſuch ſort, as that which is earthy, doth at laſt turne to ſcales & droſſe, and the moiſt ſubtile part thereof doth conuert into ſteele, after it hath bin well purged, & a little marble added thereto. And this is artificiall

artificiall Steele. For there is in many places naturall Steele, namely in Persia very good, in the Chaldean Isle, and neere Damalcus, whereof the best cemiters in the world are made which cut so well, that there is no rasor bee it neuer so well Steele and tempered that hath a more fine and sharper edge. For this cause some say that there are some kindes of Steele and iron so excellent, that waight for waight they are esteemed of greater price then gold. Moreover men may see what art can doe in iron, when by much beating therof, and through the power of water, iron, be it neuer so thin, is made vnfrangible by blowes: because that such water, by meanes of fire doth consume the terrestriall and waterie excrement, which is found in this mettall. When then the iron is brought to be most pure, most hard, and most light, then is it most subtile, and therefore most strong, and resisteth best.

Lead consisteth in foure kindes. For there is blacke, common, and low-pricked lead: white, which is ordinarily called tinne. *Bismutum* which is of meane quality betwixt blacke and white, and is rare, & knowne but to few people though it be found in the mountaines of Bohemia: and the fourth kinde is compounded of Stibium. The ore of lead is molten, in furnaces prepared for that purpose, and being molten, it is let runne through pipes out of the furnace, whether the worke man wil. And whilest it remaineth very hot, they cast cleere water vpon it to make the forme arise: which waxeth very massiue, hard to breake, yealow and bright as glasse: and this is that which is called lichearge of lead. But this difference is betwixt white lead, and true tinne, that this doth alwaies grow with siluer, and the other doth grow of it selfe: in such sort that tinne is almost white lead blanchd by siluer. Brasse (as we haue already said) is made of a matter very neere approaching to that of iron: and so also is copper. But brasse hath the propertie, that it neuer rusteth, as iron and Steele doth: and therefore it will continue longer. In times past also, it was very vsuall to make armor and bucklers thereof, yea and launces likewise: witnes *Homer*, who recounteth that *Melenas* pursued Paris with a brassen launce. Flutes and pipes of organes, and other muscical instruments are commonly made of brasse: but it doth properly agree with trumpets, because it maketh a great noise in doricke musicke, and inflameth men to combat. That of Cyprus is harder, and better then any other. Some also because of copper make two kindes of brasse: to wit naturall, whereof the best hath spots of shining gold intermingled; & there is reported to haue beene found in new Spaine a peece of it of two hundred pound waight. Then is there artificiall brasse, which is called copper, or latten: and the most excellent is that, which in fower pounds of brasse doth containe one pound of white lead called tinne: also when the white lead is mixed to the eight part of brasse, then is the copper very good: but it is base being mixed with black lead. For the vse of copper, it is chiefly fit for faire instruments, as ordinance, cauldrons, and such like: wherein it is more excellent then brasse, because also it doth not give a bad tast, nor smell to such meate as is boiled therein. Thus haue wee summarily runne ouer that, which we thought most convenient to be spoken concerning mettals: we will now speake of pretious stones: whereof (*ARAM*) do you begin to entreate.

Of precious stones, and chiefly of the Diamond. Chapter 95.

ARAM. IF wee first say somewhat concerning the originall and matter of stones, the nature and vertue of them shall be so much the more easie for vs to comprehend. Now the originall of stones, as mettals, is in the earth: and they be all made of an elementarie substance, or of a pure and equall matter which is gathered together, or else is runne on an heape, or else hath beene purified in some sort howsoever. In which, heate doth chiefly operate. For that is it which boileth matter naturallie engendred to perfect the humour, whereof afterwards the minerall matter or stone doth consist. *Theophrastus* distinguishing all that which doth so grow within the earth, saith, that some things participate with the water, as gold, and siluer, and other mettals: some accord with the earth, as stones, yea precious stones, and all such earths as are in estimation because of their colours or of their fauours, or of some other properties. But if he would infer (as it seemeth) that all precious stones are terrestriall, if this opinion were true, then should there bee no precious stone bright and cleere, and yet almost all of them are so. Wherefore wee may rather say, that they are not earthie, but watry: that is to say, that they are composed of a certaine

humour, which retaineth more of water then of earth: for it is a certaine kinde of clammy slime, wherein there is more water then earth, which being dried and thickned through continuance of the same operation, and by the vehemencie thereof, doth at last become a stone. Now that a grosse and clammy humour doth easily conuert into stone, wee see euident in all liuing creatures, and chiefly in our selues. For those stones and gravell, which breed in the bladder and in the reines, are ingendred of such humours, as in tract of time haue beene boyled and hardened by the naturall heat of our body. So then precious stones, which are bright and transparent, are not composed of earth, nor yet of water onely: but are ingendred of a pure and liquid humour, which retaineth in it selfe more of water then of earth. For in that these stones, being cast into water, sinke to the bottome, it is manifest, that they are not made of water onely, for then they should swim aloft like yce and baile.

Of the splendor and light in stones.

For the splendor and light of some, and obscuritie, or thickenesse of others: wee must first note, that the elements operating (as in all things else) in the generation of stones, they participate more with the water and with the earth, then with the fire and with the aire. And because that the earth is not transparent nor shining, as it is euident that the water is and cleere also, it followeth, that all the brightnesse and splendor of stones, doth proceede from the water. Therefore we say, that all cleere and transparent stones are ingendred of humours alike in cleerenesse and light: and contrariwise, that they which are troubled, obscure and thicke, do proceede from the earth: to wit, from a slimie and blacke humour that retaineth much earth, and but little water. And for so much as some stones are more cleere, and more shining then others, that proceedeth from the diuersitie of humours, whereof they haue bin engendred: for some humours are more cleere and more purified then others. Whereupon ensueth that some precious stones which are white, haue beene generated by an humour hauing the colour of water, which maketh them more cleere and more transparent then others: and so the variety which is in the colours of all stones, bee they greene, blew, red, purple, yealow, or of many mingled colours, one must iudge the humours whereof they did proceede at first to haue beene such: and that other precious stones which are not transparent proceed from troubled, blacke and obscure humours, for the water it selfe though it be neuer so cleere, doth become blacke, if it bee mixed with neuer so little blacknes. And such precious stones as are splendant, doe shine by reason of their great brightnes, which maketh their light continue and abound. As much must wee iudge of the cause of stains, spots, shadowings, cloudes, vaines and other vices, which are found in precious stones: and of the difference that is in their massiuenes, spunginesse, lightnesse, waight and hardnesse: for all these things proceede from the diuersitie of the nature and of the colours of such humours as haue engendred them.

Of the principall stones, and of their proper praises

Of the Diamond.

Now amongst precious stones, these beare away the prise, and are praised with especiall praise, the white diamond, for hardnesse, and soliditie: the greene emerauld for beawty, the red carbuncle, called the rubie, for lively colour, the skie coloured saphir, for grace, the yealow chrysolite for splendor, the diuers coloured opall, for varietie, and the cleere pearle for whitnesse, and roundnesse. First then let vs speake of the diamond. For as gold amongst mettals, so the diamond amongst stones is most precious. For the substance thereof is hard, and for that cause the more exquisite: as that is amongst mettals, which is the most pliable. By reason then of the hardnesse and soliditie thereof, the diamond beareth away the price amongst precious stones: for in colour it is inferiour to the emeraulde, to the rubie, and to the opall. But that which maketh it most to be esteemed, is, because that the filings, & small peeces thereof are precious: so that one scruple is sold for fixe crownes of gold: and because that by the hardnesse thereof, it cutteth all other stones, beeing not onely commodious in sculpture, but also very necessarie. Neither will it bee well cut or polished, but by the onely filings thereof, so hard it is. For which cause many haue written, that the point of a dart being rubbed with the powder of a diamond, it will easily pierce any armour: wherein this reason is apparant, that the Iron or Steele is heated by the blowe, whereupon it may be penetrated by the subtiltie and hardnesse of the Diamond. Which is also commended for this vertue, that being polished, it doeth greatly glister amongst precious stones: and for that it resisteth fire for the space of nine dayes time, without having any sense thereof, and afterwards it remaineth many other dayes, without being annoyed. Which sufficiently declareth, that this stone doth consist of most subtil parts: for otherwise it would haue pores and small holes, by which the fire entring, it should easily breake. The Diamond then retaineth a lively and strong splendor, in such sort that it doeth not onely shine, but doeth also sparkle,

sparkle, and is besides that, vnchangeable, not beeing corrupted by iron, by moisture, by fire, by age, nor by vse. It hath also this propertie, that beeing tied to the flesh of the left arme, it doth hinder and withstand the feares of night. It is not then without good cause that this stone is so much esteemed by vs, and almost by all nations. For euen in the Indies, in Calicut, in Persia, in Tartaria, and other places, where rockes of Diamonds are commonly found, they are very deere and of great trafficke: so that they are transported into all places, how farre remote soeuer they be: witnesse the Isle of Carge, which lieth in the bosome of the Persian sea, where bargaines are vsually made for Diamond stone: it remaineth yet vn-cut from the rocke, although it be scarce within sixe hundred and threescore miles of that place where it is had. And therefore it is no great maruaile, if diamonds bee at so high a price as they are, considering that they are so much in request by every one: wherefore there are some found which are sold for twentie and thirtie thousand crownes a piece and aboue; for we our selues know, that there is one in the treasure of our kings which did cost seuentie thousand crownes. Wee are to note, that in the mountaine of Cugarquell, which is neere to the riuer of Goa in the East Indies, are the best and finest diamonds of all the world: as to the contrarie in the Isle of Canada, which neighboureth vpon Florida, there are found false ones, but so faire and well cut by nature, that the most subtil Lapidaries are very much troubled to discerne the one from the other: whereupon this Prouerbe did arise. Loe, theres a Canada diamond. But I haue said enough hereof. Now (ACHITOB) doe you speake of the nature and propertie of other precious stones.

*Of the Emeraud, of the Carbuncle or Rubie, of the Saphir, of the Iacynth,
and of the Amethyist. Chapter. 96.*

ACHITOB. **T**HE Emeraud hath beene long time holden for the most precious stone of all other, as well because of the beautie thereof, as by reason of the many great properties which are naturall thereunto: in such sort as the price thereof did exceede that of the Diamond. But as the rarenesse of some things make them deere, so doeth the abundance of other things make them to bee lesse esteemed: As it came to passe, that the great quantitie of Emerauds, which not long since were found in the new found Countries of America, hath much abated their price, but not their beautie nor vertue, which euer remaineth, and is most excellent in those which are brought out of the East Indies: for they of Peru are of much lesse worth. The Greene Emeraud then is the fairest of all precious stones, but yet the most brittle. For it sometimes happeneth to breake euen in the act of coiture. Being drunke, it doth much resist poysons, by the nature of the softnes thereof: by reason that the abundance of the well concocted humour which is therein, doth refresh the spirit by the perspicuitie thereof: and so it is profitable to the nature of man, and resisteth the force of venime: and for so much as it is a stone it retaineth the vertue thereof stable. For wee may note, that all things which are pleasant to the sight, are profitable for man; whether it be in precious stones, or gold or silver, silke or purple: but aboue all, the Emeraud is faire, if that the art therein deceiue not the sight, for as well this stone, as others are oftentimes counterfeited and falsified in diuers manners. Moreouer, as the Emeraud is very soft, so is it very subiect to all casuall chaunces: for it is corrupted by fire and heate, and by the touch of other precious stones which are harder, chiefly of the Diamond, yea by every thing that can giue a blow. That which shineth most, and almost like the sunne, and which refresheth the sight, as forrests and Greene medowes doe, is most to be esteemed. But I beleeeue there was neuer any mention made of a more rich basin then that of an Emeraud, being one of the greatest treasures of Italie, which is in the city of Genoa, for it is reported that it was pawned in the necessitie of the commonwealth for foureteene hundred thousand ducats: thinke then but how much this Emeraud must be woorth. But that which is also said, that this is the same platter, wherein our Saviour Iesus Christ did eate the Paschal Lambe in his last Supper, maketh me to doubt much, whether there be any people that vpon one onely stone would lend so great a summe of money.

The red Carbuncle called the Ruby, is another precious stone, which is very beautifull, and hath the propertie to quicken the spirit, and make it ioyfull. Some authors haue made mention of three kinds of carbuncles, saying that there be some which shine in the darke; others also that shine, if water bee powred thereupon, and the third kinde is of those, whose

Of the Emeraud.

Of the Carbuncle called the rubie.

clereneffe

cleerenesse is onely seene in another light, to wit by day time, or by candle light. *Theophrastus* saith, that there are some of the colour of water, some of the colour of the Amethyst, others of the colour of the Iacinth, and some of a red colour, which are called Rubies. In the Indies these stones are plentifully found: and *Lewes de Barthema* reporteth, that the king of *Pegum*, which is a citie in India, hath carbuncles called in Greeke *Pyropi*, of such magnitude and splendor, that if any one should see the king in a darke place, with these stones vpon him, he would seeme to shine like a cleere light, euen as if he were fired by the beames of the sunne.

Of the Saphir.

The Saphir doeth approach neere to the excellency of the diamond, in great hardnes: in fairenesse of colour, being of a skie colour, and in beawtie: and is very good for the sight if it bee not sophisticated. It refresheth a man, and being drunke is profitable for melancholy people, and for blowes and bitings of scorpions and serpents. *Albertus Magnus* affirmeth that he had twise found by experience, that the saphir would heale an anthrax, which is a kinde of bile. Which may be beleueed considering the medicinable vertue which is in this stone. For as thirst commeth through the biting of a certaine snake called *Dispar*, and as the hand is benumbed by the touching of a little fish, called *Remora*, so the venomous fire of the *Anthrax* may be extinguished by the long touching of the saphir: but it must needes be so big as it may couer the head of the bile.

Good reasons
of the vertue
of stones.

Having already made mention of the Iacinth, and of the amethist, to which there are great properties assigned, I will now touch some principall points in them. And first wee are to note, that the Iacinth is commonly of a yealow colour, but the best is redde, yet it is not so big as the other: being put into the fire it becommeth more obscure, and redder: and being out of the fire it shineth greatly. Also this kind of Iacinth doeth differ but little from the carbuncle in estimation of price. They that are of the colour of water are counted for base, and of no force. But *Serapio* hath writtē, that the good Iacinth keepeth men that beareth it out of the perill of thunder: and defendeth them from the plague, and prouoketh sleepe. *Albertus Magnus* likewise saith, that the Iacinth doth augment riches, and authority, and that it doth greatly comfort the heart, and cause much ioy. Now because these things might seeme to be paradoxes to many, wee will heare make a little discourse, following the precept of the philosopher, who thinketh it sufficient in hard and intricate questions, if we can well auoide and shunne absurd doctrine. For by this meanes many shall bee induced to esteeme more then they doe of precious stones, and to beleue the properties, which are attributed vnto them, if not as true, at least wise yet as possible. I say then that the Iacinth is of cold temperature: for that is almost common to all precious stones, and causeth them, especially the diamond, not to receiue fire very easily: for so much as the coldnesse doeth greatly helpe the soliditie and subtiltie thereof, which maketh that stones doe resist fire. Besides the Iacinth is good for the breath of man, either because of the likenesse of substance, or by cleerenes, or through some other mysticall cause, whereby repairing and confirming the breath and the spirit, it maketh man ioyfull: for sadness is nothing else but the contraction of breath, and shortnesse and difficultie of the same. By such reason then, as some haue saide that they haue experimented, that if any thing doe comfort the heart, it doth likewise resist the plague, which doth chiefly come through feare and imbecillitie of heart (as experience sheweth vs in regard of children, women, and fearefull people, who are soonertaken with this disease, then stout and hardy men:) the Iacinth abolishing these two things (feare and faintnes of heart) it may, I say helpe greatly to resist the plague. So also making the heart and the spirit ioyfull, and by that meanes more capable of good counsell, it shall be the easier for man to encrease in authoritie, and to augment in riches. For being defended from thunder, although that the Iacinth be (as we haue said) of cold temper, which causeth that it will not easily receiue endomagement by fire: yet do not we attribute to it therefore, that it will preserve a man from being hurt. But wee may rather say, that the spirit of his heart being reioyced by the vertue of this stone, may haue the grace to direct him into some place where he may be cleane out of the perill of thunder. Concerning the Amethist, it is also a precious stone and orientall, although it bee but of a low price in regard of others: in it is seene the colour and grace of wine, bearing a purple lustre: and it is thought to hinder drunkennesse if it be tyed to the nauell, and to stir vp dreames. Now

Of the Amethist.

(A SER) let vs heare you pursue our discourse of stones.

Of the Chrysolite, Topaze, Opall, Turkeſſe, and of the Agath. Chap. 97.

A S E R. **V V** Hoſeuer will neerely conſider vpon that, which hath beene written by the Ancients concerning the Chryſolite and Topaze, ſhall finde that that which we called a Chryſolite, was their Topaze, and contrariwiſe our Topaze was their Chryſolite. This ſtone is of yellow colour, not pure, but greeniſh, and is nothing inferiour to the Saphir in hardneſſe, if it be orientall. For you muſt note that the Germaine Chryſolite, and many other precious ſtones, which are found vnder the North, cold, Septentrionall Zone, are not ſo hard as the orientall; becauſe that there the heat is not ſo ſufficient that it may much attenuate the humour, which compoſeth the ſtone, and harden it: for the perfect concretion and gathering together is the cauſe of hardneſſe, which is done, when ſome very ſmall parts are mixed and conioyned together, as cometh to paſſe in the generation of euery ſtone. Moreouer the Chryſolite is ſeldome found, without ſome blacke ſpots wherewith it is ſoiled: and but for this, it is a very excellent precious ſtone. It is thought greatly to reſſeſſe luſt, if it be carried next to ones ſkin. Beſides, it is of great coldneſſe, whereby this argument is apparant, that being laide vpon the tongue of one that hath a feuer, it appeaſeth his thirſt. *Plinie* recordeth, that from an Iſle called Topazos, there was brought a Chryſolite to Queene *Berenice*, mother of king *Ptolemy* the ſecond, which was ſower cubites long: and that the king of Egypt did afterwards cauſe a ſtatue to be made thereof in the honor of the Queene *Arsinoe* his ſiſter and wife, which was placed in the gilded Temple, that this Prince cauſed to be erected,

The Topaze is of a greene colour, and ſofter then the Chryſolite, for it is eaſily brought into duſt with a file: in laſpe of time alſo it looſeth his ſplendor of it ſelfe, ſo that although it be very faire, yet none deſireth much to weare it. *Cardanus* affirmeth himſelfe to haue found that ſiſteene graines of this ſtone beeing drunke, make a ſingular remedy for melancholy perſons.

Now ſpeake we of the Opall, which for variety of colours is accounted amongſt the moſt precious ſtones. For in it is the fire of the Rubie, the purple of the Amethyſt, and the greene ſea of Emeraud, ſhine altogether by a maruellous kinde of mixture. There are ſome which haue a luſtre ſo mixed with all colours, that there can no more bee ſcene in a rich tablet nor more lively. Others ſeeme to ſparkle with violet flames, changing in manner of a fire made of brimſtone, or of a fire kindled with oyle. *Plinie* ſaith, that the Greekes did call the Opall *Pederai*, that is to ſay, paſtime for little children, becauſe of the great grace and beautie which this ſtone hath in it. For (ſaith he) firſt one would ſay that there were a green heauen in a pure chriſtall, mixed with a purple colour, and a golden luſtre, enclining to the colour of wine, which is alwaies the laſt colour that doth preſent it ſelfe. And yet one would ſay that this ſtone hath the head crowned with a purple chaplet, and that it is confuſedly tinged with all theſe foreſaide colours, and reſpectively with each of them. Moreouer, there is no ſtone more cleere then this: and ſome ſay that it is very good for the head, and comfortable to the ſight. *Nonius* a Senatour of Rome did ſo loue an Opall that he had, that hee choſe rather to be baniſhed out of Rome, then to giue it to *Marcus Antonius*, carrying nothing with him of all his wealth but the ring onely, wherein that ſtone was ſet. Opals are found in many places of Egypt, of Arabia, and of the Indies: but the beſt are brought from Zeila, an Iſle of Eaſt India, which produceth them as great as Walnuts. But we muſt note, that the Indians can counterfeit them ſo finely with ſimple glaſſe, that it is an hard matter to diſcerne the naturall, from falſe ones: yet their deceit is found in the Sunne. For holding betwixt the thumb and fore-finger a falſe Opall againſt the Sunne, all the diuerſitie of colours which ſeemed to be in this ſtone will turne into one: But the naturall Opall changeth luſtre euery minute, and ſpreadeth it heere and there, ſo that the diuerſitie of the colours thereof will ſhine vpon your fingers beeing holden (as is ſaide) and expoſed to the Sunne.

Shall we ſay nothing of the Turkeſſe which is garniſhed with the colour of heauen, and which hath admirable vertue? For it is of a ſkie colour and celeftiall blewe, and very bright: It is eſteemed, becauſe that in the night it likewiſe looketh greene: that part which is vpon

on the earth is marked with veines: it is soft, and not of too cold a substance. Also lime slaked and laid vpon this stone, seemeth to bee blew, and receiveth the colour of a precious stone. It is commonly made bunching, and swelling out like an eye: and is found in this forme sowed and set a long the rockes in many places of the Indies: but the fairest Turkeses are in the kingdome of Rasigut. And because of the difficultie to come to those places where they grow, the inhabitants of the countrey beat them downe with staves, in such sort that they fall with their earth and mosse: and the people doe esteeme so much of them, that they account them as their greatest riches and delight, hanging them about their neckes in manner of Carcanets. It is no maruell then if these stones bee rare amongst vs: for we see no very common trafficke made of them, and yet they are much in request at this day. Their vertue and propertie according to the report of some, is very marvellous. For they say, that the Turkesse being worne in a ring doth keepe a man from hurt that falleth, yea though it be from his horse: and that it receiveth all the blow, and is oftentimes broken in pieces: which is lesse credible then that which some also affirme, that the vertue thereof doth resist poysons.

Of the agath

Now let vs speake of Agath, which is the biggest of all such as are called precious stones. But it is of so variable a kinde, that one can scarcely thinke it to bee one onely stone. For the Agath is white, red, yellow, ash coloured, Greene, blacke, changeable, blew: in briefe, the colours of all precious stones, and of all other besides do concur in it. And nature exerciseth so many fashions vpon it, that we may see it represent Forrests, fields, floods, flowers and trees. Histories haue celebrated verie much the Agath of king *Pyrrhus*, which represented the nine Muses, with *Apollo* in the middest of them playing vpon his harp, being all in sundry garments: in such sort, as it seemed that nature did contend with the painter to carrie away the price of such a representation. *Cardanus* reporteth that he had in his keeping two Agaths, in one of which, nature had painted the hemisphere of heauen, the distinct circles, with the round earth in the midst, enuironed by the waters: and in the other, an open gulf of the earth, seemed to breath out a fume that darkened the aire: wherein this was most admirable, that the colour of the smoake should seeme to differ from that of the aire, which was thereby darkened: this appearing white, and thicke, and the aire reddish, and somewhat cleere. But though the agath be noble and excellent for the varietie thereof, yet because it is but little bright, and shining, it is but seldome esteemed to bee of great value amongst precious stones. Some doe attribute this propertie thereto, to be good against stinging of scorpions: especially that Agath which is spotted with little graines of gold, which the Isles of Candie, and Sicilie doe produce. The same vertue is attributed to the agaths of India and to refresh the sight much, by but onely looking vpon them: and they say, that they staunch thirst being held neuer so short a while in ones mouth. But enough of this: now (*AMANA*) doe you looke to that, which resteth for vs to consider vpon, concerning these most precious stones that deserue to enrich our discourse.

Of Pearle, Corall, and Chrysell. Chapter 98.

Of pearle:

AMANA. IT is no maruell though pearles be so much sought after in these daies, by every one for ornaments, especially for women: for of old they haue beene in such or more request: so that while the Romane Empire flourished this was a common Prouerbe. That a woman could or might goe without pearles, as well as a Consul might goe without Officers: meaning thereby that pearles were an honor to women, and made way to be giuen them in the street, as the sergeants did for the Consul before whom they marched. Pearle is placed among precious stones, and is of great price, being esteemed for whitenesse, splendor and roundnes: and when it is found big, polished, and heauy, then may it be said to bee faire in all perfection. But there are very few pearles that haue all these beauties, and conditions. Concerning the generation thereof the ancient opinion hath euer beene, that the pearle was engendred in shels of fishes, wherewith the the Indian Sea doth abound, which engendring at one time of the yeare, doe open and gape in the night time, by that meanes filling themselves with dewe, whereby they conceiue pearles, which they make according to the qualitie of the dewe received: if it be cleere, they are cleere: if troubled, so are they troubled, and foule: if abundant, the pearles

pearles are great: if scarce, they are little. Moreouer if it happen to thunder the shels shut together for feare that they haue; so that they haue no leasure to take in dewe enough, whereby they remaine lancke and empty, as if they had fasted: and thereof also pearles do proceed that are without substance, and full of wind.

But marke what our French Cosmographer saith: if these shels or oysters bane no o. Lib. 10, de
cosm. c. 4. ther substance within them, but this pearle so conceived of dew how doth the race of this shell-fish maintaine it selfe? Moreouer in the west Indian seas, where abundance of these pearles are found, it cannot be seene how their generation may bee iudged by the cleera or obscure disposition of the weather, for if that were so, there is no doubt, but that all the pearles, which were found in one shell, should bee all of one manner: whereas the contrary is seene. that within one shell are found some darke pearles, others drawing to a tawny, some pale, some greenish, and some againe blewish, and very few there are, which haue the perfection required in a faire pearle.

Thereupon he concludeth, that this pearled fish maintaineth the kinde thereof by the egges which it breedeth: and that the pearles come out of the sand and grauell wherein they breede and are hidden: because that by little and little this grauell refineth it selfe, and groweth into these shels, or oysters; till such time as it hath attained to an entire and perfect forme, remaining still soft, for so long time as the oyster is within the water, but being out, it presently hardneth, and becommeth such pearle as we see. But without much disputing hereupon, euery man is of opinion, that these pearles are bredde in the shelles of fishes. And the experience hereof is not onely seene in the Indian sea, but also in the British seas, yea in all seas, and fresh waters: because that such oysters do swimme as well as fishes: of which there haue beene some fished vp in the river Garonne. But the industry of such as fish for them in the bottome of the sea is wonderfull: for from thence they fetch their best mother of pearle, Which lie within, and vpon rockes hidden in the waters.

They which are appointed to such fishing, enter into boates, and afterwards (leaving some within to gouerne them, and to helpe themselves also vp, when they haue done their fishing) they cast themselves into the water, diuing downe to the bottome, where they sometimes remaine for the space of halfe an hower, and with nettes catch these shelles: hauing taken some, they returne againe to the toppe of the water, and are receiued by those in the vessell, where refreshing themselves with meate, and drinke, and hauing fitted on that, which they put before their face, which is, as of little peeces of seare cloath very fine like a thinne bladder, made that they may see cleerely through within the water, they leape in fise, or sixe times a day. These oysters are also found fastned vpon rockes, which appeare aboue water, from whence they are fetched with paine, and beeing caught, the pearles are straight waies taken out, which otherwise would consume and lose their fresh colour: and in one shell there are sometimes thirty, or forty small and meane ones, but few great ones, to witte, one, or two. They were, doubtlesse, wonderfull faire, which were giuen to *Ferdinand Magellano*, in a certaine isle of the Moluccaes, which were fowre in number, each one of the bignes of a pigeons egge, esteemed to be worth fise and twenty thousand crownes a peece.

But this was a very small matter in comparison to the two vnions of *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, esteemed woorth fiftene hundred thousand crownes: one whereof shee dissolved in very strong vinegar, and drank it vp at a banquet, because it might be said, that shee had surpassed in sumptuousnesse of cost, the feast which *Anthony* had made her. Now for the vertues of pearles, they are very good for passions, and faintnesse of heart, and purge the blood, and beeing put into medicines, they take away clowdes, and dimmenesse from before the eyes, and dry vp the moisture that runnes from them.

Corall is likewise fished for in the sea, and put into the number of stones, although Of Corall. indeed it is a plant, or shrubbe, which being drawne out of the Mediterranean sea, and feeling the aire, doth waxe hard by the power thereof. And there is found, white, redde and blacke, in one selfesame plant, which groweth amongst stones and rocks in the bottome of the water: but the best coral is thered if it be euently congealed: for the white is not so massue nor heavy: but is light, rare, and full of holes like a sponge. When it is fished for, it is all couered with mosse, and hath no signe or apparition of rednesse. But beeing clenfed, it

taketh colour, and appeereth fairely polished: now those graines of round corall, which are put in bracelets and collers, are not found so in the shrubbe: but it consisteth of many little branches, whereof these graines are made with a wheele, and files, and are afterwards polished with vermillion, and with a certaine earth which is brought from Tripoly in Africa. The properties which are attributed to Coral, are maruailous: for some say, that being hanged about the necke, or taken in drinke, it is good for them that haue the falling euill, for bloody fluxes, and loofenes of the belly, to fasten the teeth, to heale sores in the mouth: to prouoke sleepe in such as haue feuers, to diminish the spleene, for those that vomite and spie blood. *Anicen* placeth it amongst those medicines that comfort the heart, & *Pliny* saith that being burnt and pulverized, and so drunke with water, it is good for them that haue wringing in their belly, and the stone in the bladder. The ashes therof also are put into medicines for the eies: it thickeneth, refrigerateth, and doth incarnate hollow vlcers, and maketh skars smooth. But amongst other properties this is most admirable and true, that red Coral, which is pure and fulgent like the carbuncle, being tied about ones necke so that it touch the skin when that person is sicke, or shall be in short space after, or hath drunke any venom, which he yet feeleth not, the corall doth wax pale and lose the splendor thereof, which *Cardanus* hath often testified to haue prooued by experience.

Of Chryfall.

I will hereto adde some short discourse concerning Chryfall: because that as it is engendred in the veines of the earth, of the same humour that the Diamond is, which opened the entrance of this discourse concerning preous stones; so now this speech of Chryfall may shut it vp againe. *Pliny* and many others haue supposed that it was made of yce or snow, in a word, that it was water congealed through great cold. But it appeereth that chryfall is engendred of some very well purified humour, in that it is the cleereſt of all stones. Again, if the oldest yce in the world be put into an hot place, it doth presently melt, which chryfall doth not. Moreouer, it is most certaine that it is not found on the tops of mountaines, where there is continuall snow and extreame coldnes: but in quarries of marble & of other stones, yea and in mines of diuers mettals. This also is another reason, that yce doth alwaies swimme aboue water, but chryfall sinketh to the bottome. That chryſtal is best, which is white and cleere as water. It melteth with very great fire, & doth conuert into glasse, whereof there are very faire vessels made. In vertue it is restraining, and is therefore good for such as are sicke of Dysenterias to drinke, in good sharpe wine, after it is well and subtilly beaten to powder. The ancients made a bowle of chryfall, wherewith phisitions canterized those which feared the fire, and common searing iron: to doe which, they laide the same bowle directly toward the beames of the sunne: by the reuerberation whereof they did their surgery work vpon the grieued part. Now in this litle which we (cōpanions) haue declared concerning mettals and precious stones, we may imagine, that if there be sufficient matter to admire the effects of nature, ordained by the diuine prouidence, what might we thinke, if we should enterpriſe to speak of five hundred kindes of mettals, earths, and precious stones which the earth hideth within her bowels? But sith that we haue attained to the end of our discourse, which is to glorifie God in the knowledge and contemplation of his most noble creatures: let vs aduise our selues how to giue some good instructions vpon that which hath bene deliuered concerning minerals and stones hidden vnder ground, as (*ARAM*) you can declare vnto vs:

Of the instructions that men must take, in that gold and siluer are hidden vnder the ground, and of their vse and abuse, as also of precious stones. Chap. 99.

ARAM.

AS God declareth a great and maruellous prouidence in all his creatures (as we haue discoursed intreating vpon them) so also doth he manifest it vnto vs in the creation of mettals, and especially of gold and siluer, which are esteemed for the most precious. For we see how he hath hidden them in the most deepe places of the earth, and hath covered them with great and high mountaines: so that to dig & draw them out of their profound caues, men must therein lo trauell, as if they had enterpriſed to ouerturne and to transport these lofty hills from one place to another, and to search and pierce

pierce through the earth from one side to another. For how is it searched by such as worke in mines? It is a maruell that they are not already come vnto the Antipodes, considering the deepe pits, gulfes and holes whereinto they are descended. *Iob* hauing spoken of golde and siluer, doth presently make mention of the bounds of darkenesse and shadow of death. *Ioh. 12.* And in very truth they are things which doe fitly agree with these two minerals: For they are hidden in very obscure and darke places, and couered with a very thicke shadow, yet cannot this limit the couetousnes and auarice of men, notwithstanding that God hath sufficiently admonished them to moderate themselues, seeing that he hath so hidden the gold and siluer, which prouoketh their auarice, making them so furious and insatiable. And therefore I might very well compare them to brute beaſts, yea to a flocke of sheepe. For although that they daily behold by many experiences, the calamities which fall vpon the world through auarice, and especially vpon those, which are entangled with this vice, yet cannot one take example by another, but doe all follow one by one like poore brute beaſts and sheepe, following one another when they are leade to the slaughter house, or when there is some one amongst them that hath lead the way to the rest, and hath made the first leape. For what daunger soeuer there bee, yea though it were to tumble headlong downwards, into some bottomelesse pit, it is sufficient if one begin the daunce for he shall presently haue good company; yea such, as there is not one of the whole troupe, but will lustily rush after without thinking vpon any daunger. Who doth not see that it is euen so in mans life? For according as some haue wickedly begonne, others pursue them, and the latter cannot discouer their owne follie by that of the former, nor yet correct it by so many examples as they haue of euill ends, and pernicious euent, which haue willingly fallen vpon the couetous. For this cause the Prophet hauing described the folly and presumption of men, which thinke to build an eternitie vnto themselues with temporall riches; hee addeth [Their way vttereth their foolishnesse, yet their posteritie delight in their talke: like sheepe they lie in the graue, death deuoureth them. See there the shepherd and the flocke of the couetous, death, and the sepulchre, *Psal. 49.*

Men compared to a flocke of sheepe.

Of the right vse of gold, and siluer.

Now our meaning is not here to blame the vse of golde and siluer: but onely the abuse. For we behold the great commodities that men haue by communicating one with another, and mutually aiding one another in all that which is rare and exquisite amongst them, and that by meanes of those mettals and mony that is coined thereof. For so may they furnish themselues of all things necessary for their vse, for their life, and according to their wish, not onely from one countrey to another, but (as wee may well say) from one end of the world to another. And if by their auarice they abuse not this great commoditie, it will bee much more profitable to all. But their vnſatiable couetousnesse of gaine is cause that the amiable communication, and the good desire of one neighbour to profit another, which should be by meanes of gold and siluer, is conuerted oftentimes into plaine robbery. For their hearts are so set on fire with loue of riches, that they propose no other determination vnto themselues, saue to heape vp treasures by a deceitfull meanes, which neuertheless they doe neuer enjoy in peace and content, beeing no more able to settle their couetousnesse, and asswage their appetite, then to quench a great fire with laying dry wood vpon it: but that it will alwaies encrease and enflame the more. And to speake truth, what is this gold and siluer but a little yealow and white earth? And if there be any difference, it is onely, in that the substance is more hardned: and what doe they differ therein from the basest and hard stones? It is onely in colour. Why then doe men trauaile and take great care to heape vp gold and siluer, rather then to heape vp dust, earth, and stones? But indeede this is much worse; for they heape vpon vnhappy treasure, when for earth and clay, they gaine vnto themselues the treasure of the curse of God. For it is written [Cursed be hee that heapeth vp that which is not his: how long will hee lade himselfe with thicke clay.] But what? This clay so yealow and white, firme and exquisite, doth dazzle their eyes more then any thing else: and yet for all that, it is but earth. And therefore it is but opinion that causeth one thing to be esteemed more then another. For if men had giuen that value to other mettals, which they haue appointed to gold and siluer, there would be almost no difference of the one from the other. I say moreover that if they had but equall regard to the vtility & nature of things, according to the profit which they receiue thereby, and the neede which they haue therof, they should more esteeme of iron, brasse and copper, then of gold & siluer: considering that by iron, the earth which nourisheth vs is plowed, & arts and occupations maintained, and that by it we defend our selues from the furie of beaſts and enemies: and

Abac. 2.

of tinne and copper we make the most principall vtenfils and tooles in our houses to boyle our victuals in, and for other infinite vses. In all these things then wee acknowledge the folly and want of iudgement in men, who gouernethemselues more by opinion then by reason.

Of the vse,
and abuse of
precious
stones

Exod. 25. 26.
27. 28.

Wee may say as much concerning precious stones, which they haue esteemed at a more high price then gold and siluer. For how many crownes doe they oftentimes giue for one pearle, or for a diamond, or for some other stone? If the fancie take them, and that they doe but onely like some small precious stone, then doe they spare gold, and siluer no more then if they were dust and clay: then that which they so much delight in, and for to obtaine which, they direct and gouerne their whole course of life; yea and put it into all confusion, is nothing with them in respect of a smalliewell. And what profit can redound vnto them by all this? Nothing else, but a vaine perswasion that induceth them to obtaine a stone of such and such woorth, as it pleaseth them to esteeme it at. If they would thinke as much of a flint, a flint would no lesse content them. If it bee for the beauty and colour that they so account of this merchandize: is there any thing fairer, cleerer, or cleaner then glasse? nay then christall? likewise the marble, alabaster, iasper, and such likematters, doe they giue much place in beauty or hardnesse, to the most excellent precious stones? If for their vertues and properties in phisicke they are so much respected, why then they should buy nothing more deere, nor esteeme of any thing more then of herbes and plants? I speake not this to despise or condemne the vse of precious stones, no more then of gold and siluer. For God did not create them, but for the seruice of man, and that hee might please himselfe with them, as with all his other creatures. For it was his will that his temple and the vessels therein, the garments of the high priest, and the seruice by him ordayned in the church of Israel, should be adorned and enriched with gold, siluer, and with precious stones. Againe, *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and the other kings of Israel were neuer reprehended nor condemned because they did abound in such riches. Wee doe not then condemne the vse, but the abuse. For God requireth that his creatures may be vsed according to his ordinance, and so moderated, that there be no excessse, whereby he may be dishonored and offended, or our neighbor endamaged. But it is an hard matter to heape vp great store of gold and siluer, and to dispend so much vpon precious stones, and other the pomps of the world, but that great wrong must needs be done to many persons, or at leastwise that the deeds of charitie, for which wee were borne, must needs waxe very slacke. Loe then, that which I haue thought worthy to instruct our selues in vpon our discourse this day concerning the riches hidde within the earth. And sith that wee haue in the twelue dayes of our meeting entreated of the principall parts of all this visible world, and of the creatures contained therein, let vs now, to conclude our discourse, draw all these parts into one body, to the ende that we may shew in this masse of the Vniuers, and propose as it were before our eies, the image of the greatnesse, puissance, and maiesty of God by the which men may in contemplation, and consideration of his workes, learne to feare, honor, and put their whole trust and confidence in him, as they ought: which (*ACHITOR*) let vs heare you discourse vpon.

*Of the doctrine and profit which euery one must and may reape out of the
totall workes of God in heauen and in earth, to ac-
knowledge and glorifie him. Chap. 100*

ACHITOR. IF wee doe well consider vpon those goodly matters, which we haue heretofore entreated of touching the creation of the world, and adorning thereof in euery part: wee shall without doubt feele our selues as it were lifted vp vpon an high scaffold, where wee may behold and contemplate God our creator in the excellent workes of his hands, and in the maruailous effects of his prouidence, in such sort as if all this visible Vniuers were a shop, wherein we doe see him worke before our eies; or else as if he were seated in a stately roiall palace, wherein wee behold him reigne vpon his celestiall throne ouer euery liuing soule: or as in a goodly temple wherein the glory of his Maiesty shineth on euery side, yea in euery creature, which is therein

as an image, or mirrour to shew and manifest the creator and moderator of all things.

And indeed without this contemplation and knowledge for which wee are borne, and endued with reason, let vs not thinke but that brute beasts haue more whereof to bragge in regard of the world, and of the beautie and commoditie thereof, and that they receiue more rest, pleasure, and profit thereby then men. For they content themselves with that which they haue, and care not for that, which they cannot attaine vnto: enioying all that which is needefull for them, and that with pleasure, and without excesse, superfluitie, or any hurt. But men are to the contrarie, neuer content with their conditon, aspire euermore to that which they enioy not, and which they might well let passe: haue many times need of that, which is necessarie for them, and receiue no pleasure, but that which is mixed with some griefe and bitterness: neither yet can they content themselves, but that they must run into excesse to their great detriment.

This is that which hath enflamed vs with desire, in the progresse of our worke, to discourse vpon heauen and earth. And hauing brought our intention to a desired end: we will here represent (for the last point of our speech, as wee did in the begining thereof) all the parts of the world in one body, to declare in this great body of all the Vniuers, and to propose, as it were before our eyes the image of the greatnesse of the power, and of the Maiestie of God, and of his infinitenesse: to the end that we may all learne by the contemplation, and consideration of this Image, to honour him, and to put all our trust & confidence in him, as we ought to do. For this is the true doctrine, & the great profit, that every one must, and may reape by the grace of God, of this total worke in heauen, and in earth, to the end to acknowledge and to glorifie him. First, then wee are to consider, that not onely all that which we haue declared concerning the workes of God in this great Vniuers, but also all that, which the most learned euer could heretofore, or hereafter euer may comprehend and describe, is nothing else but as a very light demonstration of some draught of his worke, or of some corner of his magnificent pallace, or of some smalliewell of his inestimable treasures. For sith he hath created all these things, and that the heauen is his feat, and the earth his footstool (as *I say* speaketh) what may then bee the full perfection, height, and greatnes of himselfe? It is (as *Iob* saith) in the highnes of the heauen; it is deeper then hell: the measure thereof is longer then the earth, and broader then the sea. It is hee (saith *I say* againe) who hath measured the waters with his hand, and hath compassed the heauens with his palme, and hath comprehended the dust of the earth with three fingers, and hath poised the hanging of the mountaines. Thereby then wee must learne that God is infinite, and incomprehensible and so high, and so great that all this visible world is nothing in comparison to him, and that he doth containe, and confine, and surpasse it in every side, both aboue and below, before and behinde, on the right hand, and on the left. And that because we cannot comprehend, nor vnderstand what he is, the image of him was set before our eyes in the heauens, and in the earth, and as in a glasse to represent vnto our vnderstandings, him, whom we neither behold, nor know, except so far, as it pleaseth him to represent himselfe vnto vs in his workes.

Lastly, we must learne, that from the verie first howre of our entrance into this world, wee haue bene placed therein, as in the Temple of God to adore, and praise him therein. And in verie truth, whosoener shall consider of, and know God, as he hath manifested himselfe in the creation of the world, shall not hee haue good and iust occasion to feare, and stand in awe of him? For as we reade in the Booke of *Iob*, [If God cut off, and shut vp or gather together, who can turne him?] And straight [in his hand is the soule of every liuing thing, and the breath of all mankind.] On the other side, shall not wee bee induced to haue recourse vnto him, and to put our trust in him, as in the Almighty, who can saue and defend those, whom hee will take into his custodie, and whom hee will accept for his people, and for his seruants and children? Who so dwelleth in the secret of the most high (saith the Prophet) shall abide in the shadowe of the Almighty. I will say vnto the Lord, Oh mine hope and my fortresse: in my God will I trust: who will deliuer vs out of all trouble. And to conclude, we shall haue goodly matter, whereby to giue him glorie, and laude all the dayes of our life, by seruing him according to his holy will. Wee shall be I say, verie blinde and sencelesse, if wee doe not humble our selues vnder the greatnesse of the puissance of God: if we haue recourse vnto, or put our confidence in any other, but in him alone: and if wee doe not acknowledge his great providence, wisdom, and bountie,

Psal.

which hee hath vsed euer since the beginning towards vs, and the regard and care which hee hath daily had of vs, and how that hee entreateth vs so benignely, so tenderly, and with such fatherly affection, to the ende that wee may render thankes vnto him. For as wee haue seene, before that hee created man, hee would prepare his lodging for him: the which hee did adorne with all beautie, and with all riches, and did afterwards place him in this world, as in a most delectable palace, and made him Lord and Master over all his creatures, of whom hee hath provided him such abundance, and in such varietie, that it is impossible to comprehend these, or to desire more. As it were then rauished in the consideration of so great bountie and liberalitie of God, let vs crie out with the Prophet, [Oh Lord our God, how excellent is thy name in all the world! What is man that thou art mindfull of him, and the Sonne of man, that thou shewest him so much grace as to visite him, and to take care of him?] And so giuing glorie vnto his name, for so many benefits, and particularly for that it hath pleased him to graunt vs this grace,

as to reduce to a desired ende our Academicall discourses, concerning
his workes in the Vniuerse, let vs pronounce this goodly

Canticle of the Angels. Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord

God of Hostes, all the earth is

full of thy glorie.

*The ende of the twelfth dayes worke, and of all the third Tome
of the French Academie.*



THE CHRISTIAN
PHILOSOPHIE OF
THE FRENCH
ACADEMIE.

OF THE TRVE AND
onely meanes to obtaine
eternall life.

The fourth Booke.

Written in French by *Peter de la Primaudaye*
Esquire, *Seigneur de la Barre*, Councelor and Steward
of the French Kings House.

Translated out of French by W. P.



LONDON
Printed for THOMAS ADAMS.
1618.

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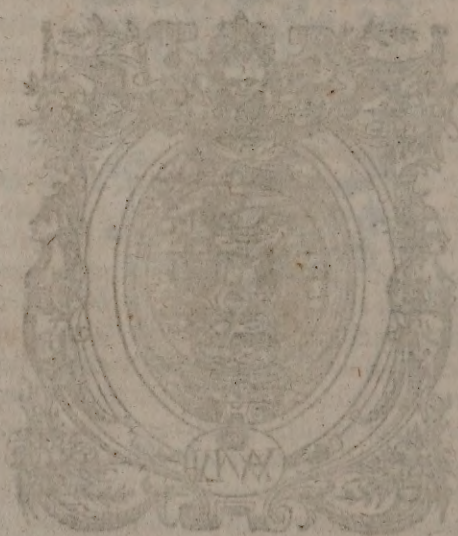
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1618.

THE PREFACE.

The names of the Interlocutors,

*Asker, Happineffe: Amana, Trueth: Aram, Exaltation:
Achitob, The brother of goodnesse.*

ASER.



Doubt not, good friends, but you rememember as well as my selfe; that when God of his great mercie endowed vs with grace in our tender yeares, to publish and set forth in our Academie, that small portion of vnderstanding and knowledge which we had reaped out of the odoriferous vergiers of the morall Philosophy of ancient and wise men: touching the rules of lining well, by following the footsteps and traces of vertue. And that therein we so much preuailed (yea and more then we either hoped or expected) that not only our country men of France, but strangers also participated with vs of our labors, and fauoured and esteemed of them so well, that they spared not the paines and charges to translate them, and to make them speake in their owne languages: which moued and prouoked vs with gratification vnto them, to goe forward and to proceede further in our course. Whereby not long after, we manifested and made apparant the pursuite of our discourse, touching the Microcosmus or litle world, therein shewing and representing by a naturall history of man, the varieties and excellences of the body and of the soule, and specially the immortality thereof. And not content to trauell so farre as therein to reduce vnto memory, and manifestly to declare and set downe the wonderfull testimonies of God, and of his prouidence and iudgement, in the Anotamy and contemplation of the visibler parts & members of his chiefe work (Man) therby to conuince, and put to silence the Epicurian and the Atheist. We obliged our selues so far, (for knowledge alwaies ingendret a new and further desire to learne,) as at some other time (by the aide of God) to search and finde out the same things in the whole nature of this great visible world. And according to our desires, it pleased the diuine bounty, (who of his goodnes had giuen vs that commendable will and purpose) to perfect the same in vs, by his heauenly blessing. In such manner that we presently published and set forth, the third booke of our Academia intituled Microcosmus, or of heauen and earth. And not content therewith, aspiring higher then to the bounds and borders of the vniuersall world, we vowed to implore the supercelestiall fauour, that being better instructed and taught in the schole of eternal wisdom, and guided by his diuine light, we might also speake and discourse of the incomprehensible worke of God, touching the saluation of man, and so accomplishing our Academicall and Christian study, determined to rest from our labors. And to say the truth, what would it auaille or profit vs, to haue and attaine vnto the knowledge and vnderstanding of all humane and morall Philosophy, Logicke, Phisicke, Metaphisicke, and Mathematicks, to know what belongeth to ciuill and politicke gouernment, and to be brieft, not to bee ignorant of any thing, which the liberall arts and sciences teach vs, therewith to content the curious minds of men, & by that means to giue them a tast, & to make the enioy, some kind of transitory good in this life: and in the meantime to be altogether and wholly ignorant, or badly instructed, in the true and onely science of diuine Philosophy, whereat all the rest ought to aime, and whereof the finall end and purpose is, the true and permanent good of the soule? That onely, and none other, is it, which teacheth vs to know God, his paternall will towards mankind, and the rules of his law: that so we may liue holily heere on earth, and for euer happily in heauen. Therefore let vs boldly say, that without this spiritual wisdom, al learning & knowledge is meere vanity and folly: and serueth to no other end, (as the great Doctor of the Gentiles saith) then as it were visibly, shewing vnto vs, the inuisible things of God, to make vs so much the more vexed. Rom. i. 26. 27. sable at the day of iudgement, for not hauing glorified him as we ought to doe. Then seeing that we haue found the means, to pierce into the monuments of the Philosophers, to shew that men ought, & are created to liue vertuously heere on earth, & to read the naturall booke of Theologie therein as it were to find out & behold a shadow of the Deity, and to the glory thereof, are enabled by argument to reason of the being of all creatures, why should not we assay to open that great booke of the life of the lambe which taketh away Apoc. 21. 27. the sinnes of the world, therein to learne a more assured and perfecter lesson of the means how to liue hap John 1. 29. pily, & of the knowledge which we ought to haue of God & of his worke, to glorifie him for our saluation.

AMANA.

Hacademiach
sacred, primat

A M A N A. It was not without great reason, and good cause that Postel a learned man, in a letter written unto us, touching our discourse of Microcosmus, (the which is set downe and extant to be read in the last edition of our Academie, together with our answer thereunto) congratulating us in certen commendable termes, therewith mixeth a kind of harsh censure: saying, I am hartily glad and reioyce, having seene your writing and discourse of the naturall history of man, that you are so much obliged to the great king of heaven, that men may evidently see and behold the bright resplendant light of his divine gifts in the forme of your Dialogues, and thereby know the dignity of the holy language of Adam. Whereof your fained persons beare witness, and that in shewing the dignity of the name of your ancestors, surely named Primatu, you have intituled your work, not the Common wealth or Theology, but the Primatus which in that tongue is called Hacademiach, that is to say, sacred or divine Primat: but you must give me leave to tell you, as your true and perfect friend, that having omitted, and not spoken in some speciall Chapter, of the Church of God, (without the which there is no union) nor of the food and nourishment of the Spirit, sending to eternall life, without the which al is in vaine, you have wholly left out, or at the least too slightly let slip and overpast, both the one and the other formal & final causes, of that great workmanship of God, Man. Therefore my advise & counsel is (to the end that in your work, nothing may be omitted or found wanting,) that therein you would set down & manifest those most divine things, for that so accomplishing an Hacademich doctrine, as a most Christian thing, & an assured instruction of the truth, your writings may live for ever, to the honour and glory of the eternall God, and the profite of mankinde.

Our answer thereunto was grounded upon these two points: that in our writing, wherewe make a discourse of the workes of God, we have proceeded according to the measure and abilitie of our spirits, and of our youtnes: and that knowing, that the creation of all things, and the redemption of mankinde, are meanes to make us acknowledge the Deitie and our salvation: we had begun for our instructions, to set downe the being of all creatures, specially of man, that afterward wee might speake of his happy being in the familie of Iesus Christ, when with longer and profounder study, wee should have searched into and found out, the depth of the secrets which his holy word doth teach us.

To conclude, we are much beholding and obliged to the advice of Postel, and also to all those that have vouchsafed to honor and favour us so much, as to take the paines to read our books, yea and to our selves also, (as it is already shewed) for having past beyond our first bounds, & of Academick Philosophers, to become Christian Philosophers: untill that our Academie shall be a little Schoole of Theologie. That the enterprise is too difficult, and overhigh for us, we acknowledge it to be true, neither doe we affirme or boast that wee have attained to the full perfection thereof. But to approach neere to excellent things, is alwayes commendable.

A R A M. It is most certain, that the doctrine and examples of the writings and lives of auncient wise men, and famous Pagans, are of great force and efficacie in mens minds that are of generous education, to move and stirre them with great delight, to an inward desire of resembling them, not onely in the understanding of naturall things, but also in the practising of vertue. For that, man naturally desirous of present and immortal glory, perceiving and beholding after so long a time, and many ages, by antientique meanes and memories, ancient Philosophers, and ether famous persons, much honoured in their times, as it were to revive and live againe, hee is thereby stirred up and prouoked, to strive to make himselfe worthy of the like praise and commendation, by following and imitating their steps. But as it is a good, most commendable, and an excellent beginning, to proceed and goe forward in a Christian vocation: so to stoppe there and goe no further, is as much as still to be ignorant and miserable. How corrupt soever the nature of man is, yet it leaveth a certaine feeling in euerie particular mans conscience, whereby they are as it were constrained, not onely to apprehend a Deitie, but also to discern a difference between good and euil, and by that meanes are unexcusable, if they follow not and practise piety & vertue. And how much the more a man taketh paines, and endeavourith himselfe to discover & contemplate (by the reasonable parts and faculties of the soule) things intelligible and worthy commendation, so much the more he maketh himselfe more understanding, wise, and affected thereunto: to ioyne, frame and fashion himselfe to those things and actions, wherunto they resemble. For it is most certaine, and cannot be otherwise, that in the fall of man, there did rest some sparkes of those graces, and of the divine light, which he had received of his Creator; whereby he is still moved and prouoked, to enquire and seeke after the truth, and to desire to be unburthened, and freed from his owne proper and inherent corruption. But all these motions, both of the understanding and the will, are so weak and inveloped with so great obscuritie, and pernicious passions, that they cannot produce nor bring forth any cleare or perfect thing, no not so much as to make any show or apparance thereof, in any part of humane nature, without speciall all and divine grace, but onely a ruinous disfigured shew of the gifts and graces by him first received, specially, touching things which concerne the salvation or happinesse of the soule. For as S. Iohn saith, That the light shined in darkenesse, but the darkenesse comprehended it not. And S. Paul,

Iohn 1.5.

That

that the Gentiles walked in the vanitie of their understandings, having their thoughts obscured, and being strangers from the life of God, by their ignorance, and the blindnesse of their hearts. And because they became vaine in their imaginations, their foolish hearts being full of darknesse, they were destitute of understanding. This in effect is the true and proper iudgement which may be made if men, and of all their Philosophies, untill such time as being regenerated and illuminated by the spirit of God, they doe in Iesus Christ (the true Doctor of the soules of the faithfull) receive those gifts and graces which onely make them understanding and wise to salvation: which are most wisely and abundantly set downe and declared in the sacred Registers of the holy Scriptures. If then we will take the pains earnestly to trauell like good Christians, out of this heavenly treasure, to draw a sound and solid instruction having no other purpose nor intent, but onely for the glory of God, and to frame and bend our selues (and all those that will vouchsafe to heare vs) to his holy and blessed will, we doe no lesse doubt of his grace, and of the fauour and good will of men, then we haue already found and felt in our first workes.

A CHITOB. The name of a Christian is the most worthy name, that euer was giuen or attributed vnto man, infinitely surpassing all the glorie, that those ment thought to merite and deserve, who among the Pagans were called Philosophers, or wise men. For this title of Christian, signifieth and betokeneth him, who by the knowledge, grace, and doctrine of Iesus Christ (God and man) knoweth the true and only God (Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, cause, beginning, and end of all things) his iustice and his mercy; that enforceth and endeuoureth himselfe to be perfect, and repleat with holinesse, vertue, modestie, uprightness, constancie, and perseuerance; that with a certaine testimony of a good conscience, serueth God according to his will, and that of his meere grace and mercy confidently hopeth for eternall life and happiness: into the which most diuine knowledge and understanding, neither the Grecian Phylosopher, the Egyptian Priest, the French Druyde, the Indian Gymnosophist, the Romane Sibilla, nor the Magis of Persia, could euer penetrate: because they knewe not what that true Philosophy is, which teacheth and openeth vnto vs so many great and wonderfull mysteries, that is, (the Law of God) written by the Prophets, and (the Gospel) written by the Apostles. Which was the cause, that all those Pagans and Infidels, great personages, and men deeply learned and studious in diuers Arts, for the most part having a secret feeling of the felicitie of man, touching the tranquillitie of his soule, and taking great paines and much labour to attaine thereunto, and to teach and instruct others therein, were ignorant, and knew not the true and assured meanes how to enioy the same, neither yet could find out the originall fountaine from whence the same proceeded. That is the loue, mercie, and charitie of God towards mankind, redeemed by the blood of his Sonne Iesus Christ, and purged from all his finnes. Therefore, notwithstanding that the lines of diuers Philosophers, and others their Schollers and disciples, was learned and peaceable in some sort, and also cleared and freed from diuers vices and corruptions. incident to the common sort of men, yet it resteth and consisteth in vs (if we be true Christians) without comparison, to line more understandingly, more happily, more contentedly, with more ioy and peace of conscience, and better purged from all impediments and vices then euer they did. To that end we haue many notable lessons, and a most certaine doctrine of the Registers of the holy Spirit (the Canonickall Scriptures) Then let vs boldly peruse and turne ouer those sacred Rowles: from thence first to draw out certaine simple draughts, or small proofs of Christian Philosophy; and if wee proceede so well and happily, that in the studie of his diuine wisdom wee finde in our soules and consciences an increase of spirituall graces, whereby wee may bee bold (& what should we feare to undertake in searching for, and setting forth the glory of God?) to speak of the high mysteries of Religion, wee will endeavour our selues in our Academie, to bring to open view, and to set forth a greater matter of Theologie.

In this booke therefore our intent and purpose shall be; first, onely and generally to frame and fashion the affections of the Soule to the loue of pietie, and to shew and set forth the meanes how man should walke in holinesse and uprightnesse of life and conuersation. Secondly, to represent vnto him Spirituall Meditations, which make a compleate happy life. In the first part of this Philosophie, wee will shew, how a Christian Philosopher before all other things, ought to purge and cleanse himselfe, of seuen principall follies, which commonly doe as it were pursue and follow man, that is, how to know the Deitie as he ought to doe: not to esteeme of man more then of God; not to thinke that he shall line alwaies in this world: to know why, and to what ende he lineth here on earth: not to iudge the happy or unhappy state of man by exterior signes: not to beleue or giue credit to his enemies more then to his true and faithfull friends: and lastly, not to perswade with himselfe, or to presume that hee is wise. Consequently, wee will declare and teach him to consider of, seuen other singular things, requisite, and altogether necessarie and pertinent to a happy and godly life: that is, The Church, the Word of God, the Sacraments, Praier, reading of the holy Scriptures, Charitie, and Almes. Thirdly, wee will produce and declare, how a man ought to haue a great and speciall care, to cleanse and keepe his soule and conscience, cleane, unspotted, and undefiled from seuen deadly and pernicious vices, that is, Covetousnesse,

Ambition,

The subject
of the dis-
course in this
booke.

Ambition, excesse of Apparell and meates, Pleasures unlawfull exercises, Envy, and Slander. Fourthly, we will touch and point at seven principall vocations, wherein all men are bound and obliged, to shew forth and make knowne the fruits and effects of all this Christian Philosophie, to the glory of God, and for the good and benefit of mankind; which vocations are, to be married, to be a Father or a Mother, to be a Childe, to be a Magistrate, to be a Subject, to be a Pastor, to be a flocke. Fifthly, we will speake of seven considerate reasons and arguments to moove and induce all Christians with great affection to embrace the meanes of a happy and godly life, set downe and declared in this Philosophie: which are, the authoritie of Iesus Christ, his Names, Holy, and Emmanuel, five other titles belonging vnto him, his two names (Iesus Christ) that wee are all Strangers and Pilgrimes in this world: and to remember that the Kingdome of heauen is at hand. Not that wee will stretch the doctrine of so many notable points and matters so farre, as to take vpon vs seriously and fully to entreate of them, in all their seuerall parts (for then we should be forced to make and compile many large volumes thereof) onely wee will content our selues, to set downe certaine brieve Summaries and generall points, wherunto euery true Christian ought to bend all his thoughts, words, and workes: speaking neuerthelesse, of all these things in such manner, that sufficiently, and by a certaine order, euery man shall be led, and addressed by the word of God, to the knowledge of godlinesse and Iustice, and to a true manner of life, well ordered and governed in alle states and conditions.

Touching the second part, which shall properly belong to a contemplatiue life, it shall consist of seven principall points, that is, Meditation of future happinesse: Knowledge of the meanes that assure and warrant this beatitude vnto Christians: The certaine way how to apply the signes and markes thereof vnto themselves: an assurance that they shall neuer fall from God: how they must be constant in afflictions: to perseuer in their vocation without feare or fainting: and lastly to meditate and pray continually.

To conclude, we haue specially chosen the number of seven, therein to comprehend and bound the diuersitie of all our discourse, because the number is anciently and long since knowne to be full, perfect, vniuersall, and sufficient, to represent all things in perfection: and for that cause is oftentimes set downe and rehearsed in the holy Scriptures. Wherefore we hope, that all those that shall and will accompany vs in our vovves, by reading, vnderstanding, and practising of that which we shall set downe, both in the one and the other part of this our Philosophie, shall and may assuredly line with vs, not onely Christian Philosophers, in name, but also in deed and in effect: and as it becommeth the true children of our Father which is in heauen, and that desire by the way and means which his Sonne teacheth and sheweth vnto vs, to enter into his kingdome. God grant vs all the grace so to do.

If I pray vnto God he will aide me.

The



THE CHRISTIAN PHY- LOSOPHIE OF THE French ACADEMIE.

Of the true and onely meanes to obtaine eternall life.

What is it to be a Christian Philosopher, and how such a man ought specially to purge and cleanse his soule and conscience of seven principall follies, thereby to enjoy and attaine unto a happy, peaceable, and contented life. Chap. I.

Two kindes of men that are altogether carelesse, or little respect the difference that should be betweene them.



IT was not without great reason, that Pythagoras the Philosopher, faining to himselfe a generall view of all mankind, in a contemplative speculation, behelde them comming into the world, as into a Faire, or common Market place, and diuided them into three parts: giuing to the first, for the ende, finall purpose, and intent of their thoughts, imaginations, and actions, glory and ambition: To the second, couetousnesse: And the third, as the most noble, he sequestred, and set them apart from the common traine of all other men, to apply themselves and their whole studies to the meditation of celestiall things. And in trueth this Pagan Philosopher did not varie much from that which diuine wildome teacheth vs, when in her sacred Registers, shee maketh two sorts of men, calling one the children of God, the other the children of the deuil: and maketh a notable difference betweene them, not onely in this life, but also in regard of that which is to come. In this life, because the first apply and giue their minds to meditate and thinke vpon that which concerneth the kingdome of their Father which is in heauen: and the dignitie and excellencie of their vocation, to walke therein holily and vprightly. And the others meereley thinke vpon nothing else, but the world and worldly vanities, and how to follow the lustes and concupiscences of the flesh. In the world to come, because the latter shall bee accursed and damned for euer, the others eternally bleisfed and happie for euer.

And in truth, euery man may easily conceiue and know, (if he be not altogether deprived and destitute of that which maketh him to bee discerned, and different from a brute beast) that there is good and euill, vertue and vice, wicked and godly men: That God altogether good, altogether iust, and altogether puissant, cannot but loue the good and hate the euill, and will giue vnto the good the reward of goodnesse, (which is the good it selfe) and to the wicked the reward of euill, (which is the euill it selfe.) And that by good consequence, there is great difference betweene the way to heauen, wherein consisteth the true and soueraigne good, and the way to hell, which is eternall damnation, betweene the pathes to heavenly light, and the way to eternall darkenesse:

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betweene

Ioh. 3. 18. 20.
Matth. 13. 24.
25.

betweene the affections and the works of the children of God, and likewise of their ends, and the affections, workes, and ends of the children of the diuell. Yet it is very true and certaine, that diuers men are so brutish and beastly, that they doe not once thinke vpon, nor consider these differences, neither in regard of this present life, nor of that which concerneth the life to come. Somelightly esteeming and thinking thereon, seeke not to bee sufficiently instructed and informed therein, that they may know it as they ought to doe: others vnderstanding the same in such manner, that they are able to teach and instruct the ignorant, are so blinded with the splendor and glory of terrestriall things, and so powerfully drawne, and carried away by the affections and lusts of the flesh, that they vtterly omitte, leaue, and forget all good motions for such vanities. And even among the children of God, living in this corrupt world, wee see and finde few that shew as they ought, and could doe, in what, and wherein they differ from vaine and worldly men. So much is the whole masse of mortal men inclined (by the hereditarie vice and sinne of Adam) to liue after the lusts of the world, the flesh and the diuell.

2. *The summarie effect of true wisdom, which maketh a man a Christian Phylosopher.*

This naturall corruption, and the necessitie that all men haue to propound vnto themselves, a course and meanes to withdraw their mindes from vice, to liue holyly and happily, was not altogether vnknowne to the Phylosophers. *Socrates* and *Plato*, esteemed to bee the wisest among them, and all the Academicks, that euer approached to the knowledge of the truth of things, taught, and affirmed, the blisse of the soule to bee the onely end and soueraigne good of man, shewing that the meanes to attaine this blisse, is moral and contemplatiue vertue, the true effect and substance of Philosophie. For (say they) this Science causeth and stirreth vp two effects in the soule of man, the one by purging it of false opinions, and vicious passions, the other by making it turne, by true reasons and arguments from the contemplation of sensible and terrestriall formes, to intelligible and celestiall things, and thereby to the *Idea* or substance of goodnesse, which is God. And in such discourses those ignorant Pagans, wanted not diuers notable perswasions, and learned precepts, to moue them to frame their liues to liue honestly and vprightly: but in the best, and soundest arguments and reasons by them alledged, touching the Deitie, and the blessednesse of the Soule, there was so much inconstancie and vncertaintie to bee found and perceiued, that it is easie to be iudged, that they had only confused imaginations touching the knowledge of God, and the soueraigne good of man, and therefore could not bring them to the true vnderstanding of heauenly wisdom: so farre off they were from attaining thereunto. And to say the truth, those little sparkes of light, resting and remaining in humane nature, which cause the eyes of the Soule, sometimes to looke vp, and to behold and thinke vpon diuine and heauenly things, are like vnto a flash of lightning, (when it thundreth) vnto those that by night walke in the fields, because for a little while, and as long as that flash and sodaine light lasteth, they see a great way about them; but it serueth not their turnes to conduct them in the right way, which they desire to holde: for at the same instant againe, they see lesse then they did before. Therefore it is requisite and necessary, that another greater and stronger light, then the sparkes that shine in our nature, should interpose it selfe to guide vs through the darknes of this world, to the true end and intent of our life, which is to know God, and his paternall will towards vs: and how we must liue according to his commandements, thereby to attaine, and finally obtaine, eternall life. For in these three points consisteth our soueraigne good, and he that vnderstandeth them well, and knoweth how to put them in practise, is the child of God, and a true Christian Phylosopher.

3. *The ground of Christian Philosophie: To amend our liues.*

This light so necessarie for a Christian, and without which, all other lights shine in vaine, is the same light which illuminateth all mankind comming into the world (as the holy Scriptures saith) and which was from the beginning, creating, and making all things, although the world knew it not, that is, the word of God made flesh, the true and eternall light, which casteth and spreadeth his beames perpetually and generally ouer all creatures: but this remaineth singularly, specially, and properly in the children of Adam, that they are endued

John 1. 4 10.
and 14.

dued with reason and vnderstanding, and haue the knowledge of good and euill, ingrauen and engrafted in their consciences. Yet there is no man (how foolish soeuer he bee) that hath not some effect and sparkes of this light of life. But this common grace of illumination, is not enough, nor sufficient for any man whatsoever, to penetrate into the kingdome of God, to contemplate and behold his glory, to vnderstand and know his will, and obediently by faith, to enioy and possesse the true peace of conscience. For it is the onely spirit of the same word of God (*Iesus Christ*) which openeth that gate of heauen: to those onely, that haue receiued and acknowledged him for their Sauour. *To whom* Iohn 1.12.
(Saint Iohn saith) hee hath giuen power to be the Sonnes of God, that beleue in the name of Iesus & 13.
*and which are not borne of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. As the same holy Spirit also presenteth vnto them the bright shining light of the Gospell, thereby to enter into the gate of the kingdome of heauen, shewing and teaching them, how they ought to frame their actions to the law of life, and thereby obtaine euerlasting saluation. With all the which treasures of soueraigne and heavenly wisdom, we haue the meanes, not onely to enrich our selues, by reading, vnderstanding, and practising of the holy Scriptures in generall; but also, by many brieve sentences, which therein are particularly set downe, and propounded vnto vs. As singularly and specially we are to meditate, and carefully to thinke vpon the words of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ, after Saint Iohn Baptist had admonished the Iewes, saying, Amend your liues, for the kingdome of heauen, or of God, is at hand. For it is most certaine, and infallible true, that the holy Spirit rehearsing and reciting those few words, first therein comprehended all that, which the forerunner of Iesus Christ preached, both concerning the Baptisme of Repentance, by the remission of sinnes, as also of the kindome of God in his elect, by his mercy; and in the reprobate, by his iustice: comprehending therein also, the whole summe and effect of the first preaching of our Lord Iesus Christ, concerning the things foreshewed by the Prophets, touching the kingdome of heauen, and the redemption of man, by the same Iesus Christ. Wherefore, if like children of the light and true Christians, we can, and are able wisely and sufficiently to meditate and thinke vpon, that which is said vnto vs in this brieve and short instruction. First, we shall finde in this onely word, (*to amend*) a full and perfect knowledge of all holy and heauenly doctrine: and then proceeding further, to the vnderstanding of the reason added therunto, which is, (*That the kingdome of God is neere vnto vs, or at hand*). We shall vnderstand and know, what our hope of celestiall inheritance is, whereunto wee are called and invited by Iesus Christ. In such manner, that framing and fashioning our liues according to these two diuine conclusions, wee shall to our great comforts and consolations, obtaine a certaine testimonie, in our consciences, of the difference which wee sayde before to bee betwene the children of God, and the children of the deuill, not onely in this life, but also in the life to come. Let this then bee the true foundation of our Philosophie, to hold for certaine, that the thing which wee must before all things learne, like true Christians: and that which wee must alwaies specially haue in our hearts and thoughts: and aboue all things practise and effect, is the first exhortation of our great Master, and Lawgiuer Iesus Christ, *Amend your liues*. And therefore let vs marke and specially consider, that the holy Euangelistes heere vse a word, which in the Greeke tongue signifieth vnderstanding, or aduise and wisdom, after that a man hath acknowledged his error, his corruption and his folly. Whereby wee are to learne, that the amendment which Christ calleth vs vnto, consisteth herein, that hauing bene so improvident, and euill furnished of vnderstanding, and true iudgement, and so foolish and euill aduised, as to follow the concupiscences, conceptions, and desires of our naturall corruption: and by that meanes not to knowe the true God, and his righteousness, as wee ought to doe: wee should in time to come, haue that vnderstanding, intent, and remembrance, both in our hearts, and in our actions, to beleue in the Deitie, and to goe on forward and proceed in our course of life, with feare and obedience. Heereunto wee must adde, that which God saith by his Prophet, *My people is foolish, they haue not knowne mee, they are foolish children, and haue no understanding, they are wise to doe euill, but to doe well they haue no knowledge*. And that which *Moses* hath written in these words, *They haue corrupted themselves towards him, by their vice, not being his children, but a froward and crooked generation, doe you so reuerd the Lord, Oh foolish people and vnwise?* And that also which *Salomon* excellently Pro. 1.20, &c. saith, *Wisdom cryeth out and saith, Oh you fooles, how long will you loue foolishnesse?**

Tit. 3. 3.

Jerem. 4. 1.
Ezek. 33. 11.

Jerem. 31. 18.

Acts 3. 19.
& 26. 20.

and the scornfull take their pleasure in scorning? and the fooles bate knowledge? learne you at my correction. To the same purpose also, Saint Paul making a most notable comparison between the state of humane nature, before Spirituall Regeneration, and the grace of God in Iesus Christ, in the renewing of the faithfull by his Spirit, saith thus: *For we our selves also were in time past, unwise, disobedient, deceived, serving our lusts, and diuers pleasures, lining in maliciousnesse and enuie, hatefull, and hating one another.* By all these places, and the like abundantly to bee found, in that great volumne of the sacred Bookes, by vs called (the Bible) wee gather, (as out of the first word aforesaid of Christs preaching) two points: first that it is a horrible, and most great folly, not to know God and his kingdome, and to liue according to the pleasures of the world, and of the flesh, in sinne and wickednesse: secondly, that man is naturally inclined and carried by his owne corruptions, to that extreame folly, to bee ignorant of God, and to plunge himselfe headlong into vice: for otherwise the holy Ghost would not so often admonish and counsell him, and that with such vehemencie and infallible reasons to leaue and abandon his so great blindness and corruption. Which the better to make vs know and vnderstand, The Diuine voice oftentimes pronounceth, the amendment of life, which Christ asketh and requireth at our handes, by a conuersion and returning vnto God. *Ob Israel* (saith the Lord by *Ieremie*) *If thou returne, returne vnto mee.* And by *Ezechiel*, *I desire not the death of the wicked, but rather that the wicked should turne from his waies, and liue.* Again, *I have heard Ephraim complaine thus, thou hast corrected mee, and I was chastised, as an untamed calfe, conuert thou mee, and I shall bee conuerted, for thou art the Lord my God.* And Saint Peter also said, *Amend your liues therefore, and turne.* And Saint Paul, *I first shewed vnto them of Damascus, and at Ierusalem, and throughout all the coastes of Iudea, and then to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turne vnto God, and doe workes worthy of amendment of life.* For this manner of speaking, so often vsed in the holy Scriptures, evidently, and plainely sheweth vnto vs, that the life of man resembleth a voyage, and that whosoever hee bee that offendeth God, walking in this world, according to the lusts of the flesh, turneth his backe to God, to heaven, and to life eternall, and goeth headlong to the Diuell, to Death, and to Hell: and that to the contrary, to conuert and turne to the Lord, by amendment of life, is to turne his backe to Death, to Hell, and to the Diuell, to goe to God, to drawe neere vnto him, and to obtaine heaven, and life eternall.

4. *Seuen principall follies, which a Christian Philosopher must shunne, and specially avoide.*

To the end that we may begin to build vpon the foundation of our Philosophy, & reap some profite by the grace of our Lord I E S U S C H R I S T, which calleth the blinde and fooles to the light of his Gospel, that they may repent and amend their liues, wee must learne and vnderstand how, and which way, we ought to conuert and turne vnto God, and approach neere vnto him that is most holy; not by changing of place, because God is in every place, but in life and conuersation: that wee may bee holy, and conformable to Christ, as in him wee are reconciled to God our Father. For (as Saint *Augustine* saith verie well) As wee are like or vnlike to our Lord Iesus Christ (man with man) so wee approach neere, or draw backe from him, (God with God.) Now as all Sciences haue certaine Rules, Principles, and Purposes of honestie, and vprightnesse, from whence their doctrines and instructions are drawne, thereon to ground all vertuous actions, in like sort, the holy Scriptures haue a much better, and a more certaine manner and meanes, then any other can haue, to direct, leade, and guide vs, to the true end and intent of our life here on earth: for although that men (as they are naturally vaine and full of ambition) doe alwayes affect a notable apparance or outward glosse, to set a faire shewe, by exquisite and Rhetorician termes: vpon the order and disposition of their writings, thereby the better to set foorth and signifie the sharpenesse, and subtiltie of their wits and vnderstandings, by that meanes to win and procure some credit, to their doctrine & precepts. And that to the contrary, the holy Ghost, speaking by the Prophets and Apostles, alwaies taught, and instructed vs, plainely & without pride, and in all places generally doth not strickly obserue, a certaine order and methode. Neuerthelesse, it is most true, that wee may obserue in the methode of

of that great Docter of our soules, two generall points, which without comparifon, are of greater waight and efficacy, then all that which the greatest Philosophers in the world, could euer write or fet forth: the one, to imprint in our hearts the loue of God, and of his righteousnes, from the which naturally, we are fallen: The other, to giue vs a certaine rule of the diuine will of God, which suffereth vs not to wander and wauer here and there in the ordering of our liues. Grounding vpon this method, we are perswaded, that to set forth the true and onely meanes of a happy and blessed life, it is requisite for vs in the first place, to produce seuen principall points of our ignorance and folly, which neuerthelesse are many more. But because the number of seuen (as it is already sayd) commonly signifieth perfection, it shall suffice also in our Philosophy, to shew that man is wholly Ignorant and foolish, vntill such time, as that changing of opinion, by celestiall grace, he becometh wise, and vnderstanding, touching the principall points of his vocation, and so repenting, turneth vnto God, and withdraweth his minde and cogitations from wickednes. These follies are: (Not to beleue in the deity. To esteeme man more then God. To thinke to liue euer in this world. Not to know why he liueth here on earth. To iudge the happy or unhappie estate of man by exterior things. To beleue & credit our enemies, more then our friend. And to thinke our selues wise.) For these seuen follies are like to the cables of vanitie, and the cords of iniquity, wherof *Esay* speaketh, when hee pronounceth malediction vpon those, that draw iniquity with cordes of vanity, and sinne as with cartropes, which say Let him make speede, let him hasten his workes, that we may see it, and let the counsell of the holy one of *Israel* draw neere, that we may know it: which put darknes for light, and light for darkenes, that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for sowre, which are wise in their owne eyes, and prudent in their owne conceits. Opinions altogether false, and peruerse impressions, whereby the diuell bereauing man of the feeling of sinne, and the apprehension of God, drawes him, as it were, with cordes and cables, into all iniquity, and consequently into the bottomlesse pitte of hell. Whereof the Prophet specially setteth downe three examples; the first, of prophane people, such as mocke God, and beleue not in him; the second, of those that couer and disguise euill, with the name of good, and darkenesse with the vaile of light. The third, of those that presume of their owne sufficiency and wisdom. Therefore this deduction of the seuen follies, or vices aforesaid, will agree very well, with the doctrine of *Esay*, when wee shall shew and prooue, that they tend onely to perswade man, that hee is a beast, ignorant of good and euill, expecting neither the one nor the other after hee is dead, thereby to make him altogether, to repose and stay all his thoughts and cogitations, vpon this transitorie life, to plunge himselfe headlong into the delights of this world, and to liue wholly without the feare of God. Which being things vnworthy of the name and profession of Christian Philosophers, let vs see, and assay, how wee may teach and instruct them, to learne to renounce, and forsake all these follies, and thereby become wiser in time to come.

Egay. 5. 8, &c.

That a man must, and ought to correct this first, and most extreame folly in himselfe, which is, not to beleue that there is a God.

Chapter 2.

1. *The feeling of a Deitie, printed and ingrauen in euery mans heart: denied and rejected by many, rather monsters then men.*

IT is a thing confessed & granted by all men, and in all ages, that there is nothing so naturall, nor so vniuersall, nothing so generally, constantly & perpetually received and auouched by men, then the feeling, beleefe & apprehension of a Deitie, the first, soueraigne, and most powerfull cause of all things that are, that liue, that haue feeling and vnderstanding: This feeling belongeth only vnto man, the lively image of God. It being that which properly & generally separateth, and setteth him a part from al other creatures. In all other things (as laughing, speaking, reasoning, iudgement, memory & wisdom) beasts are esteemed inferior vnto man, as hauing no part therein. And there are many so weak & ignorant touching the faculties of nature, that men may well say, that therein they doe in a manner little differ

Psalm. 14.
& 53.1.

from broit beasts : which mouued an ancient Father to say, that man oftentimes differeth more from man, then man from a beast. And certainly, if there bee any cleere and euident testimonies to prooue it, it is specially herein, that although the soule of man wholly vnlearned, hath inwardly ingrauen in his heart and minde, and as it were, mixed with the marrow in his bones, that there is a God : Neuerthelesse, diuers men (or rather monsters) are of the same condition with those, whereof the Prophet *Dauid* speaketh, saying, *The foole hath said in his heart, there is no God.* True it is, that of those that speake in that sort, there are two kinds. The first, say it onely with their lips ; the other shew it by their workes. The Iewes whereof *Dauid* spake, shewed both in their liues and conuersations, that they knew not God in their hearts : for that it is, which the Prophet noteth in them, adding to the place aforesaid this prooffe, *They haue corrupted, and done an abominable worke.* But at this day among those that beare the names and titles of Christians, there are not onely such men, as resemble the Iewes in this respect, but also that say, both with mouth and in heart, blasphemously and abominably, that there is no God. It is for certaine, a most horrible thing (and yet very true) that there is no nation so barbarous, nor people so brutish and sauage (as a learned Pagan confesseth) which are not perswaded in their hearts, that there is a certaine Deitie, and a Soueraigne Essence, aboue all things : and neuerthelesse, there are such senselesse blockes, among those that haue receiued the sacred seale of Christianity, that they are vtterly void of that naturall and vniuersall touch and feeling, or that at the least, seeke by all the meanes they can, to suffocate the same, daring to deny God, with their stinking and abominable mouthes. It is a iust and fearefull Iudgement, which the great Iudge of the world, executeth vpon those, that are wholly plunged, and as it were swallowed vp in the vanities and delights of the flesh, thinking no more of God, then as if hee were not. It is a most extreame vengeance, which the most puissant God letteth flye like an arrow, against those miserable men, who to addict their minds, (and without remorse of conscience) to abandon themselves to all corruption and filthinesse, maliciously inforce themselues, vtterly to deface out of their soules, the reliques of the diuine Image, which beareth them witnesse of the Deitie, and of his providence and iustice. It is the punishment that those men deserue, who to fill vp the measure of their iniquities, when they affirme any thing ; yea, and often times in vaine speeches and communications, dare vomit, and cast forth into the aire a denying of God. It is the reward which the Eternall giueth vnto the ingratitude of many men : who to addict themselves to the fond dreames of their owne imaginations, haue despised the treasure which Christ hath opened vnto vs in his holy Gospell. To be brieue, it is the last and most great persecution, whereby the children of God, shall be prooued in this latter age of the world, when monstrous Atheists shall mocke at their simplicity, and at their constancie, in keeping themselves (as neere as possible they may) from doing euill, for the hope they haue in the Lord, and because they feare his name. Now as there is no greater, nor more mortall wound, then to pul a mans heart out of his body, so there is no poyson more powerful, nor plague more puissant, then suddenly to kill in him, the life of his soule (faith and charitie) and (consequently to cast him downe headlong into the gulf of death and hell, with the diuell,) to deny the principle of all things, and the foundation of all Religion, which is that there is no God.

2. Three wayes and meanes to know God, and one onely to conceiue what he is.

The Theologian Philosophers teach vs three wayes and meanes to know God : by the instinct of nature. The one is, by the negatiue of all imperfection, in acknowledging the Deitie to be immouueable, vnchangeable, eternall, without substance, and infinite. This is an euident and cleare way to teach vs, not what God is, but what hee is not : wherein neuerthelesse, we haue as it were but a Preface, to know what God is. The second meanes to knowe him, is by his effects, which are the creatures ; but it is very true and certaine, that the effects doe not alwayes wholly represent their causes : specially in things that are finite ; how much lesse then in things that are infinite ? Wee cannot learne, nor iudge by the effects, of the Spirit of man, nor of the sunne, what those two singular creatures are. Then how shall we know by finite workes, the efficient cause, or that which giueth essence vnto nature. The third meanes to attaine to this knowledge, is by the number of perfections that are found ; and may bee in all creatures, and in all essence ; whereupon God is called

called Goodnesse, Wisedome, Power, Life, Truth, and Iustice, which perfect qualities, dispersed by piece meale, and in some measure in things created, are heaped together, vnted, and without measure in God, and therefore he is called Infinite. But because these are qualities subsisting in some kindes of substance, and that in God there is no qualitie, he being all substance and essence: and that every one of them, cannot be finite in God, (for he is altogether infinite) nor infinite in him, (for then there should bee many infinities, and God onely is infinite.) Therefore it is evident, that man cannot well knowe the Deitie by the perfections aforesaid. We cannot vnderstand nor imagine any thing, but by the means of his proper essence, and by comparing and measuring it, with the qualitie that it hath; whereby it happeneth, that wee forge and make of euery thing, some corporall Image, being not able by any meanes, without that resemblance, ground, and principle, to conceiue or comprehend any true essence. Which moued a Pagan to say, that if beastes should make themselves Gods, they would forge and fashion them like vnto themselves. But this is no certaine meanes, nor way to knowe God, which is no corporall body, but altogether spirituall and infinite. So that is a false resemblance which wee giue to God, of more or lesse; when wee attribute vnto him, some thing more specially then other, as beeing more his, and more certaine testimonies of his providence and iustice: and that oftentimes we become so audacious, or most ignorant comptrollers of his Iudgements, and workes. Which commeth to passe, by reason that wee esteeme, and so much the more apprehend things, how much the more they touch and concerne vs. And as if the vniuersall deluge, was more to the Deitie, then a drop of riuer water; the Sunne, then a leafe of a tree; an Empire, then a flie; and all the world, then an Ante. But that is wholly to bee ignorant, what heaven is: for where there is more or lesse, there is no infinitie, and consequently no God. It belongeth and appertayneth to creatures, and things finite, to bee touched diuersly and vnequally; not to the eternall, nor to that which is infinite. But wee thinke, discourse, and iudge of God according to ourowne qualities and conditions: (for wee can neuer wholly separate our selues, from our selues) and therefore all these naturall wayes and meanes, carrie and drawe vs, farre from the knowledge of God. And which is more, if all that which wee say, and set downe of him, were strictly iudged and censured, it would bee, and is, meere vanity and ignorance. For besides that we can neuer say enough of him, yet those true things, and which appertaine vnto God, are corrupt, passing through our senses, and mouthes, and we neuer speake of him, but in some doubt and incertaintie, by the ouer great feeblenesse and weakenesse of our faith. And so the Incomprehensible abisme, and the inaccessible light, is on the one side, and our nothing, and lesse then nothing, and altogether darkenesse on the other side. Wherefore we say, that if there be any meanes, to conceiue and imagine the deity, in our vnderstanding, it is, when the Soule is distract from all other things, and eleuating it selfe, aboue the heavens, as in a wide, spacious, infinite, with a profound and chaste silence, and an imagination trembling with humility, (being very carefull and warie, not to comprehend, or conceiue in minde, any corporall thing, or that which is naturall) doth imagine a bright shining profundity, without ground, brinke, banke, hight, or depth: and as if the Soule, being as it were blindfold, should lose, drowne, and swallow it selfe vp in the contemplation of this infinite. But because it is most difficult, (if it bee not altogether impossible) for man to giue himselfe any such kinde of access to God: and that the Soule cannot long subsist, in such manner, remaining in his prison (the body) neither could in that estate, (rauid with feare) haue the facultie or opportunity to sue to God, in temporal manner, which is to pray to him, to acknowledge him, and to honour him; it being necessary in such things; to represent his creatour vnto himselfe, with some qualities as good, puissant, wise, vnderstanding, and accepting the vowes, and intents of his children. For these causes, I say, it is requisite, and the condition of this life cannot otherwise beare it, that euery one should make, and imagine vnto himselfe some image of God, which hee beholdeth with the eies of his minde, and firmly addresseth himselfe thereunto: and that is it, which he can imagine to himselfe of God. For the Spirit draweth the portraict to it selfe, eleuating his imaginations, aboue all things that nature hath created, & withall his force, conceiueeth a soueraign goodnes, power, & eternal perfection; which image neuertheless, is altogether false, that is lame and imperfect. For that the deity, being not imaginable, infinite, and altogether incomprehensible, to a humane Soule, there can be no true representation thereof, made vnto it. But it sufficeth, that it maketh it lesse false, lesse vicious, bigger, and purer,

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rer, then it can imagine or conceiue. The certaine patterne whereof, was reuealed from heauen to the patriarches, and ancient fathers of the Iewes, the first adorers and worshippers of God, as they also haue represented the same vnto vs, in their most anciēt & autentique writings. There he is named (I E H O V A) he that is, he that is only, and alone. And E H E. I E, E H E. I E. I am, that I am, The eternall, Lord, most mightie, Creator, and Authour of all things, by whom all things that are made, haue their essence, in whose regard, all things are nothing, one, and infinite altogether: Father, Word, and Spirit, living, seeing, penetrating, and foreseeing all things, all wisdom and perfection, all knowledge and goodnesse, and the God of his people. Therefore, whosoever shall more highly, more worthily, and more purely imagine and conceiue of these names, and diuine qualities, shall haue a more beautifull, more certaine, and more true image of God.

3. *A generall consideration of the world, in seuen demonstratiue reasons of the Deitie.*

But to returne to our proposition, to correct the extreame folly, of not beleeuing that there is a God, and by that meanes to arme and strengthen our selues against so pernicious a temptation. First, wee will briefly set downe seuen naturall reasons and proofes of the Deitie: that done, we will proceed to the supernaturall. The first is drawne from the consideration of the whole masse of the vniuersall world, either generally or particularly. That which is generall, concerneth nature, the essence and order of this round world, wherein we must of force acknowledge, that there is an Authour of such an admirable building, and an efficient and soueraigne cause of the substance thereof, which is God. For first, if the world was made, and had a beginning, (which almost all humane Philosophers acknowledge, and the holy Scriptures both of the Prophets and Euangelists confirme it) it followeth, that there is a soueraigne Architector, and first cause, wherby the world hath his being: for it did not make it selfe, it being impossible, that any thing should bee the efficient cause of it selfe, otherwise it should bee before it was, which is a manifest impossibilitie, and contradiction; the efficient being alwayes before the effect. Secondly, wee must confesse, that the world was made either of some substance, or of nothing: If of a substance, necessarily there must be some first operative cause, that made and formed that matter and substance, and gaue an essence therunto. If of nothing, then by greater reason, it was requisite there should bee a most soueraigne power, (yea and infinite) that made and created this world without matter or substance. Thirdly, say the world was made in a certaine time, or let vs graunt, that it was without any beginning; yet wee must graunt, that there was an efficient cause, because it is finite. And things that are finite, subsist, and are of an other thing. That which is of it selfe, and by it selfe, is infinite: now that the world is naturall, and of a finite essence, all the parts thereof that are finite, and whereof it is composed, manifestly shew it. Therefore it is of an other thing, hath a cause of being, and was made: for what could bee the cause of the finitie thereof, and that it is no bigger, but onely the will and pleasure of him that created it? It is not want of space and place, which without the world is infinite. Neither is it because of the forme thereof, which being round, may neuertheless be infinite. Fourthly, this great world is a body composed, & made of diuers pieces, and those contrary one to the other, linked together, as heate, cold, drie, moist, sweet, bitter, plaine, rugged, polished, rough, strong, and weake. Which contrarieties cannot bee in a first and simple matter, which receiueth no composition. Therefore it being very true, that so many contrary things that are in the world, could not of themselves ioyne one with the other, much lesse agree & maintain themselves together (seeing that naturally they seeke to destroy one the other, it must necessarily follow, that one more wiser, and more puissant, did put his hand thereunto, to ioyne them together, as it were by force, and then to maintaine them in that mixture. For a thing that is composed, and made of pieces, is imperfect, and therefore is not of it selfe, but was made of some perfect and singular thing. For perfection and singularity, goe before imperfection, and plurality, as the vnite and number of one, goeth before all other numbers, whereunto it giueth a beginning. Now God is that perfect and singular thing. Fifthly, the moving thereof, so orderly, so iustly, to equally, so constantly, and so immoueably, necessarily proceedeth, and dependeth, vpon a most wise, and first motion, which is moued by no other thing. That which is moued, remooued, and thrust forward, is done by another. For nothing moueth, or hath motion of it selfe, other-

wife

wise one selfe same thing, should be, and not be, all at one time, but if it be mooued, guided or thrust forward, it hath no power of operative mouing of it selfe. Now all the world turnes about and is mooued, both in generall and particular, and all the parts thereof are in motion. Wherefore it followeth, that they are mooued by some higher power, which moouing all things, is not mooued by any other, nor constrained to any motion. Otherwise, it were requisite to haue an other superiour and stronger thing which should remooue it, and so we should still stand vpon the point of infinite, which is altogether absurd. It is necessarie to rest vpon the latter, which is, that mooueth all things, and is not mooued by any thing. Whereupon, let vs againe note that this moouing is perpetuall, and vniformally. For the heauens mooue alwaies, and that orderly, which sheweth a most great power & wisdom in the first moouer, which is God: by whom all things are mooued by degrees, and the weakest by the strongest; for bodies are mooued by their spirits, and the vertues hidden in them, and all inferior things by the heauens: so that wee must grant our first proposition, which is, that being of himselfe immoueable, vnchangeable, and an eternall rest, he mooueth all things. Seuenthly, it is certaine and euident, that all things naturally tend to some end, for the which they worke, and not onely euery one in particular, for his owne regard, but altogether, as with one accord and with one motion to attaine to a common and general end, which neuertheless cannot be done, vnlesse the cause be knowne by whom it is; and who knoweth and vnderstandeth the generall intent of nature, to incite and mooue euery thing to his action. Now it is most sure, that almost all creatures are ignorant, wherunto they tend, and what causeth them to persist in motion, because they haue not that vnderstanding that is requisite thereunto. Whereupon we conclude, that there is a first, soveraigne, efficient, and intellectuall cause, which knoweth and vnderstandeth, the end of all things, and vnderstanding and overseeing them all, thrusteth them forward to their action, and guideth and leadeth them to their end, both generally and particularly, which is so strong a reason, that the same alone, constrained the Pagan philosophers, that doubted of the deity, to say, that there is a kind of working nature, that is, efficient, mouing, and thrusting all naturall things to their end: and so in despite of their hearts, to confesse a God, vnder a feminine word of nature.

4. Speciall consideration of the World in seuen principall things, which make a certaine prooffe the Deitie.

Touching the reasons and naturall proofes, which are more particularly drawne from the consideration of the whole world, It shall suffice to set downe and touch seuen onely, out of a great number. First, if wee consider particularly the great multitude, and in a manner, infinite number of things created: and in them, the varietie so diuers, and so many, and in both of them the disposition so well composed, the ranking so beautifull, the ordering so harmonious, and the concord so firme; we must be forced necessarily to draw and reduce all that, to a first infinitie and vnitie most fertile, most puissant and most wise. For they are all firme and certaine maximes, that multitude proceedeth of vnity, variety of abundance and fertilitie, and that order and concord, (different in plurality) are, and maintaine themselves, by a most great and powerfull wisdom. Secondly the making, and in it the building, perfection, and beauty, not onely in grosse, of all the round world, but also of euery part and peece thereof in particular, can not be done, without a most great, and most wise workeman. The sight of a picture, maketh men conceive and know that there is a painter, and of a peece of worke, that there is a workeman, which much surpasseth his worke, as alwayes, the author and the cause, the doing, and the giuing, are more then the effect, and the receiuing. Behold the construction, and artificiall building of the heavenly vault, wherin are placed so many bright shining lights, which without ceasing, are in continuall motion ouer our head. Consider the forme of mans face, and the order and making of his inward parts, then of his soule, which is inuisible, the thoughts, discourses, and actions thereof, which cannot be comprehended: all that (yea and all that which we see in all creatures, euen in the little Ant, the feather of a bird, and the leafe of a tree) sheweth euidently, that all of them haue beene made to some end, and by a most great, eternall, and an inuisible workeman. Thirdly, the distinction, degrees, and parting of all things, and of their naturall essentiall qualities, which are reduced to foure principall heads, (essence, living, feeling, and vnderstanding,) constraineth euery reasonable soule to imagine a free and marvellous authour and worke

master. We know that the greatest bodies, and the highest parts of the world, (the heavens & the elements) like great vessels, or strong planks, hauing but their simple essence, contain and sustaine all other things. Secondly, plants, trees, and hearbes, (richer neuerthelesse) which seeme nothing in quantitie to the heavens, and yet haue more then they, for they haue life and essence, and nourish themselves by their rootes. Thirdly, beastes, which are much lesse then the plants, (yet more excellent then the great celestiall bodies, trees, and herbes) haue their essence, liuing, and feeling, and make vse of the other two kinds of creatures, taking their nourishment from them at their mouthes. Fourthly, Man, much lesse, and feebler, then all that aforesaide, is enriched with foure degrees of qualities, (for hee hath essence, hee liueth, hee feeleth, and vnderstandeth) and serueth himselfe with the heavens, the elements, the plants, and the beastes; yea, and commaundeth most part of all those creatures. Thus you see, that great and strong things are meanliest provided for, and are subiect vnto, and serue the lesser and the feebler: which is a certaine argument, that they haue not provided for themselves, nor shared out their owne portions; but that there is a Master aboue all others that hath so, and as it pleaseth him, giuen to euery one a part, and hauing in that sort provided for them, maketh them liue in peace and concord. Fourthly, it is wonderfull to see the coniunction of things, and the interchangeable course, intelligence that they haue, and seruice that they do one vnto the other. For the heavens shine, heate, moylen, and make the earth bring forth and encrease, and not for themselves. The earth beareth and nourisheth the plants, and hath no neede of them. The plants nourish and feede liuing beastes, and other creatures, which with all the rest serue man. And such things serue one the other, without any benefite or profite vnto themselves. Wherefore being linked and chained in such manner, and tending all to one end, there must necessarily be one, that hath so knit them together, ordered, drest, & prepared them, to one end and purpose, which is God. Fifthly, the vertues, proprieties, and admirable and infinite excellencies that are in things, and so wisely diuided among them, the marueilous effects, and exquisite singularities of all and euery one of them, witnes, and clearly shew, that there is a most great and infinite giuer, and a soueraigne and most puissant Lord: for seeing that they haue not all these good things, and benefites of themselves, haue not giuen them one vnto another, haue not the power to refuse or to receiue them, knowe not that they haue them, nor reape any profit, honor, or pleasure by them: (for what knowledge hath the rose of her sweetnes? what profit or pleasure hath the adamant stone of his propriety, or precious stones of their singularity.) It must certainly, and of force bee, that such things haue received all these benefites and properties else where, & that some great, rich, good, and liberal Lord hath giuen the same vnto them, and in such measure as pleased him, not for their own sakes (because they know nothing, & haue no profit thereby, for their parts) but in consideration of some other, to whom that great master maketh them serue. Sixtly, we finde in all creatures truth and goodnes, and in euery one great diuersity, and many degrees: for euery thing hath his owne particular goodnes and truth, which maketh it differ from an other. Whereby we conclude, that there is a first, a soueraigne, and an vniuersall goodnes & truth, the originall fountaine, and spring, of all the singular goodnes and vertues, vnequally dispersed and diuided among all things. For that being not true and good of themselves (otherwise euery thing should be truth and goodnes) it must follow, that they haue received them from another. As a rose is a true and a good thing, and a good and a true rose, but it is not truth and goodnes, (for then it should no more be a rose,) but it is true & good: that is, there is goodnes and truth in it: Therefore that vertue is in it, by some other meanes. The like of a bird, and so of all other creatures. Whereby we are compelled to beleue, that there is an infinite truth and goodnes, and as it were a Sea thereof, which spreading running out and dispersing it selfe among all things, maketh them particularly, true and good. Which is God. And as we see that there is diuers degrees of more or lesse, in the goodnes and valew of euery thing, we must conclude, that there is a soueraigne essence, which is perfectly good and that how much the neerer any thing is, or draweth vnto it, the better it is, and how much the further, any thing withdraweth it selfe or is from it, the worst it is. Lastly, after all other things, for the seventh, and strongest reason, we must behold and looke earnestly into man, for whom all other things were made, and for whom also we labor in this our present discourse. Wee will not stand much vpon the body, although, that both within, and without him, in his speech, and in his naturall senses, there are many wonderfull things, and whereof a man might write a large volume: but herein, wee desire to be brieue. Let vs then specially

ſpecially conſider how man is not the author of man, for that the generation of man is acted, when neither the father nor the mother thinke thereon, ſee it, nor deſire it, and oftentimes againſt their willes, being not able to beget children when they would, nor yet ſuch as for the time they wiſh or deſire, for ſometimes they haue a ſon, when they would haue a daughter, and ſo to the contrary. After that, the child beeing borne, is not any waies in their owne power or diſpoſition: for many times it dieth, when it is but an hower old, and ſometimes they neuer ſee it aliue. Againe, if man were the maker of man, he would make him great and healthful, and not lame, counterſeite, or miſſhapen: he would forme his vaines, pulſes, and ſinewes, and mix and interlace them orderly together, and with, and by moſt admirable art: he would faſhion his head and his braines, and make him a heart, a liuer, lights, and all the reſt of his intrailles, which are hidden within the body. But man himſelfe knoweth not, and is wholly ignorant, how his inward parts, and ſo many goodly members are made and compoſed, if hee hath not at ſome time or other, ſeene them in the ripping and opening of ſome dead mans body, and by that meanes the firſt man *Adam*, was there in ignoranter then any other, as hauing neuer ſeene them in that manner. Wee muſt then thereby conclude, that there is a moſt great, and admirable workman, which is author of all theſe things, and that aſt that it were wouen, & framed ſo many notable and goodly members, not being man, but much ſurpaſſing and excellling all other things whatſoeuer. And if it be alledged, that ſuch was the courſe of nature from the beginning, as of a nut which falleth downe from a nutte tree, there will grow vp in that place, an other tree of the ſame kinde, the nutte not once falling, nor thinking thereon, and that ſuch is the force, and order of naturall things; it muſt be knowne and prooued what nature is? Who hath given it that order, and that force, who made the firſt nut? who compoſed the body and members of the firſt man? who hath made and formed all other creatures? Who guideth and conducteth them, and is the cauſe, that there is no want of them? and to be briefe, who was the beginner of all things? But as wee ſay, and haue ſaid, a moſt puiſſant and ſoueraigne Lord, that worketh according to his will and pleaſure, as he hath created all things by his power; and moderated them by his wiſdome? Hauing ſpoken of the generation, and forme of the body, (wherin man hath no part; and to ſay truth nothing, as I haue ſaid) let vs come and proceede to the creation of the Spirit, which is as it were a bottomleſſe pit, which cannot be ſounded: how then could, or did man make it? In this ſpirit, there is a thouſand wonders, which all thoſe that are endowed therewith, doe not once vnderſtand. It hath an intellectuall quality, ſurpaſſing ſenſible things (for it vnderſtandeth them all) and which is more, that vnderſtanding diſcouereth, and conceiueth much more, and farre beyond all the ſences of man. Which euidently ſheweth, that there are intelligible things, aboue ſenſible things, and ſpecially one, which not onely ſurpaſſeth thoſe intelligible things, but alſo is aboue this vnderſtanding of the Spirit. It knoweth and vnderſtandeth all things; and yet cannot vnderſtand nor know it ſelfe, neyther doth it know from whence it hath that great ſufficieny to know the reſt. Therefore alſo it did not make it ſelfe, but of neceſſity it followeth, that there is an vnderſtanding, much aboue that of man, which knoweth it, & hath made it; and which vnderſtanding in vs, that which we our ſelues know not, giueth power vnto our ſoules, to vnderſtand that whereof they are capable. Againe, the thoughts of our hearts, the Imaginations of our braines, the deſires of our wils, and the conceptions, inuentions and diſcourſes of our Spirits, which are infinite, and which we cannot ſlay, change, nor order, but do rather wholly carry, lead and bury vs away at their pleaſures: So many wonders (I ſay) euidently ſhew and declare, that wee are not maſters of our ſelues.

But how ſhould wee bee maſters of theſe interior and great matters, and of ſo many admirable faculties of the ſoule, when we haue not the leaſt meanes or power that is, to make our ſelues a ſinger higher then we are, or to be longer or ſhorter then we be? Let vs then ſay and confeſſe, that there is a ſupreme Lord aboue vs, that is moſt great, puiſſant, of moſt wonderfull, and altogether perfect vnderſtanding, and infinite in all things: ſeeing that man (who in reſpect of the vniuerſall world, is as it were, but a ſmall graine,) is infinite in his thoughts, deſires, and affections. To conclude, heereby wee ſee how things in generall, and euery one in particular, in their ſeueral bodies, acknowledge, confeſſe, and denounce; in all true ſence, one God, authour, and ſoueraigne Maſter of all things, from whoſe maiesty and greatnes; it is impoſſible for man to hide himſelfe: for that at all times, in euery moment of time, and in all parts and places whereſoeuer, it preſenteth it ſelfe vnto vs, toucheth, ſtriketh, preſſeth, and vrgeth vs forward.

5. Other considerations of the former sene reasons, foure interior and morall, and three supernaturall and Theologicall demonstratives of the deitie.

Diuers other reasons, Interior, sensible, morall, proper, and naturall, with others higher, and more exquisite, supernaturall, and Theologicall, may here be inserted, to shew, not only that there is a first, soueraigne, and infinite essence, efficient cause, Lord, and providence of all things, which is God. But also, that in him, there is a soueraigne, and infinite power, knowledge, iustice and perfection. First, wee must necessarily consider the generall, vniuersall, and mutuall consent of all nations, and of all men, touching the beleefe & acknowledging of a Deitie. For all the people in the vniuersall world, that are, or ever were living on the earth, from the first day thereof vntill this present time, naturally haue, and doe confesse, that there is a God, or Gods. All the Philosophers, Historiographers, and Pagan Poets speake and make mention of their Gods, and inuoke, and call vpon them. And although that the most, and greatest parte of men, haue worshipped, honoured, and called vpon false Gods, that odoration, neuerthelesse doth testifie, and confirme, that all of them haue that in common, and generally, to beleue that there is a deity, and that they thinke that they serue the true God, and so manifestly condemne those that acknowledge no God. Further, this diuersity of Gods, imagined by the Pagans, evidently proueth, that to beleue in a deity, is not a doctrine learned or taught in common schooles, or a complot made among men, but that it is nature it selfe, common to all men, that teacheth them that there is a God. The second reason is, the manner of swearing, or ministring of an oath vnto all men, to maintaine and vphold all that which is true, and to obey his word and commandements, for that is as much as to confesse that there is a God, which knoweth the secrettes of mens harts, loueth truth, and punisheth all falshood. Thirdly, the prompt, willing, and in no sort premeditated inuocation of some aide and soueraigne extraordinary succour, when a man findeth himselfe in any great, or violent danger, disaster or distresse, evidently sheweth and testifieth, that there is a certain natural impression of a deity, and a kind of religious seed in the soule of man. It is the nature of euery thing to turne and addresse it selfe, (and that insensibly) to his beginning then this inspiration, beeing meerely naturall, cannot be vaine, but sheweth and proueth evidently, not only that there is a God in the world, but also that he knoweth all that is done therein, that he can remedy and helpe all things, and that he hath a care of al humane things. Fourthly, we are to consider, and to thinke vpon the feeling and remorse of conscience, so violent, and passionate, full of torments, disquietnes, & troubles, from which wicked men: by no means can be freed. For it is an infallible argumēt, of a superior souerainitie, before whom they must render an accōpt of their actions, & what other may be gathered hereby, that all apprehension of feare of men, being taken away, in a fact secretly committed, where there is no witnes nor apparant accusator, in case where the delinquent or malefactor is of so great power and authority, that there is no iudge to whom he is to render or make accompt of the fact, or where hee hath beene absolved or acquitted by the Magistrate, the soule or conscience neuerthelesse, is so cruelly tormented, with interior fury, and vexed with torments and feare, that all the pleasures, exercises, flatteries, and passetimes, wherewith other men recreate themselves, can by no meanes appease, or ease his minde, nor once suffer him to take any rest? This proceedeth not from the motions of the soule it selfe, because it loueth and cherisheth the body, as much as possible it may or can, and seeketh not, the trouble, disease or torment thereof. So that we must confesse, and acknowledge that it is some most great powerfull maiesty, some most redoubted and soueraigne superiority, from the which that which is the principall part in man, cannot hide nor vnlose it selfe, by whose handes it findeth it selfe fast caught, and surprisid: who louing vertue, vprightnes, iustice, and truth, punisheth and severely reuengeth all euill. So many seuerall things then, already touched and declared to that purpose, beeing so vniuersall, we must acknowledge them to be naturall, and consequently true. For it can not be sayd nor alleadged, that it is fortune (as men call it) much lesse the reasons so diuers, and flowing in discourse, that hath so generally, and constantly perswaded all men to the beleefe of a deity. Therefore, we must necessarily grant, that it is nature, or to speak truth, God. And in truth it is a touch or feeling of his maiesty & greatnes in all mens harts, and in the soule of nature it selfe. For that which some men do reply and alleadged against it, hath here no place, which is, that the cause why men doe beleue in God, proceedeth from the craft and subtilty of those

those men, who seeking to obtain an authority and principality ouer others, and to procure the more credit to their lawes and ordināces, boasted & made the people beleue, that they had some secret cōmunication with the gods, & that they had receiued those lawes and statutes from them, which they commanded to be obserued and done: for of what weight or moment could such dissimulation & fained shewes be with men, if first the perswasion of a deity (which men should feare to offend) had not bin naturally imprinted in their harts? for if they had not beleueed it, without doubt they wold haue mocked those that said they had spoken with the gods. And which is more, they themselues that vsed such policy & craft, are also witnesses, that all men beleue that there is a deitie. And to proue it, reade all the books that haue bin composd & written from the beginning of the world vntill this time, & you shal find but very few mē that are noted to haue maintaynd that blasphemy, that there is no god. There is mention made of one *Diagoras Melitus* a Poet: of one *Theodorus Cerenus*: of one *Ehemerus* of *Tigee*, & some others that were esteemed Atheists. And yet they were not thought to be such, for hauing denied that ther is a God (for *Diagoras* in the beginning of his verses, confesseth that the deity guideth and conducteth al things) but rather because they mocked at idols & the multitude of gods. As *Ehemerus* was called an atheist, because he wrot that the gods of the gentiles were excellent personages, seeing their pourtraits which were kept in memory of them, had bin conuerted into idols. And in the same bookes we read, that *Protagoreus*, for writing in the beginning of his book, *I haue nothing to say or do with it, whether there be gods, or no gods*, was banished out of Athens, & the territories therof, & his books puplikely burnt. As there were also certain Philosophers named *Septiqueis*, that doubted of the deity; but that was because their profession was to doubt of all things, yea, of that which they saw, and touched, and which is more, whether they were, or were not in essence. Now those that beleue not their owne sence and feeling, as that blacke is blacke, that fire is hote, that snowe is white, and that yce is cold; and to be brieft, that doubt of that which is seene, touched, or heard by themselues, are truly & directly senseles and mad, and yet lesse mad then Atheists, because they doubt that there is a God; and the Atheists flatly denie it. Let vs go forward with our reasons, & speak of those that are supernatural, & theological. 5. It is worthy the noting, that besides, this that al the cōpany of the most noble philosphers, openly & plainly confessed, the Holy Scriptures witnes the same, & experience teacheth vs; that there is a certen inuisible, & spirital power, greater & stronger then al humane vertue, because it is ouer ruled, & strangely insulted vpon by the other. Which is that of wicked spirits good or euil demons, which not only violate, torment, & hinder mens bodies, from doing their natural & ordinary functions, but also trouble & tormēt their soules, corrupting their imaginatiōs, & peruerting their iudgmēt. Al this cānot be denied, nor dissēbled by Athists. They heare & vnderstād a foole, a child, & a woman, speak greek, Latin, & other strangelanguages, & vtter certen propositions of doctrine, which they in no wise vnderstand. They see strange things done, which are not acted by the wit, capacity, or suffrance of him that doth the, nor by any other humane power. And they cannot say, that the diuels which act such prodigious things, are not enemies vnto mē, & of power sufficiēt vtterly to destroy them. Which are al proofs, that there is yet a higher power, that cōmādeth & ouerruleth the power of the Demōs or diuels, & which they serue & obey, as there is no family, no assēbly, nor any order or estate, without some head or gouernor. Thē is it the soueraign & diuine power (that is the deity) which presseth down, driueh away, & ouercōmeth those inuisible & spirital powers. Which caused *Socrates*, being accused not to beleue in the Gods, for his own purgation, & excuse to say, that he had taught his Disciples to beleue that there are Demōs which are but the childre & ministers of the Gods. 6. There is a certen great & clere proof, of most excellent & diuine vertue in miracles, wherby the rule, order, & course of nature, is altered & chāged, & in al ages there hath bin such miraculous actions, done & accōplished in the world, which cannot be doubted of, nor called in questiō, but by Acariastias, or haire braind, & vnreasonable men, wherof the bookes, histories, credible reports, & testimonies of al nations & people, are exsant to be seene. Whereby we are taught, that there is a greater and more puissant then all the world, and nature, that sheweth himselfe by those supernaturall actions, to bee aboue the law, that he himselfe hath established, and that dispenseth therewith, when, where, and as it pleaseth him. Which is God. Lastly, for the seuenth reason, The predictions of things to come, and in time to happen and fall out, which haue not any cause, or ground in nature, at the time when they are foretold, and not at haffard, generally, obscurely, or counterfeitly, but are certainelie specified and determined to bee done, and to happen at a time preordained: and which afterwards haue their true and

Esay 44. 21
Dan. 7. 3.
and 17.

certaine execution, and euents in euery point as they had bin foresheued, are to be considered and specially noted. For that such cleare, manifest, and infallible knowledge of future things, cannot be but in the infinite Spirit, eternall Authour of all things, in whose sight all things are perpetually present (that is God) who reuealeth & openeth them to men, by those of who he will be seru'd to his glory, whether they be christians or pagans. As *Esay* notably foresheued the natiuity & name of king *Cyrus*, and that he should set the Iewes at liberty, a hundred yeres before that prince was borne. And *Daniel* manifestly prophesied of the foure monarchies, before the first of them hapned; and more then that, hee did certainly, and a long time before speak of the desolation & end of the Iewish religion. The *Sibylles* also foresheued many things with great certainty: but specially we must note the prediction & foresheuing of christian religion, described & promised not generally & confusedly, but clearly and particularly, in all the severall parts therof, many ages before it was known, or heard of in the world: for in all times and ages, yea, & in all precedent religions, there was most worthy personages, that were admired and much esteemed of by men, (as the prophets among the Iewes, the *Sibylles* & the Poets among the Oracles, & Grecians) that wrot, foresheued, and celebrated christian religion, the foundation wherof is to beleene in one only true God.

6. *The conclusion of this Chapter.*

So many cleare, and diuers sorts of testimonies, being set downe and produced, which all conclude and affirme a deitie, wee cannot say otherwise, but that it is a most vnmeasurable pride, most shameful infamy, and a most desperate and beastly opinion, to deny that which is beleueed and vniuersally confessed by innumerable millions of people; & which is more, that which the discourse of reason, our imagination, & our vnderstanding teacheth & sheweth vs. For seeing the spirit is capable of it selfe, to apprehend the beliefe of a God, and that reason leadeth vs vnto it, nothing can hinder or impeach vs, to giue full credit therunto. Now seeing this spirit is able to conceaue a most high, most puissant, most good, and in all parts most perfect essence; & not only that, but most certainly conceiveth that soveraign vertue, and is thereunto led, yea, & as it were thrust forward, & forced by many arguments and reasons, in considering, orderly placing, and composing the goodnes, beauty, singularities, and excellencies that are in all things, both vnder & above humane nature, and causing the imagination of her thoughts to roue about, & to mount vp on high, to search for, & to conceiue of a more perfect nature, vntill such time as in a manner blindfolded, it ariseth vnto such a heighth, and so cōpleat an essence, that in the meditation therof, the sight of her vnderstanding is troubled, and in a maner lost with feare, admiration, & respect, which must needs be God, the first, eternall, & soveraigne efficient cause of all things. We must conclude, that by good right, we haue placed and set down the first and extremest folly in man to be, not to beleene that there is a deity; it being most true, that it is the means to abolish & abandon out of our hearts, all feare of doing euill, and to annihilate all affection and desire in vs, to addict our minds vnto piety, charity, holines, patience, and humility. It is the true and only meanes, to transform and change a man, not so much into a beast, as into a devil, yea, & into a far worse nature; for the devils beleue that there is a God, and tremble at his name (as the holy scriptures beare witnes, & diuers writings of the Pagans.) Wherefore let vs constantly renounce, and vtterly forsake this folly, and madnes of the Atheists, and abhorring the very thought therof, beleue in God, not only our creator, (as it evidently appeareth by all his works) but also our redeemer, that is (to speake with the Apostle) manifested in the flesh, iustified in the spirit, seene of angels, preached to the Gentiles, beleueed of the world, and mounted vp into glory: for that without this knowledge of the true God, we are but ignorant of him.

James 2. 19.

1. Tim. 3. 16

That men ought to renounce the second follie, which is to esteeme man more then God. Chap. 3.

1. *Of those that denie the Deitie by their works, because they know not the providence of God.*

Tit. 1. 16.

Let vs follow, and goe forward with the foundation of our Philosophy, which is to forsake & renounce all our follies, and thereby grow wiser in time to come, that so we may be answerable to our vocation of the children of God: and hauing spoken of those detestable monsters, that denie the Deitie, both in heart and mouth, we will now say somewhat of those, who making a profession to know God, deny him in their works, (as Saint Paul saith) which follie is found to be eminently, and meerey followed with a common error, in all places

places where man is more esteemed of then God. For to confesse & acknowledge the soueraign creator of all things, & to esteeme lesse of him then of his creature, is as much as to acknowledge & avouch him with our mouths, and to deny him in heart & action, and so to weare the livery of those, of whom the Prophet *David* speaketh, saying, *The foole hath said in his heart there is no God, they have corrupted themselves, and done an abominable worke.* This folly is much more vsed and common then it is thought to be: for it proceedeth of diuers causes, which in a maner draw men to iniquity, as incredulity, doubting, grosse ignorance, or too slacke and cold a conceit of the providence of God, which is an assistance, & a wise conduction of all things to their end. Such men confessing that there is a God, doe not apprehend him as they should, that is, that he is soueraignly and vniuersally provident, both generally and particularly, all good and doing wel, hating iniquitie, iust punishing sinne, true & most puissant to accomplish his promises, and to execute his Iudgements, and of an infinite wisdom. From the which ignorance & corruption, there proceedeth singularly, these three vices, that we loue man more then God, that we put our trust & confidence in man, more then in God, and that we feare man more then God. Which are as many euident profes, & certain testimonies of the accomplishing of this folly, that we esteeme man more then God, & by good consequence also, that confessing the Deity with our mouths, we deny him in our workes.

2. *Seuen reasons, and certaine proofes of the diuine providence of God, as well generall as particular.*

The many and great numbers of reasons before set down & alledged, euidently shewing and prouing, that there is a deity, the soueraign & efficient cause of al things, do sufficiently conclude by necessary consequence, that the same God is soueraignly and vniuersally provident ouer al his creatures: for the proofes that serue for the first point, make for the second also: that is, to teach vs, that this diuine providence extendeth and spreadeth it selfe ouer all nature, as wel generally as particularly. It is a certain & an infallible truth, the which not onely the supernatural light of the heauens, & christian faith discouereth vnto vs, but which many infidels & pagans also by the only instinct of nature, & by the clearnes of humane reason haue acknowledged: which is, that the soueraign Lord of the world gouerneth & disposeth all the parts & pieces thereof, both high & low, little & great, vniuersall & particular, leading and directing the according to his good wil & pleasure, by his incōprehensible providence. In such maner, that he hath such a care of euery creature in his inseparable work, as if he had no regard at all of the whole specie, or generally of all things in the vniuersall world, & yet gouerneth al in such maner as if he had no care of any of them in particular. For euen as the Sun by his radiant beames giueth light to the moone, the starres, & the planets, & to all the celestiall hemisphere, & is of so great a force & efficacy, that it penetrateth euen into the bowels of the earth, therin to ingender gold, silver & other mettals, & in the sea, diuers pearles & other admirable rarities, there being no corporal thing, how base & vile soeuer it be, that doth not participate of his effects, & of his light. In like sort, and with an excellency, & admiration infinitely greater, God the creator, as the true eternal Son, & the cause of all moderation, order & iustice, illuminateth & giueth force and vigor, to all that which hath essence, which liueth, which feeleth, and which vnderstandeth, be it in heauen, or on earth, visible or invisible, there being nothing, that doth not participate with the beames of his brightness, and that is not by him directed & gouerned. To proue this, we will set down seuen certaine and manifest reasons. The first, that God is the creator of al things. For why should he make or create them, if he would leaue them at randon, or not bee pleased to conserue, guide, and conduct them to their ends by his diuine providence? And againe we see, whether we wil or not, that things go not by hazard or by chance; for therein we may clearly see, mark, & behold, government, policy and order, now who hath ordained it? or who maintaineth it? but only he that hath made all things? for there is as great, & the like power, goodnes, and wisdom to be required & had in wel gouerning of things, as to giue essence & being vnto the. And God is one soueraign, infinite, and perfect essence, one soueraign, infinite, and perfect vnderstanding, and in him essence & vnderstanding are al one. Now as in the creation of the world, the vertue of his essence was spread & extended it selfe ouer al, euen to the least parts of his works (otherwise they could not haue bin) so in the providence, that is, in the gouernment of things, his vnderstanding extendeth to al things, otherwise they could not continue nor attaine to their final ends. Besides this also, soueraign power & soueraign wisdom in the deity is but al one. For as his providence, extendeth it selfe to create the vniuersal world, and euery part and piece thereof, so doth his wisdom to conduct and guid them to their end.

For providence is no other thing, but a wise conduction, & ordering of things to their end. Secondly, we cannot deny, but that God is at the least, as great, good, puissant, wise & perfect, as the spirit of man, is able, or can conceive, or imagine him to be. But the Deity is infinitely above, and much surpasseth that imagination, as it hath already bin said. And the spirit of man may conceive a provident essence over all nature. Therefore also, Gods providence cannot be lesse, then that which our imaginations & thoughts conceive, otherwise the spirit of man which is created and finite, should be greater then the Creator which is infinite. Thirdly, if there be any thing hidden or exempted from the eternal providence, it followeth that it is not infinite, that it extendeth not it self over all things, that it is bounded and limited in some place, that it meeteth with some thing that is not within the limits thereof, that is without it, or beside it, or that passeth by it. And so it must necessarily follow, that either it is governed by it self, or by an other: which is to conclude, that there is an other God, and so two gods, & two providences: which is not so. Fourthly, if there be any creature wherof the eternall God hath no care, it must proceed from want of power, will, or knowledge how to conduct them, and in that case he should be no more all puissant, all good, & all wise. But he hath employed, and vsed all these his three essentiall qualities, to create all things: why then should he not be able to vse them, for the government of all things? what reason is there to confesse, or to deny, or doubt more of the one, then of the other? But he is much better, and more excellent, to be able, to know, and to governe and conduct all things, then to the contrary, and to provide for them, then not. Therefore, God doth the first & not the last. Fifthly all that which is good, faire & excellent in vs, is most perfect in God, for whatsoever is most exquisite in vs, is but as it were a dropping, or a very litle running out of that Sea, & infinite Spring of the bounty and beauty of God. Now in vs, and in all creatures, there is a certaine providence, whereby every thing provideth for it self, according to the nature therof. Then providence in God is most great, perfect & infinite. Sixtly, we are to consider, how that all creatures, how little soever they be, are so many feveral parts of the great vniuersal world, & that there is nothing, how smal, litle, or vile soever it be, or appeareth in our sight, but it belongeth vnto, & serueth for the state, perfection, & vpholding of this round earthly globe. Every piece therin hath his place, rank, quality, proper mouing, & certain action limited and determined. Not so much as a smal drop of water, the leaf of a tree, & the haire of our heads in such maner, that their mouing is the same with the vniuersal world. Wherefore it followeth, that the chiefe gouernor & supreme intendant general of so great a worke, should haue an eye every where, & vpon all things, and that vpon the very least things of all: for all appertaineth vnto, toucheth, & importeth him, in general, & in euery part, as we see great alterations, battels, subuersions of estates & empires, to spring, rise & come originally from most smal and light causes. Lastly, for a seuenth reason, & a most excellent demonstration of the providence of God, among an infinite of admirable things, which men plainly see practised & continued in Gods creatures, one specially is, the diuersity of humane shapes, such as that in so great, and as it were an infinite multitude of persons, there are not two among them that in all things resemble one the other: and which is more, this diuersitie is euident in the forme, lineaments, proportion, colour, gesture, voice, and hand writing of man. And euery one may comprehend and conceive, how much the same importeth, and is necessary for the good of humane societie, and what confusion and disorder would happen, if it were otherwise. Therefore it is vnto vs an inestimable benefite, and a most euident testimonie of a most attentiu, and most charitable eternall providence: otherwise there could not proceede and ensue so woonderfull and important a benefite. To bee brieue, out of so many reasons and arguments, this generall maxime is to bee drawen, that it is an infinitething, and a laborinth most troublesome, for those that breathe in this corruptible world, To thinke to discourse of, much lesse to discover and know the particular moings, effects, resorts, order and proceedings of the providence of God, as it is altogether much more impossible for them to vnderstand the cause thereof. For as there is nothing more secret then the Deitie, so all his works are most high, and most profound, and no creature whatsoever can sound into the depth thereof. His iudgements are like a great deepe, and no man can perceiue the traces or pathes of them. It is sufficient to admire and adore them in this life: we must be taken vp into an other life to vnderstand them. Humane curiositie oftentimes tormenteth and wearieith it selfe to finde them out, but at euery turning it is in a maze, and can goe no further. Therefore in a word wee say, that it ought to suffice Christian modestie, to beleue, that there is one onely, soueraigne, diuine, and vniuersal providence,

Psal. 36.6.

Iob 36.23.
and 26.

Ro n. 11. 13

dence, reaching and extending it selfe ouer all; which governeth and worketh by number, weight, and measure, in all things generally and particularly.

3. *How wee loue man more then God.*

To continue our proposition, and to shew by the three points aforesaid, that we esteeme man more then God: first, wee must presuppose, that our heart is like a vessell, that cannot continue empty, but wil alwaies be full, either of the loue of God, or of some other loue: and that the fuller it is of the one, so much the lesse it containeth & receiveth of the other. Now as the loue of God, and the loue of mortall things are contrary, & nothing comparable one to the other, it is impossible that they should dwell and be lodged in one selfe same heart, in any degree of perfection. And therefore he that desireth to fill his soule with the precious liquor of diuine loue, ought to seek and procure by all meanes possible, to exclude and drigue all other base and vile loue out of his heart. To this purpose an ancient Father said, Oh man, thou art a vessell, but a ful vessell, put out & empy that which is within thee, that thou maist take in that which thou desirest; put out the loue of the world, that thou maist be filled with the loue of God. And as every man knoweth the commandement of God, & our dutie requireth, that we should loue God withall our heart, with all our soule, & withall our strength, and the reason is twofold, that is, because he is God, and then, because he is our God. For being the eternal God, and infinite, only beautiful, & onely good, he is worthy to be beloued infinitely: and forasmuch as he is our God, creator and redeemer, we are bound to loue him only, and according to his commandement. Neuerthelesse, the common custom of men evidently sheweth, that we are so farre from doing it, that to the contrary, we loue man more then God; and to prooue it, let the married man but call to minde the loue that he beareth vnto his wife, the wife vnto her husband, the father & mother vnto their children, the children to their father & mother, and the loue of one friend vnto another, & they shal evidently feele and confesse, that they loue man more then God. Let vs proceed to the proofs thereof. We cannot indure that any man should blame or speake euill of him that we loue. If the husband heareth any man speake euill of his wife, or the wife of her husband, both of them will be grieued, and cannot beare therewith, but will be offended thereat. And how many quarrels are daily known, seene, and heard of, betwene those that beare armes, to be reuenged for a simple word spoken, which they imagine to bee preiudiciall to the honour of their friend, and for the which, to haue reason (as they tearme it) they freely and boldly venture their liues to all danger, and without all feare to damne their soules.

But when we heare any man blaspheme God our father, who is moued thereat? who taketh on him to find fault therewith, and seeketh to bee reuenged, or causeth the party blaspheming to be punished? Againe, every man taketh pleasure to heare men commend those whom he loueth, and to proue it. If any man in our company shall chance to commend our children, fathers, brethren, or friends, for their good behauiours, and vertuous actions, wee reioice thereat, and are glad. But if in the same company any man shall chance to speake of God, or of his goodnes & bounty towards mankind, his gracious government of all things, and his mercy in the free election of the faithfull, and of the continuance of his benefits towards them, (whereof the Prophet *David* hath made foure excellent Psalmes) who is it that will be lively touched therewith, and feele ioy, gladnes, and comfort at his hart, or will not rather be weary to heare the same? Againe, we speak willingly of those whom we loue, and are glad & reioice, when any motion is made in that kind, and we will be sure to enforce and continue the same. But when do we speake of God? And if in our company any man begins to make any discourse to that purpose, how is it followed or continued? To the contrary, how quickly, and how soone is it left of & forgotten? Againe, we doe not easily forget the man whom we loue with good affection, (as the Proverb saith; he that loueth well is slow to forget) we call to mind his face, his countenance, his gestures & qualities. But what mind or remembrance haue we of God? when do we thinke vpon him? when do we call to minde his maiestie, his works, and his graces towards vs? Againe, when to spare & keep our riches and our goods, for our children, we neglect our duties towards the reliefe of the poore, and are loath freely to giue any thing for the maintenance of the seruice of God, and his ministers, are wee not therein found guilty of louing man more then God, and our earthly children, more then our heavenly father? And how many are there, who being overcome by their affections, towards their wiues, their fathers, and mothers, or carried away with respect and loue towards their Kings, and Princes, forgette and

Marth. 10. 37. neglect their duties towards God? Iesus Christ saith plainly, That in so doing wee loue man more then God. Wherefore by all these examples and witnesses, with many others, that might be produced and set downe, it may easily bee vnderstood, how wee loue, and consequently esteeme of man, more then God. Which is as much, as manifestly, and boldly to deny God, both in our hearts and in our workes; whom notwithstanding in the meane time, wee confesse and acknowledge with our mouthes. Saint *Augustine* saith, That we loue God lesse then we ought to do, when we loue any thing with him, and that wee doe it not for the loue of God. What doe wee then, when wee loue man, not for Gods sake, but contrary to his will, loue his creature more then himselfe? Which is so great a folly, that Christ himselfe said, *That wee are not worthy to be his children, vnesse we bee willing and resolute to hate father, and mother, sister and brother for the loue of him: That is, to be reaued our selues of all our affections, that in any sort may withdraw vs, and our mindes from the seruice, loue, and obedience that we owe vnto him. Which wee shall doe, when wee loue God more then man, yea God onely and not man, but in God, and for the loue of God.*

4. How wee feare man more then God.

The second prooffe, that we esteeme of man more then God, consisteth herein, That wee feare him lesse then we do man. Which is proued thus. When there is any crime committed by man, that is punishable by the Magistrate, there is no man so prodigall and careless of his life and reputation, nor so desperate, that will goe & put himselfe in the Officers or Iudges hands; and why? because hee would feare to bee apprehended and punished. So Theeues, and Routers hide themselves, in woods, and in canes, and come not abroad but in the night time. And the Scriptures saith, *Whosoener doth euill hateth the light, lest his deedes should be reproofed.* But God seeth all that is done, in the woods, in the night, and secretly, all our conceptions, desires, wils, passions, determinations, and enterprises, that are good, or punishable by the Law, or that are accursed, and merit eternall death, are open before the eyes of his Maiestie. *Vnderstand you vnwise among the people, (saith David) and you fooles when will you bee wise? hee that planted the eare, shall hee not heare? or hee that formed the eye, shall hee not see?* But in the meane time, are wee as fearefull to offend God, or do we feele such an apprehension, or feare of punishment, for offending him, as we doe when wee haue committed a crime before a mortall Iudge? Yet we know well, that such faults as are punishable by the Magistrate, are likewise subiect to the iudgement of God. It is certaine therefore, that those that commit them, flee the light, because they feare man, when it may be, they doe the like things secretly, in the presence of the Lord; thereby euidently shewing, that they feare him lesse then man. Yet we will confesse, *That the feare of God is the beginning of wisdom, and that the feare of the Lord, maketh man abstaine from euill,* as *David* and *Salomon* haue written. Neuerthelesse, if a Iudge should menace and threaten all those, that sweare by the name of God in vaine, that for every time that they should so doe, they should lose one of their teeth: the greatest blasphemer among them would reforme himselfe, and be so wary, that although hee were so much addicted to that vice that he could hardly leaue it, and so should lose some teeth for that cause, yet hee would be sure, not to lose them all.

Now God threatneth that he will not let them goe vnpunished, that shall take his name in vaine. And the paine and punishment of all sinne whatsoeuer, is much greater in his iudgement, then before the tribunall seat of man. And yet neuerthelesse, how many are there, that cannot speake a word without swearing? and to be brieue, how many frauds, deceites, vices, and iniquities, which deserue eternall death before God, are secretly dispensed withall by men, which they would be ashamed to commit openly, and whereof, if the Magistrate were informed, or vnderstood, and should punish them for the same, they would wholly abstaine from them? This folly then so great, to feare man more then God, cannot proceede from any other thing, then from this; that confessing and acknowledging God, with our mouthes, wee beleue not that hee is God, that is, seeing all things, holy, (for that he hateth and abhorreth all euill) iust to punish it, and most puissant to take vengeance therefore. Yet naturally we feare him more, that hath force and power to execute his menaces and threatnings heere on earth, then God that can punish vs more rigorously, more terribly, more certainly, and more infallibly. So wee feare more the menaces and threatnings

threatnings of a man, then of a childe, of a Magistrate, then of a particular person, to lose our liues, then a small summe of money, and the rough words of man, that is of flayed iudgement, and temperate, then of a light hairebrained woman. But God is stronger, and infinitely puissant, then all mankind, to execute his iudgements, and his threatnings. All creatures are at his commaundement, to execute and doe his will, and pleasure; both Angels, men, and deuils: The aire by corrupting to infect vs; the seas to ouerwhelme vs; the earth to swallowe vs vp, and beastes to deuoure vs. What profound bottomlesse was Gen. 7. the waters had hee in his power, and at his commaund, when all the world was drowned, and the water overflowed, and was fiftene cubites above the highest mountaines in the world? With how many horrible plagues, neuer heard of before, did hee beate, and at last destroye Exod. 8, 9, 10. the Egyptians? With how many sorts of euills and scourges, did hee punish his people Leuit. 26. that rebelled against his commaundements? There is neither counsell nor force that can Deut. 28. preuaile, or resist against him. And to the contrary, what power hath man to hurt, that hath his being, his life and moouing in God? Againe, the paines and penalties of humane Lawes, can extend no further, but to the losse of mens goods and of their bodies, which of force must once die. But God hath power also ouer mens soules: and to that end, Iesus Christ admonisheth vs, not to feare them that can onely kill the body, but rather him, Luc. 12. 4. that after he hath taken their liues from them, can also cast their soules into hell fire. Man likewise cannot afflict or punish the body but for a little while: but God can doe it eternally, and without end. Besides that, the threatnings of men are oftentimes vaine, and easily altered and changed. But God is iust and true; so his threatnings are strictly executed, either in this life, or in the life to come, if they be not prevented by repentance, and amendment of our liues. The mightie God (saith the Prophet) is ielous, and the Eternall Nahum 1. reuengeth: hee hath furie at his commaundement, hee will take vengeance on his aduersaries, and hee reserueth wrath for his enemies. The Lord is slow to anger, but he is great in power, and will not surely cleare the wicked. And therefore also hee saith by Esay, Cease you from the man, whose breath Esay 2. 22. is in his nostrils, for wherein is he to bee esteemed? And againe, Who art thou, that thou art afraid & 23. of mortall man, and of the sonne of man that shall wither away like grasse, and forgettest the eternall that made thee, and created both heauen and earth? Let vs then learne by so many sacred reasons, to feare God more then man, and so esteeme of the Creator more then the creature, or rather not to esteeme of man, but in God: hauing in remembrance, that those men truly feare men; that feare not God more then men.

5. How wee trust more in men, then in God.

The third prooffe of the folly which is now in question, we haue already said to be, that wee trust more in man then in God: which corruption proceedeth from three principall grounds. The first, that we are so brutish, that as beastes apprehend nothing, but that which is before their eies, so we commonly beleue nothing, but that which we see. Now we see and behold men that haue means to aide and helpe vs, but we see not God and his power. Wherby it falleth out, that many put more trust in man, promising them nourishment, and that whereof they haue need, then in God, which giueth them his holy word to feed them and his promise neuer to abandon nor forsake them. Which is the cause that wee reape no profit by his aduise, when he sendeth vs to the schoole of birds, herbs, and flowers, therby to teach vs, that man being much more excellent & precious then they, before God; he ought to repose his trust and confidence in his providence, for all things that shal be necessary for him in this present life. It is true, that he chargeth vs first to seeke the kingdome of heauen, Matth. 6. 26. and the righteousnesse thereof, that all things else may be ministred vnto vs. Wherefore, being so negligent to doe that, which he commandeth therein; it is no maruell, if the distrust of his grace, maketh vs carefull for to morrow, and that we cast our eyes rather vpon men, then vpon God. Secondly, we are so carnall; that wee esteeme nothing to bee a blessing vnto vs, but onely that, which is pleasing and delightfull to the flesh. And for that men promise vs nothing, but that which is proper and commodious for the flesh: therefore we doe willingly, and rather hearken vnto them, then vnto God, that promising vs many blessings; aydes, and deliuerances, doth not alwayes accomplish such things, according to the desire of the world, and of the flesh, but spiritually, and for the good of the soule; and although he giueth vs much more then we aske, when hee causeth his spirituall blessings to increase in vs, in stead of those that serue onely for our bodies; neuertheless, our carnall reason can

not comprehend, nor perceiue, that he accomplisheth his word, which is the cause, that if one doth promise to succour, aide, and deliuer a man that is sicke, poore, or in prison, he will put his trust more in him then in God, that promiseth him as much in the holy Scriptures. Whereby we evidently see, that flesh and blood, knoweth no other, but corporall aide, succor, and deliuerance, because God giueth it not alwaies, when we will, but oftentimes, changeth it into spirituall blessings, to much the more excellent, as they are lesse knowne vnto man. The third cause that maketh vs erre in this point, consisteth in the time of the accomplishing of that which God promiseth by his holy word. For according to his wisdom, sometimes he staieth long (as it seemeth vnto the flesh) to effect that which hee promiseth. Whereby man, hotte and impatient of nature, easily casteth his eye vpon that which he esteemeth to be neerer and readier, & so trusteth in man more then in God. Let vs here adde heereunto, that experience (as the Apostle saith) engendreth hope. Now as we finde succor and aide from rich men that loue vs, and haue means to do it and that on the other side, we doe not penetrate, nor enter so farre into the providence of God, as to know that he nourisheth, and so many; and so oftentimes, deliuereth vs from infinite inconueniences and dangers, it seemeth vnto vs, that by experience we finde more aide and assistance in men, then in God: and thereby also put our trust more in them (poore wormes of the earth) then in him, that is all goodnes, and all powerfull. Euen as children expect more aide, at their father and mothers hands, then from God, and the mother hauing given her child his breakefast, it is content, without asking more of her to serue him, fise or sixe daies after, & staieth til the next day, that she giueth him his breakefast againe. Whereas to the contrary, Iesus Christ hauing taught vs to aske our bread of our heavenly Father, but for one day, wee would willingly haue him to giue vs, as much prouision this day, as would serue to feede and cloth vs all the daies of our liues. So the woman that liueth by her husbands labor, with her children is quiet and content therewith, while he liueth, but when he dieth, she weepeth, and feareth to endure famine, or to fall into some other misery, in stead of trusting in God, which is the husband of widdowes; and the father of Orphans. So a meane prince hauing contracted alliance, with a puissant and almighty King, trusteth more therein, then in the alliance of God, that promiseth him to be his Protectour, and his Sauour. In like sort, it is our manner, confidently to lend a hundred pound to a marchant, vpon a simple bill of his hand, to pay vs againe at a yeeres end, with some small interest: and wee will not trust God with a crowne, when he sendeth one of his children to our doore to aske it vs of almes, and giueth his word for him, and which is more, promiseth to restore it vs againe two fold, with interest that shall continue for euer.

Rom. 8. 4.

6. The conclusion of this Chapter.

Seeing that hereby wee learne, that the corruption of our nature leadeth vs to beleene nothing, but that which wee see with our eies, to thinke that there is no other good, but that which is carnall, and not to acknowledge the wisdom of God, and his providence, in the dispensation and conduction of all things; whereby wee fall into these errors, to trust more in man then in God, to feare man more then God, and to loue the creature, more then the Creator, thereby truly accomplishing this folly, to esteeme of man more then God, which is as much as to confesse him with our mouthes & to deny him in effect, and in our workes. To amend this fault, let vs change aduice, that is, to loue and feare God, and to trust more in him then in man; because God onely is all vnto vs, and man nothing but in God. And to that ende, let vs call these places of the holy Scriptures to remembrance,

Jerem. 17. 5. *Cursed is the man, that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arme, and withdraweth his heart from the Lord, for hee shall bee like to the heath in the wilderness. And a little after, Blessed is the man that trusteth in the Lord, and whose hope is in the Lord, for hee shall bee as a tree that is planted by the water side, which spreadeth out her rootes by the river, for whatsoever hee shall doe (saith David) shall prosper.* Again, *Woe vnto them that goe downe into Egypt for helpe, and stay vpon Horses, and trust in Chariots, because they are many.* And a little after, *Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit. But blessed is hee (saith David) that hath the God of Jacob for his helpe, whose hope is in the Lord his God.*

Psal. 1. 3. *Effay 3. 1. 3.*
Psal. 146. 5.

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That wee must amend our liues, and shunne the third folly, To thinke to liue euer. Chap. 4.

1. *Man naturally inclined to incredulity, and to doubt of true things, which hee desireth should not come to passe.*

Our third and principall folly is, to thinke to liue euer. This at the first shew, might seeme to many, to be some paradoxe, or rather a false supposition, for who is so ignorant as not to know, that it is ordained by God, that all men shall die once? and who seeth not this sentence daily and continually confirmed before his eyes, as it hath alwayes beene, from the beginning of the world? yet it is most true, that although we find by experience, that the course of our life, is like a little round circle, which having gone about and compassed, wee are suddenly and in a moment taken out of mans sight, as if wee had neuer beene? yet the knowledge of this fragility, is not well imprinted in our hearts, because that by our corruptnes of nature we lift not vp our eyes above earthly things, and againe, we are so inclined to incredulity, that the delaying, how short soeuer it be, of that, which we desire should not come to passe, easily taketh from vs, the remembrance that we ought to haue thereof, that we may not be surpris'd nor deceiued. That was the iudgement of the euill seruant, spoken of in the Gospell. And to the same end Saint Peter saith, *That in the latter daies, their shal come mockers, which will walke after their lusts, and say, where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers died, all things continued alike from the beginning of the creation.* And as it is written, that when God by his Prophets threatned the contemners of his word, they laughed, saying, *Let vs eate and drinke, to morrow we shal die.* And againe, *we haue made a couenant with death, and with hell we are at agreement. Though a scourge runne ouer, and passe through, it shall not come at vs.* In this manner, man naturally inclined to incredulity, easily doubteth of true and certayne things, if they be but a while deferred, specially when they desire not to haue them come to passe.

Heb. 9. 27.

Psal. 5.

Math. 24. 48.

2. Pet. 3. 3. 4.

Esay 21. 13.

& 28. 15.

2. *Testimonies to prooue, that man thinketh to liue alwaies.*

Therefore (although we othwise confesse, and acknowledge with our mouthes, that we must once die, and proceed further (according to christian faith) to beleue that death is the entry and gate, either into paradise, or into hell) it happeneth vnto vs, as vnto them, whereof wee haue already spoken, who with their lips acknowledg a God, and deny him in their workes. For who is it that liueth here on earth, and thinketh as he should, and ought to do vpon the course which he ought to hold, to enter into the place of heavenly Ioy, and eternall blessednes, or to the contrary, on the other way, that he ought to leaue, which is to go to the place of weeping and gnashing of teeth? When we doubt, or beleue that we shall die within a day or two, there is none of vs, but will bee sorry and grieue that wee haue offended God, that we haue liued sinfully, in adultery, in deceite, disorderly, with an euill conscience, and vncharitably with our neighbours. And then we will desire to liue a while longer to amend our liues. And we will not want no vowes, nor promises to God, to liue the rest of our liues holily, and in feare and obedience vnto him. If he will be pleased to prolong our liues. And I am sure euery man will truly confesse, that if he should feele himselfe ready to die, he would willingly with sorrowfull heart, make the like vowes, promises, and protestations. God grant vs daily, and howerly time, leyser & means, to liue according to such vowes and desires. Why then doe we nothing? why do we not make hast to order the course of our liues in that manner, which we desire and wish we had liued in when we are ready to die? It is because we thinke not to die, and are so dull and insensible, that we thinke and esteeme twenty or thirty yeeres to be an eternity. For from thence proceedeth, this so great stupidity, that addicting our mindes wholly to the pleasures of this present life, we take order and provide for the affaires of this world, as if we should dwell therein, two or three thousand yeeres. As a Pagan very well noteth, saying. That there is no man, how old soeuer he be, that is not in hope to liue an other yeere: which is as much, as to thinke neuer to die: for when such a man shall haue liued an hundred yeeres, or two, he will perswade himselfe, that

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he shal liue a yeere longer, and that ended, that he shal liue another yeere, & so to liue ever. This is a wonderfull inconsideratenes. When a man is committed to prison, and hath receiued his iudgement to die, he thinketh vpon nothing else, but on the way that hee must goe, and detesting his former lewdnes, humbleth himselfe before God, abandoning all desire or care to lie soft, to eate and drinke of the best, or to weare costly and rich apparrell: And if he be a man wel instructed in piety and godlines, he thinketh vpon nothing els, but eternall life, & forgetting the world and earthly vanities, reioyceth in hart, that hee is ready to enter into, and to take possession of the kingdome of heauen. Now, wee haue receiued the Iudgement and sentence of death, from the first day and hower, that wee came into this world, and our soules are in our bodies, as in a prison, still expecting the hower and time of the execution. And accordingly, we all confesse, that we must die, and that we know not, whether it shall be within a day, or an hower, or lesse, and which of vs neuerthelesse, doth feelee, and sheweth himselfe disposed or prepared to die, as he doth, that is condemned to dy by a terrestriall Iudge? from whence proceedeth this dangerous carelesnes? But onely from this, that we thinke not to die, but rather to liue alwayes. If a woman, or a maide, preparing and making ready her best and richest clothes, and other ornaments to goe to a wedding, should feelee her selfe sick & ill at ease, & the Doctor hauing felt her pulse, should tel her for certen, that she should die within five or sixe dayes after, she would presently forget her going to the wedding, to weepe, to pray vnto God, to do Almes, to cry out vpon, and to blame the vanities of this world, and would aduertise and aduise her friendes, and companions, to leaue and forsake them, and in steade thereof, to doe good workes. Now God the soveraigne phisition of our bodies and soules, that knoweth the time and space of our liues, hath already warned vs of our deathes: he hath sayd that it shall bee very shortly, and giueth vs no assurance, respect, nor delay of five or sixe daies: no not of one day, nor yet of an hower. It is a common saying, that those that saile on the seas, are within two or three fingers breadth, of their deathes, that is as much as the thicknes of the planckes and wood of the ship is wherein they saile: for if those planckes were taken away, they should drowne, if they could not swimme like fishes. But without sayling on the Seas, or on the water, death is neerer vnto vs, when we beare, both about vs, and within vs, infinit causes and means, which put vs in danger, every moment of time, to bee stifled, and swallowed vp, waking, or sleeping, eating or drinking, at home or abroad, and at all times, and in all places, wheresoeuer we bee. In such manner, that in what good, and prosperous estate soeuer, a man thinketh or iudgeth himselfe to be, we many times wonder, and are abashed to heare that he is dead, before wee knew that he was sicke. Then wherefore doe we settle our mindes, our whole thoughts & our cogitations, to liue here according to the lusts and pleasures of the flesh? why are wee lesse aduised & carelesser then a woman or a maide that expecteth death every hower? why do we take so much pleasure in vanities, excesse and disordered life, like fooles? why doe we not addict our minds otherwise to the meditation of heavenly and eternall riches? wherefore doe we not imploy our time in such workes, as will be a comfort vnto vs, at the hower of death? and to bee short, why doe wee not amend our liues? because wee thinke to liue euer.

3. *The breuity and vanity of our liues, most necessarily to bee considered of by man.*

Plut. in
Apophth.

We read of *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander* the greats successors, in a part of his Empire, that being healed of a certaine disease, said, That hee had thereby among other things learned, that he was mortall, therein discouering and shewing the aforesaid common opinion of man, to thinke to liue ever. Whereunto that also tendeth, that *Philip* King of Macedonia, every morning when he rose out of his bed, caused one of the Gentlemen of his Chamber to say vnto him, *Oh King remember that thou art a mortall man.* And to the same purpose also, serueth the common sentence, which we see many times written and set vp in tables, and vpon walles, and elswhere, *Remember to die.* But as the intent and purpose of that diuine proverbe, and of many the like notable instructions and auertisements, which wee finde in the holy Scriptures is to aduise and instruct vs, to liue in such sort, as that wee should alwayes haue in remembrance, that wee must die. So they are as many reproofes and reproaches vnto vs, thereby to condemne vs, that there is so great folly, and carelesnesse in vs, that wee thinke not to die. An extreame folly indeede: Seeing that experience, which is the Schoole of fooles, cannot provide a sufficient remedy against it. For the veriest

veriest fooles and ideots in the world such as are not capable of discourse or reason, at the least learne by experience, that apples and peares rot, that greene trees die, being cut downe, that grasse whithereth, when it is mowed, and that flowers fade and die when they are gathered. This instruction, which by experience, sheweth and pointeth out things by the effects is so certaine and true, that if a Phylosopher would take on him to shew, and prooue the contrary, by reason and discourse: as for example that fire is colde, and snowe hotte, hee should bee woorse then a foole, and might be sent to the Schoole of experience, and tolde that he should put his finger in the fire, and his hand into the snow. The holy Ghost presenting vnto vs many registers and tables, since the beginning of the world, to shew that wee are mortall, and borne necessarily to die, speaking of death and of the liues of the first Auncient Fathers, saith, that if those that liued 900. yeares and more, were not at the last exempted from death. Now when the strongest and stoutest man, liueth not aboue 70. or 80. yeares, and that not very many, how comes it that wee thinke to liue alwaies? The world hath continued 5500. yeares and vpwards: and yet experience sheweth, that there was neuer any man (of so many millions that haue liued vpon the earth) that escaped death, but onely *Enoch* and *Elias*, that were transported without seeing death, (as the Scripture saith.) Besides all this, wee haue many mirrors concerning this passage of death, which God setteth before our eies, as Church yarges, graves, tombes, and dead mens heads and bones, gathered and laid together in the Church-yarges; which are specially as many testimonies, that wee also must die. And every time that we see a dead body borne to the graue to be buried, or that we heare a bell toll to a buriall, it is vnto vs as it were a herault, that crieth out and saith (oh man remember that thou art mortall.) Is it not then, a double folly in vs, and which sheweth vs to be more fooles, then fooles, who in this schoole of vniuersall and continuall experience, since the Genesis of the world, we cannot nor we will not learne that we must die? But behold an other greater and more euident testimony of our brutishnes, which is, that this life which we esteeme and thinke to be immortall, is not of any long continuance. Wee liue, as beleeuing that we shall liue eternally in this world, and wee cannot stay therein but a very short time. *Moses* in his song reckoneth our daies, as I said before, to be seventy or eighty yeeres, & yet of a thousand that are born here on earth, hardly two or three of them attain to that age. And the Prophet in the same Psalm, and verse, sheweth how that long life, of 70. or 80. yeeres, is quickly cut off, and will fly away. Then, what is 40. 30. or 20. yeeres in comparison therof, which the most part of men neuer attaine vnto? Let vs here then speak, (in the booke of *Wisdom*) that neuer thought to die, living in delights, honours, pleasures, and riches, and we shall plainly see, how they truly confesse their folly and abuse, saying (What hath pride profited vs? or what profit hath the pompe of riches brought vs? all these things are past away like a shadow, and as a post that passeth by, as a shippe that passeth ouer the waves of the water, which when it is gone by, the trace thereof can not bee found, neither the pathes thereof in the floods. Or as a birde flyeth through in the aire. Or as when an arrow is shotte at a mark.) In how many places, also doth the holy Ghost compare the life of man to a shadow, that fadeth away? how many times to the grasse, which yester day was greene, and this day is cutte downe and withered? how often to a flower, which yester day flourished; and this day is gathered and dried away? how oftentimes to a dreame, and as a watch in the night? and as *Iob* saith, that wee are but as yester day, and that his dayes are swifter then a weavers shuttle, and that they are spent without hope. Which made Saint *Iames*, liken our life to a vapor, which appeereth for a little time, and afterwards vanisheth away. The Pagans in times past, marking this, one of them said, That being borne wee die: an other, That our life is a path way, from one mother to another; that is, from the body of a woman, to the bowels of the earth: another, That man is but a water bubble. Another being asked, What hee thought of mans life, without making any answer, went into his chamber; and presently came out againe, therby signifying, that the life of man is but an entring into the world, and a sudden going out againe. *Iacob* hauing liued 130. yeares, said vnto *Pharao*, That the daies of his life, had bene short, in regard of those of his Auncessors, that had liued 8. or 900. yeares. What is 70. or 80. yeares then, which the strongest and stoutest men liue now adates, if they bee compared to the eternitie which shall follow and ensee this temporall life? It is not a drop of water in comparison to the Sea, nor a graine of sand, in comparison to that, which is in all the earth. Saint *Iohn* calling the time since the comming of Christ in the flesh, to the end of the world, The last houre, seemeth to deuide

Gen. 5.
Psalm. 90. 10.

Gen. 5. 24.
Hebr. 11. 5.
2 King. 2. 11.

Psalm. 90. 10.

Wild. 5. 2.

Psalm. 102. 11.
1 Chr. 29. 15.

Psalm. 144. 4.
Iob. 8.

Psalm. 105. 15.
Exod. 104. 16

Esay. 40. 6.
Psalm. 73. 20.

Iob. 38. 9. & 7.
6.

Iam. 4. 14.

Gen. 47. 9.

1. Ioh. 2. 18.

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the world into three or foure houres, whereof two or three of them were past vnder the time of *Moses* Law, and before, and we are now in the last houre. If 1500. yeares and more, are reckoned to be but an houre (how much lesse are they then being compared to the eternitie) the longest life of man cannot be a minute of an houre.

4. Conclusion of this Chapter.

Seeing that this false opinion to thinke to liue euer, maketh vs forget heauen for earth, the soule for the body, and heavenly, for terrestriall treasures: That wee may amend our liues, let vs change opinion, and being well perswaded that we must die, and that soone, and that our life is but as it were the length of a day, or of an hower, yea of a minute of an houre, let vs liue so, as if we should die euery day, or rather euery houre in the day. Let vs liue as we wish we had liued, when wee lye on our death beds: and employ that day or houre, that we breath our last, in the workes of pietie and vertue, which vndoubtedly will be a ioy vnto vs, when wee die, and glory and eternall blessednesse in the life to come. Let vs remember the tenne Virgins, in the Scriptures, that wee may haue oyle ready in our lampes, to enter into the Bride chamber, at the day of the comming of the Sonne of man, to iudge the quicke and the dead. Let vs not (for a daies, an houres, or rather a minute of an houres carnall pleasure, which the longest life of man, can or may taste, haue or feele.)
 Matth. 25.1. vs deprive our selues of that spirituall ioy, which can neuer bee taken from vs. Let vs not loose the fruit of the tree of life, for an apple that beginneth to rotte. To be short, seeing we must die, and know not the houre, and that it will soone come, let vs liue like men condemned to die, and that stay but for the time of execution. And to frame and fashion our selues vnto that wise course, Let vs say with *Moses* that great man of God, *Lord teach vs to number our daies, that we may apply our hearts vnto wisdom.* For this praier is of no small importance, although it seemeth no difficult matter, to know how to number and tell 70. or 80. yeares, which the Prophet doth limit our daies to be. But therein hee sheweth the dulnesse of man, in not being able to comprehend the shortnesse of our life, by reckoning it to be of so small continuance, and that the holy Ghost must necessarily, by his secret wisdom worke in vs to teach vs to know and finde out, so necessarie a doctrine, to the ende (as hee addeth) *That wee may apply our hearts vnto wisdom.* That is, that leauing and forsaking the vanities of the world and of the flesh, which lightly fade away, wee may addict ourselues to that, whereof the blessed fruit will remaine with vs for euer. That is, that we should renounce and forsake this folly, to thinke to liue alwaies in the world, and that when wee die, wee may happely enter into the ioies of the kingdome of heauen.

Psal. 90.12.

That it is requisite and necessarie for man to free himselfe of the fourth folly, which is, Not to know wherefore we liue. Chap. 5.

1. All things created for two principall endes, The one neere at hand, or first, the other farther off, and last.

All the creatures that are, that liue, & that haue any sence & feeling, are made, or dayned, & created, for 2. special and principal endes: The one, which is as it were, at the beginning of euery thing, the other, the latter. The beginning of the heauens is to moue perpetually, and the end, (because of the obiekt whereunto they tend) is to shine, heate, moisten & cause the earth to bring forth fruit, &c. The first end of plants is to receiue vegetiue life from their roots, and to grow and bring forth seede, thereby to continue and perpetuate themselves, in their kinds. The latter to feed and nourish liuing creatures. The first end of beasts is to liue and feed themselves, the latter to serue man, to the which end also, all other creatures tend. Whereupon, if you aske man, the reason why God made and created the earth, he will make answer, and say, that he did it, for men and beasts to dwell thereon, and to nourish herbes, plants and trees. And why he made the sea, he will say, for navigation, and to nourish fishes. Wherefore he made stones, he will tell you, to serue for building, and making of houses. Wherefore he made plants and herbes, he will say to nourish all liuing creatures

tures, wherefore he made fishes, birds, and other kinds of beasts, he wil reply, that they were made, some to serue for nourishment for man, & others to draw and beare burthens; and so of other things, for others and diuers vses. And soring vp higher, he will tell you why God created the Sun, the aire, and other creatures. He can discourse and speake of the admirable course of the heavenly spheres, & calculat, that the Sun in 24. houres compassing about the whole world, doth consequently goe every houre 260. Dutch miles. And that the heaven wherein that admirable great light is contained, is distant from the earth 1202700. miles, so that it is incomprehensible in humane vnderstanding, to set downe the number of miles, that the Sun goeth in his heavenly circle every day. Man also taketh on him to measure the compasse of the earth, and affirmeth that the earth and the sea together, are 6300. Dutch miles in roundnes or circuit: and that the body of the Sunne is 166. times bigger then the earth. How great then is the heaven wherein the Sun is? But of what greatnes is the highest heaven, enuironing all the other heavens, wherewith that heaven where the Sun is, is inuironed: and that with a most admirable distance? Man can discourse and reason of all these things, yea, glory and boast in himselfe to think that they are and subsist, for his good, benefit and vse. But if you aske him why God created him, and wherefore he lieth? he wil either make you no answer at all, or else say little or nothing to the purpose.

2. *It is a most necessary thing for man to know himselfe, and the end for the which hee was borne.*

The Phylosophers and Theologians agree in this point, that the whole summe of mans wilsdothe consisteth in two points; that is, that man knowing God, knoweth himselfe also: and that this knowledge of himselfe is two fold, that is (as the Phylosophers say) the wisdom that we haue by the true feeling of the perturbations and disturbances of the soule, and that which wee get by good and perfect reason, to purge and cleane the soule from vice, and to make it happy: either by Stoike vertue, by contemplation Parepatike, or by Academicall indeuour. But to speake more properly with the Theologians, it is, that we must learne to know what wee were at our first creation, and what we became after the fall of the first man Adam. Now in him we were created after the image of God, which is all righteousness, holinesse, goodnes, and vprightnes. And in him also we fell from all those diuine graces, into vnrightheousnes, corruption, malice, and iniquity. Touching the end wherefore man was created, it may likewise (as in all other creatures) bee considered two wayes. The one first, the other principall and last. The first end of mans creation consisteth herein, that God said to Adam and Eue, after he had created them, *Increase, multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and haue dominion ouer the fishes of the sea, the fowles of the aire, and every liuing thing that mooueth upon the earth.* For thereby man is bound to increafe and multiply humane kind, to gouerne his house, his family, and publike affaires, and to all good & laudable actions, and contemplations. But his latter and principal end is, the glory of God, and to be conioined vnto him, therby to attaine eternall beatitude. For God that might haue contented himselfe with his owne glory (which he had from all eternitie) would manifest the same vnto men, that it might bee knowen, acknowledged, and magnified by them. Therefore he created man according to his owne image and likenesse, that by the bright shining beames of his light, holinesse, righteousness, and truth, together with the remembrance of the dominion and rule giuen vnto him ouer all creatures, he might bee led to the knowledge of the Sun of righteousness, goodnes, wisdom, and soueraigne power, to loue God his Creator, to put his trust and confidence in him, to be obedient vnto him, to inuoke & call vpon his name, and to acknowledge and confesse that all goodnes proceedeth from him, & by that meanes to glorifie him in all his actions. And since the fall of man, God hath giuen him a greater and more ample knowledge of his glory, and hath further obliged him to acknowledge & magnifie him, by the benefit of the redemption of mankind, accomplished in Iesus Christ, and of the regeneration of all the faithfull (the most happy fruit of the high misteries of our salvation) for in that Christ is called the image of the inuisible God, and that he was giuen by the Father, to the end, that whoeuer beleueeth in him, shal not perish, but shall haue life euerlasting; that in his sacrifice he vanquished and overcame the deuill, sinne, death, and hell. I say, wee may know and liuely feeble the wisdom, the holinesse, the righteousness, the mercie, the goodnesse, the loue, the truth, and the power of God (Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost) that wee might loue him, put our whole trust and confidence in him,

Gen. 1. 28.

Col. 1. 16.

Ioh. 3. 16.

1. Ioh. 4. 9.

G g g g

cleaue

Gen. 3. 15
Gen. 4. 5.
Apoc. 12. 9.
Hebr. 2. 14.

cleave vnto him, feare him, pray vnto him, and acknowledge him to bee the overflowing spring and fountaine of all goodnesse. And thereby to obtaine our last and principall end afore said. For in all these great mysteries of the workes of our saluation, consisteth the meanes, by the which beeing withdrawn from death and eternall damnation, wee are made the children of God by Iesus Christ (God made man) and heires of his kingdom and glorie.

3. Three principall ends of the life of man.

By good right then, wee say it is great folly in man, not to know wherefore hee liueth, and yet this grosse ignorance is much more common then it is thought to be. For of this sort, are all those that thinke to liue for themselves; as Artificers to nourish their families, Marchants to enrich themselves, Courtiers and Captaines to make themselves great, and to attaine to high estates and honours: and others (worse then brute beastes) to giue themselves to all delights and worldly pleasures: and to bee short, all those in generall, that thinke they liue in the world, to accommodate themselves therein with all things that flesh and blood lusteth after, and desireth. Wherein experience more then evidently sheweth, that there is not almost any man, that knoweth wherefore hee liueth, or at least, that applyeth not his actions to an other speciall and principall ende, then that for the which hee ought to liue: which is a most pernicious error, and full of ingratitude. For as all other creatures made for the vse of man, continually do bend all their actions to that ende and purpose whereunto they are ordained, that is, to serue man, by furnishing him with that which is necessarie for him. Man onely knowing not wherefore he liueth, turneth the ende of his saluation vpside downeward, attributing his essence, his life, his feeling, and his vnderstanding to himselfe. And yet hee seeth evidently, that no other thing is created for it selfe, but to serue an other (as wee said before.) Neuerthelesse, hee beeing onely endowed with reason and vnderstanding, is so foolish, as to beleue, that hee is not created for the seruice of an other greater then hee, but onely for himselfe.

Now to make vs wiser, and better aduised, let vs learne by the holy Scriptures, that to obtaine both the one and the other end (first and last) of our creation; There are three speciall ends and purposes, whereunto wee ought to direct the course of our liues. The first, to glorifie God. The second, to attaine to eternall life. And the third, every man to apply all his actions in his particular vocation, to the seruice of God. And as the knowledge of our God, is requisite and necessarie for vs, to frame our mindes to that spirituall wisdom; so that wherein wee ought specially and principally to exercise and employ our selues, is to acknowledge God, that by knowing him, we may bend all the course of our liues to those three poynts, whereof wee intend to speake. For the first and principallest of them, which is to glorifie God, it consisteth heerein, that wee confesse with our mouthes, and shew by our workes, that wee esteeme and account of him in our hearts, to be the same that he is, and that he sheweth himselfe to be towards vs, as wee are taught by Saint Peter, speaking to all the faithfull in these wordes, *Yee are a chosen generation, a royall Priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that yee should shewe forth the vertues of him, that hath called you out of darknesse, into his marueilous light.* Now the vertues of our God are, that hee is a God most puissant, most good, most wise, most mercifull, most holy, most iust, and most true. Whereunto that hath reference, which David (exhorting all men to praise God, adding a reason) saith, *For his louing kindnes is great towards vs, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever.* Therefore in these foure points also, we giue him that glory, & yeeld him that seruice which we owe vnto him, that is, in putting all our confidence in him, in obeying him according to his wil, in calling vpon him in all our necessities, & in acknowledging al good things to proceed & come from him. Thus you see in few words what the first end & purpose of our life ought to be. The second which tendeth to eternall life, is, seeing that God hath sent his son into the world, that the world might be saued by him, & that whosoever beleueth in him, should not be condemned; it appeareth evidently, that as the end of our redemption, accomplished in Iesus Christ, is to saue the elect: so we that beleue in him, ought to haue this speciall intent & purpose in all the course of our liues, to be saued by him, otherwise it is as much as in vs lieth, to overthrow the excellent & admirable work of our redemption. God hath created man without comparifon, more excellent then the brute beast. Neuertheles, if man doth not attaine to an other

1. Peter 2. 9.

Psal. 117.

Ioh. 3. 17.

other life but onely terrestriall, he is more miserable then the brute beast, which passing this terrestriall life, with lesse paine and trouble then man, feeleth no euill nor torment at all being dead. To the contrary, those that haue not this intent, and firme, and certaine assurance to obtaine eternall life, hauing endured diuers calamities, and many corporall, and spirituall afflictions in this world, when they die goe into hell, there to suffer and endure incomprehensible and infinite torments. Therefore it is, that the precepts and instructions of the holy Scriptures, which tend to the grounding and establishing of our faith, doe not promise vs pleasures, and delights in this world, nor yet honours, riches, nor other commodities of the flesh, whereunto vaine and foolish men aspire, but to the contrary, much labour, paine, and trauell. And to be short, a life full of trouble and anguish: which being lightly and soone past ouer, hath for reward, a heauenly and eternall life. Whereunto Iesus Christs owne words tend, saying, *Blessed are the poore in spirit, (who being vtterly void of all fond opinion, and trust in themselves, put their hope only in the mercie of God) for theirs is the kingdome of heauen. Blessed are they that mourne, (feeling their owne miserie, and therein seeke remedie in God) for they shall bee comforted. Blessed are the meeke (which are ready, rather to suffer all things, then to be reuenged) for they shall inherite the earth.* That is, in assurance, and peace of conscience, vnder the protection of God. The Lord also, calleth all those happie that are pure in heart, which hunger and thirst for righteousness; which are mercifull, which are peace makers, and which suffer persecution for righteousness sake: for (saith he) *theirs is the kingdome of heauen, and they shall see God.* This then is the end: the soueraigne good, the ioy and the felicitie, whereunto our great Law-giuer and Saviour, will haue vs aspire, and which wee hope by his grace to attaine vnto, and whereof Saint Paul making mention, cryeth out, and saith, *(The things which eye hath not seene, neither eare hath heard, neither came into mans heart, are those which God hath prepared for them, that loue him.* Now when a man hath a iourney to make, and is loth to goe out of his way, it is necessarie for him to know whether he goeth, and to whom hee goeth, to the which end we haue both the one and the other, in Iesus Christ, very God and very man. For in that he is God, and consequently life, it is to him that we must goe: and in that he is man, it is by him that we haue access vnto God, and are vnited vnto him, thereby to enioy eternall life. Therefore it is said of Christ, *That he is the way, the truth, and the life.* Touching the third end and purpose whereunto we ought to bend the course of our liues, and which consisteth in every one of our particular vocations, it is certaine, that it is not our owne profite, honour, or aduantage, and carnall contentment alone, that we must seeke for, but that also of our neighbours, (that is all men) for that in seruing them, we serue God. Our most puissant Creator and Redeemer could if it pleased him, preserue our bodies, and saue our soules without the ministrie of man. But he doth vs the honour to accomplish his worke by vs. Therefore that there might be bread to nourish our bodies, he hath by his providence ordained that there should be husband men to till the earth, millers, and bakers: To furnish vs with clothes and apparell, shepheards, shearers, combers, spinners and wea- uers of wooll, Fullers, Diers, and Tailors: To build and make vs houses, Carpenters, Masons, and Bricklayers: and to be short, Artificers, and Merchants of all trades and merchandise, to furnish and provide that which is necessarie for mans body. As also hee hath ordained Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, that by their authoritie, every man should bee compelled to follow their vocations vprightly: and that they should exercise and execute the charge committed vnto them, to preserue and defend the good, and to punish the wicked. Hee hath also giuen, and doth giue, and ordaine Pastours, Doctors, and Ministers of his Word, *To saue (as Saint Paul saith) those that heare them: illuminating, planting faith in them, and forming them to his obedience, by the ministrie of the Gospel.* In this manner, God effecteth, and perfecteth his worke, and his will, to bee protector and preseruer of our bodies, and Saviour of our soules, employing men in his seruice, every one according to his estate & condition. For very slaues and seruants serue God, *Doing seruice to their Masters, (as the Apostle witnesseth) wherein specially we haue a singular consolation & comfort for all persons, called vnto, and exercising most base and vile vocations, and which seem abiects & contemptible in the sight of the world, for if we consider that therein seruing man, we serue God, no state nor condition can be dishonourable. For his Maiesty is so great, that there can be no base nor vile estate in his house. Now all the earth is the palace of his glory, and before him being infinite, there is nothing great nor little, more nor lesse, neere nor farre: those things are markes and euident signes of finitie and imperfection:*

In such manner that there is nothing so vile, but as the creature of God, it serueth to his glory; nothing so small, but hee vseth it for great matters; and nothing so great, but hee maketh it bow and bend vnder the least things. So that if a poore maide Seruant that sweepeth a house, and doth other abiect workes, shall remember, and thinke with her selfe, that the Lord of all men, hath called her to that state and condition, and that seruing her Master and Mistresse, shee serueth the Soueraigne Master of the world, it will bee a contentment, and an assurance vnto her of a reward (without comparison) greater then that which she expecteth at mortal mens hands. For as God is great, yea, and infinite; so he esteemes much the seruice that is done vnto him. And his children are so deere vnto him that for the seruice that they do vnto man, he will not only recompence them, with a meere temporall reward, but also, (because therein they serue him) he will haue them to attend and hope for a reward from him, that is, life eternall. To that end also Saint Paul saith, *That the woman shall be saved, through bearing of children, if she continue in faith, loue, and holines, with modesty.* For it is true, that the woman bearing her child in her wombe, bringing it forth and nourishing it, endureth much paine, great griefe, and exceeding trouble, but if she thinketh and remembreth that God (who will haue the world preserved, and continued by generation) hath called her to that state and condition, and that her ende, purpose, and intent is, in all those seruices, that shee doth to her child, how vile and base soeuer, to serue God, doing the duty of a mother: let her be of good comfort, and seruing God in that manner shee shall bee saved, and shall receiue the great reward and guerdon of the heavenly inheritance.

1. Tim. 2. 15.

4. Conclusion of this Chapter.

By that which is sayd, it evidently appeareth, how dangerous & pernicious this folly is, not to know wherefore we liue, and that it is a most necessary wisdom an instruction for a man to know himselfe well, and the end wherefore he was borne. And therefore we must learne, that the principall end of our life should be to encrease more and more in the knowledge of God, that in knowing him, we may glorifie him, and obtaine vnto our selues, eternall life: wherein consisteth our onely soueraigne good. And further, that every one in his particular vocation, should bend his mind to serue God, in seruing men, whereby wee shall be induced to walke before him, in a good conscience; and as those that are bound to yeeld an accompt vnto him of al our actions, and not as before men, to please them or to get and reap vnto our selues, humane profits and commodities. If we liue in this manner, we shall bee in the way to heauen, which the effect and meaning of the diuine law of God teacheth vs, that is; to loue God, with all our hearts, and our neighbour (in God, and for the loue of God,) as our selues.

That man ought to deliuer himselfe from the fift folly, which is, To iudge of the happy or unhappy state of man, by exterior signes. Chap. 6.

1. *The children of God are inclined to stumble at his providence, and wise and iust conduction of men to their endes.*

THe fift principall folly by vs set downe, is, to iudge of the happy or unhappy state of man by exterior signes, which folly is the rather to be noted, because it is very common, not onely among irreligious, and all sorts of prophane people, but also among the children of God, and so much the rather to be reiected, because it is most pernicious. Against this stone the wisest men haue stumbled, and therewith pusht at the diuine providence of God, wherein is comprehended, his goodnes, his wisdom, and his iustice, which specially appeare in the wise and iust conduction of man vnto his ende. The great Prophet *Dauid* confesseth, that he was possessed with the same folly, (esteeming wicked men) because of their prosperity) to be happy; and to the contrarie, those that walked in piety, and godlinesse, and dranke vp affliction like water abundantly, to be unhappy, and acknowledged that he was so much troubled to think thereon, that his feet were ready to set forward to ioine in league with the peruerse and wicked: that he thought that there was no prouidence in God: and that it was but lost labour, and in vaine, to seeke to serue him holily and vprightly. But

Psalm 73. 1.

after

after that, againe he saith, That it was a great stupiditie in him, that he was foolish and ignorant, and knew nothing, and that he was a beast before God. *Jeremy* touched with the like error, entred into disputation with God, Why the wicked prospered, and to the contrary, Good men were afflicted? In like sort *Iob* saith, *I am afraid, and feare taketh holde on my flesh, wherefore doe the wicked live, and waxe olde, and grow in wealth?* How many times doth *David* complaine, looking vpon the outward shew of his afflicted estate, as if he were forsaken and abandoned of God, as if he had forgotten him, as if hee were angry with his seruant, and as if he had withdrawne his grace and mercy from him? So the Church of *Israel* considering her affliction, entred into an opinion, and complaining that God had forgotten and abandoned her? To be short, it is the nature of all men to stand vpon exterior things, & to iudge them to be happy, that prosper according to the world & the flesh, and that escape the paines & punishments that they deserue: and those vnhappy, that are afflicted, and endure pouerty, & oftentimes shame & punishment, which they deserued not:

Jerem. 12. 1.
Iob. 21. 6. 7.

Psal. 22. 2.
13. 2. 79. 5.
77. 10.

Ezay. 49. 4.

2. *Mans false iudgement of good and euill things.*

To preserve and deliuer vs from this folly, first wee must resolve vpon this point, that it is not requisite, nor any reason, that we poore wormes of the earth should know & vnderstand the counsell of God, nor the resorts, causes and circumstances of his will and diuine providence: for if it were so, then he should no more be God, or we should no more be men. Much lesse reason is it for him to subiect the iust & wise conduction of his creatures, to the rules of our senses, & corrupt iudgements. For as there is nothing so cleare, nor so easie, as to beleue & acknowledge a God, nor nothing so difficult, as to know what hee is, so we are constrained to beleue a most great & soueraigne providence, which presedeth ouer all, and governeth the world generally & particularly: but to vnderstand the causes, moving & measure thereof, as it is not requisite nor reasonable, so it is altogether impossible. A Pagan saith very well, that mans vnderstanding, is as fit and proper to comprehend celestiall and diuine things, as the eyes of a Bat, to see the light & brightnes of the Sun. And seeing that kings & princes, as much as they can, keepe their counsels, secret and vnknown to the vulgar sort, esteeming it a sure rampier and defence to their authority, and good government; we are thereby to learne, not to be abashed, nor astonished, that we cannot vnderstand, nor penetrate into, the eternall deliberations, determinations and profound iudgements, which the king of kings holdeth, & are past in the secret consistory of his infallible providence. Then let it suffice vs to know, that God governeth & ruleth ouer all, as the Master and Lord of all things, and that he knoweth how to vse, and to dispose of them all, for the best. Now in the question which is in hand, we must note, that therein our iudgement is erroneous, proceeding from an other folly and abuse, which is, that it seemeth vnto vs, that riches, honors, greatnesse, health, delights, aboundance, and a long prosperous and a happy worldly life, are good things: and to the contrary, pouerty, contempt, abiectnes, sicknesse, discommodities of the flesh, & a short (and in the end) a miserable life, are great euils. From whence we draw this consequence, that by them we haue euident testimonies of the wrath & anger of God against men, and of his fauour and blessings towards them. But therein we reckon amisse, and make a false supposition. For neither riches, nor any other the like things which are pleasing to flesh and bloud, are properly and truly good, no more then pouerty, abiectnes, & the like (which the world abhorreth) are euil, neither can bee termed so, but falsely, & vnproperly, vntill that in saying so, we make this distinction, that they are good or euil, external, counterfeit, transitory, false, fraile, and corruptible things. Now all such good and euil things, are common to euery man, and both the good and the bad haue part therein in differently. And by them also, man can neither be good nor wicked, so farre forth, as they touch not the principall part, which is the soule, nor penetrate to the quick, but only stay at the outward barke or huske. They may be occasions and instruments of good, or of euil, as the person that they meet withal is affected, as when a mans stomacke or his body, is sicke or whole, the meat that he eateth changeth either into good nourishment, or into offensive humors. For to an honest man, riches, & other commodities, & worldly advantages, are helps to do good, & profitable means vnto him, to exercise vertue, & so is pouerty & affliction, because riches make exploits in great matters easie, & pouertie & aduersitie by their sharpenes, & difficulties, do therunto adde more praise, comendation, & worth, & prouoke, & stir up the courages & minds of honest men. Where on the other side, they are as many occasions, and instruments to the wicked to make them worse & more disordered

by riches to commit insolencies, and violences, and by pouertie to despaire, and to enterprise all vnlawfull actions; otherwise, nothing can hurt man, nor take any thing from him, no not death, what shew soeuer it makes, as hereafter wee will more at large declare. For all such good and euill things are superficiall and exterior. But the true, interior, and substantiall good things, proper to the children of God, are piety, vertue, innocency, ioy, tranquillitie of spirit, peace of conscience, and contentment. As on the other side, the right and true euils, proper to the children of the diuell are impiety, superstition, vice, trouble, couetous affections, dishonest desires, anguish of the spirit, horror of conscience, and perpetuall disquietnesse.

3. *No exterior thing can make man happy or unhappy.*

The speciall and principall reason that maketh vs iudge falsely of the happy or unhappy state of man, is, because wee thinke and suppose, that there is no fauour, grace, blessing, nor felicity but onely in honours, dignities, riches, and other commodities pleasing and agreeable to flesh and bloud: which makes wicked men flatter with themselves, and to be hardened in their iniquities. As *Dionysius* the Tyrant of Sicile, who after hee had forcibly taken, and carried away the gold and ornaments of the Temple; being at Sea, with a prosperous winde, said, Now you see that the immortall Gods fauour Sacriledge. And the Prophet *Malachi*, attributeth the like blasphemies to the wicked in his time, that said, *It is in vaine to serue God, and what profit is it, that we haue kept his Commandements, and that wee walked humbly before the Lord of Hosts? Therefore wee count the proud blessed, even they that worke wickednesse are set up, and they that tempted God, are deliuered.* From whence it cometh that many that suppose themselves to be honest men, doe follow the common traine of others, that they may bee aduanced to high estates, and greatnesse in the world, by corrupt meanes, or giue themselves to vnlawfull trades, fraudes, deceites, and other iniquities, because they imagine, that such as abound in riches, and possesse great dignities at their pleasures, are happier then they, that walking vprightly and iustly, are bale, contemned, poore and afflicted. The reason hereof is, because we are short of sight, and haue our eies so dazeled, with the bright shew of humane vanities, that wee cannot pierce through exterior prosperity, vnder the vaile thereof to see iniquity, which cannot but be accursed of God, and produce euill, with what colour soeuer it is cloaked or couered. Wee perceiue nothing but that which glistereth superficially, both in pouertie and riches. We see the clothes, and not the body, or rather the body and not the soule, the exterior worke, and not the workeman. The Prophet saith, *Happie is the man that doth not walke in the counsell of the wicked, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornfull.* This is easily beleeued, if wee behold those wicked sinners, mockers, and scornors, either vpon a scaffold, or a ladder ready to be executed to death, or cast into hell.

But when wee consider them clothed with riches, endowed with honors, and reioicing in their pleasures and humane prosperities, then wee easily alter our opinions, and casting oure eyes vpon the apparell, pleasing and delightfull to the flesh, wee esteeme them happie, and forget *Dauids* counsell, That wee cannot bee happy, but by abhorring the actions and wayes of wicked men. And so wee resemble those, who beholding a man laid in a rich and sumptuous bed, serued with delicate fare, and musicke playing before him, esteeme him happy: and hee to the contrary, feeling intollerable paine of the gowt, or of the collicke, or other diseases, which make him lie in his bed, complaineth miserably. Let vs know then, that God oftentimes giueth not exterior blessings to his children, and that for good causes, and for their profites, and many times suffereth those goods that they haue, to bee forcibly taken away from them by theeues and wicked persons. For the which if they complaine, they doe vniustly; and if therefore they esteeme and thinke themselves to bee more miserable, it is blasphemy against Gods prouidence. For touching the first, there is no reason why wee should complaine, because we haue not riches, or because we lose that which wee may well be without, and without the which we may liue well, happily and contentedly if wee will: as also that without them wee came into the world, and shall die, and leaue them behind vs. They are none of ours, and that which we need is not much, and we may easily obtaine it. Doe wee see many men die or perish for want of a gowne, or of bread? Why should we desire more, vnlesse it be to torment, to shame, and to condemne our owne weak and fraile desires? and that which may hurt, corrupt, and spoyle vs, and which hath ouerthrowne

Malac. 3. 14.
15.

Psalme 1. 1.

ouerthrowen many, who before living privately vnder the discipline of pouertie, were honest men. Are we bereft of that, which so many notable parsonages despised, and willingly forsooke, as hurtfull burthens, and hinderances vnto them from good actions? Wee are by that meanes rather much more assured, & protected from euill. That which we thinke to bee hurtfull and losse vnto vs, is rather our profit, and a meanes for vs to shunne a greater misery. For the second point, why should we take God? wherein is he bound, or obliged vnto vs? But why doe wee not rather thinke well of him, and thanke him, because hee doeth thereby lighten our shippe, by throwing so heauie and burthensome a fardell ouer boord, lest wee should sinke and bee cast away? Because I say, hee taketh care of vs, as the Physician of our soules, which he hath made, and knoweth well, and in that for our saluation, he giueth vs such a purgation, diet, and restraint? For with the one hand taking from vs the shady hard crust of exterior blessings, with the other he giueth vs the substance and solid truth of interior riches, filling vs inwardly with ioy, rest, and contentment, which cannot bee bought with all the goods in the world. This peace of conscience is the true health, the true riches, and the true good of man; a giift of God vnto his elect, and a singular effect of his diuine providence.

But all those humane things which fooles so much admire and esteeme, are like a little winde, ora dreame, vanishing like smoake, dissoluing like scomme, passing away like a shadowe, and to bee short, hauing no firmnesse nor assurance. Therefore wee must no more trust in them, nor desire them, then reioyce when wee haue gotten them, or bee sorrowfull when they leaue vs. And certainly, as hee is neere vnto, and resembleth God, that hath a contented minde, and hath no need of any thing, (for what other thing is it to be God, but that) so hee onely is worthy of the Deitie, that can despise and abandon all things: that is not God. Wee must also iudge the like of all the afflictions, and crosses that happen to honest men, as banishments, proscriptions, ignominies, opprobies, vniust condemnations, premeditated, vntimely, violent and shamefull deaths. For although such disgraces much dislike vs, and oftentimes vex our soules: neuertheless, wee must not vnadvisedly, or rashly iudge of those things, but take leasure to thinke vpon them, and call to minde how many wayes they are and may bee profitable and commodious vnto vs.

It is certaine, that harsh and hard afflictions serue especially for a true and an assured meanes to make a man known to others, but much better to himselfe. What knoweth he, or what can hee assure or promise to himselfe that neuer was tried, that neuer entred into the lists of tribulation, that neuer suffered any thing, or neuer incurred any disgrace? Prosperitie is a maske, a faire curtaine, and a deceiifull vaile, which disguiseth, and couereth the truth of things, and which sleaeth and hideth our selues from our selues. But aduersitie sheweth things openly and plainely, till that hapneth all is but colourable, & a faire outward shew. To the good, & such as professe godlines, crosses, & troubles, are the true & only means to exercise the, & to refine & confirm their vertue, which otherwise, would languish, slacken, & lose their strength, and vtterly become weak, and withered. A Pagan was wont to say, that there is nothing more miserable in this world then hee who neuer felt any kinde of aduersity; because (saith he) that such a man hath no occasion to make prooue of himselfe; as long as all things fall out according to his desire: adding farther, that the gods had an euill opinion of him, because they thought him vnworthy once in his life to vanquish and overcome fortune. And shall wee that are Christians, bee ignorant and not know, that by afflictions God proueth, exerciseth, and hardneth to endure all paine, those whom hee loveth, and by discipline prepareth and maketh them better, notabler, excellenter & perfecter; that so they may attaine to the highest degree, of the rewards and recompences, which by his free mercy and gracious goodnes, he hath prepared for them in heauen. For tribulation is a medicine, & a proper remedy against all euil, that might corrupt & infect vs. In tract of time & with long prosperity we may forget our selues & become degenerate, & adulterate. But aduersity hold vs down, breatheth, purifieth, & clenseth our soules from the rustines of sin, & thereby retaineth & containeth vs within the bounds of feare & obediēce. The thing which most grieveth our hearts at the first, & seems troublesome to digest it, is that which we said before, touching vntimely death, specially when it is violent & shameful, but let vs call to mind & remember, that death is a debt which we must pay, and a comon path way, which every man must tread, & go through. That death is not a paine, but naturall to man, & that he came into the world, to go out of it again. That the law of nations requireth, that every man shall restore that which he hath receiued. That our life is but a short pilgrimage, which

Seneca of
providence.

we haſſe to an end every day, to attaine to heauen which is our cuntry: and that if we die young. Death it may be deliuereth vs from ſome great euill, at the leaſt, from that which old age bringeth with it, then what ſkilts it, when, or in what manner we pay that tribute, or paſſe that way, ſoone or late, in our chambers or in our beds, in battaile, or in a publique place, by water or by land, ſpecially when ſeruing God in our vocation, and with a good conſcience, wee yeeld our ſoule vnto him. *Pſal. 116. 15* *Precious in the ſight of the Lord (ſaith Dauid) is the death of his Saints.* Howſoeuer, then it cometh to paſſe, diuine providence directing all things to a good end, doth all for the beſt to thoſe that loue him, both publickely and privately. King *Iofias* (a Prince of whom the Scripture ſaith, he neuer had his like, and whoſe nativity had bene prophesied ſo many yeeres before, together with all his actions) died in the flower of his age, among the darts and arrowes of his enemies, bewailed of all the people, and bitterly lamented by the Prophet *Jeremie*, that compoſed his lamentations in forme of mornefull ditties, to be read and ſung in honor of him. Who is ſo dull of vnderſtanding, that will eſteeme *Iofias* leſſe happie for his vntimely death. It is a generall rule, and a vniuerſall iudgement, that to let a thing reſt in it ſelfe, and in his inſeparable nature, vntill it cometh and attaineth to the naturall end, it will be the vtter ruine thereof: and that the meanes to preferue and lengthen the eſſence, uſe, and profite thereof, is to anticipate or prevent the end of it. If your ſpare and leaue flowers and fruits ſtill vpon a tree, or on their ſtalkes, in the aire, they will wither, rotte and dry. To make them liue long, and to giue them, as it were, an other eſſence, and a better and longer life, you muſt plucke, gather and preferue them, and as we properly ſay conſerue them. How many men haue bin ſeen and knowne to haue gotten and obtained a good reputation, beeing young, but when they came to age loſt it againe: how many haue ſcene their labors and conqueſts die before them? and how many haue overliued their glory? for which cauſe their friends ſaid, that it had bene better and more expedient for their honors, that they had died tenne yeere before. Now God all wiſe, that knoweth good men, and that hath made them ſuch as they are, and therefore loueth them, knoweth well, and how far it is good both for them and for the common good, that they ſhall liue. Wherefore, although he may, and can by good right aſke their liues of them againe, at all times when he will, without doing them any wrong, he aſketh it againe, at ſuch time and ſeaſon, and taketh it away in ſuch manner, as is fit both for them, and for the world to looſe it. Their death is a ſowing and an obtaining of a better life, and if it be ſpeedily, it is done to put them the ſooner in poſſeſſion of the inheritance of heauen. And againe, if death be ſhamefull to the world, it is to make it more honorable, & notable before the angels, if it be violent and cruell, then it is richer, worthier, and of more efficacy, and recommendation, and a ſweete and perpetuall odour to the poſterity. It is a precious crowne and a moſt faire conſequence of their liues, a preferuation of honor for them, and a notable patterne and model for others, of all which benefits, both they and others had bene deprived, if they had died in other manner. Thoſe to whom ſuch an end hath hapned, it is the faireſt, richeſt and the laſt and beſt action that euer they did.

There was neuer any thing performed nor done in the liues of *Socrates*, *Phocius*, *Seneca*, *Regulus*, *Pamphilian*: no nor in the life of *Ieſus Chriſt* himſelfe, nor of the Martyrs (that is to ſay, of all the great perſonages that euer liued) that was comparable to their deathes, which hindreth them from dying, and makes them liue for euer. To bee ſhort, our God is ſo good and ſo puiſſant, that he maketh Treacle of poiſon, and conuerteth death into life.

4. The conſequence of this Chapter.

To conclude, wee muſt bee reſolute, and fully reſolved herein, that death, exile, teares, griefe, and ſuch like things, are no puniſhments nor euils; but rather quit rents, reuenues, and tributes impoſed vpon our liues. Then it is euident and plaine, how great and pernicious this folly is, to iudge of the happie and vnhappie ſtate of man by exterior things, it being moſt true, that ſuch a fooliſh opinion, aboliſheth faith, hope, and affection in vs, to walke in the feare of God, as alſo his providence. To amend our liues in this poynt, wee muſt iudgement to be happy or vnhappy, according to the certaine and inſallible teſtimonies of the word of God, firmly beleeuing this ſentence by him pronounced. Say yee, *Eſay 3. 10. 11* *Surely it ſhall bee well with the iuſt: for they ſhall eate the fruite of their workes: woe bee to the wicked, it ſhall bee euill with him, for the reward of his hands ſhall bee giuen him.* Reſting vpon this ſpirituall wiſedome, which onely knoweth both the exterior and interior, things preſent, and

and things to come, wee will conclude against the false iudgement of the world and of the flesh, that the wicked although they that prosper, are miserable and vnhappy, and that good men feare God, and haue their confidence and hope in his grace, and mercie, what aduersities and tribulations soeuer they suffer and endure, are alwaies happy. Whereby wee shall reape this benefit, that as the contrary opinion serueth in a manner for chaines and strong cables in the hands of Sathan, therewith to drawe and prouoke men to liue wickedly and prophanely: so for our parts, (by that which hath bin said before) we shalbe able to breake and rent in tunder, those wicked cords, and be encouraged to perseuer in holinesse and righteousness of life, knowing, that our labour shall not be in vaine before the Lord.

That it is necessary for vs to leaue the sixth folly, which is to giue more credit to our enemies, then to our friends. Chap. 7.

1. *Man is naturally inclined to credit and beleene three great enemies.*

We reade in Ecclesiastes this notable aduertisement, saying, *Aske no counsell of religion, of a man that is without religion; nor of iustice, of him that hath no iustice; nor of a woman touching her of Eccles. 37. 12. whom shee is ielous; nor of a coward, of matters of warre; nor of a Marchant, concerning exchange; nor of the buyer for the sale; nor of an enuious man touching thankesfulnesse; nor of the vnmerefull, touching kindnesse; nor of an vnhonest man, of honestie; nor of the slothfull, for any labour; nor of an hireling, for the finishing of a worke; nor of an idle seruant, for much businesse: hearken not vnto these in any manner of counsell.* Now if it be a folly to beleue the aduice and counsell of a man, not so much an enemy vnto vs, as a friend vnto himselfe, in that wherein hee may haue any consideration, and respect of his owne person and actions. It is a much greater and vnexcusable folly to beleue and to giue credit to the counsell of our enemies, which onely seeke and pretend our vtter ruine and decay. A certaine wise man saith, That as the industrious Bees, out of the bitter herbe Time, sucke and gather the most sweet and driest hony: so a wise, provident, and vertuous man, knowes how to draw profit and commoditie from his enemies. But that is not, by beleeuing them, but rather by being wary and fearefull to faile and erre in his vocation, and more earnest industrious, and diligent, to mannage his actions wisely, and to reforme the imperfections, whereunto he findeth himselfe inclined: being well assured, that an enemy is like a spy towards him whom hee hateth, and ready to publish and make knowne, what imperfection or vice soeuer he finderh to be in him. But the question here, is not of any such, but rather of three principall enemies, which are so much the more dangerous, as they are either in vs or about vs, and which is worse, whom naturally wee are much enclined to beleue. The first is, the loue of our selues, (or as the Scripture commonly calleth it,) of our flesh; and the concupiscences thereof; The second the world: and the third the diuell.

2. *The flesh and the concupiscences thereof, the first, and a great enemy to man.*

Man is borne with a disordered, and a kind of blinde loue of himselfe, which maketh him inclined, and thrusteth him forward to consent vnto the desires and affections of his heart, so much corrupted by sinne which dwelleth in him, that he can produce and bring forth nothing but wicked concupiscences, which only tend vnto euil, & are aduersaries and enemies that lodge within his body, that seeke to seduce him, and that continually fight and strue against his saluation. For which cause Saint Paul aduertiseth all the faithfull to call Eph. 4. 22. of the old man, that is corrupt, through deceivable lusts; & S. Peter willet vs to abstaine I. Pet. 2. 11. from carnall desires, which war against the Soule. Our flesh is a most dangerous and pernicious enemy. For as Saint Paul saith, The wisdom of the flesh is death and enmitie against God, Rom. 8. 6, 7, 8. whom they that are in the flesh cannot please. For which cause Saint Iames compareth concupiscence to a wicked mother, conceiuing and bringing forth sinne, and consequently death of the soule to eternall damnation. For (as the Apostle saith in another place) the wages of sinne is death, but the gift of God is eternall life, through Iesus Christ our Lord. Whereupon also he exhorteth the Romanes, that sinne should not raigne in their mortall bodies, to obey it

Rom. 6. 12.

1. Tim. 6. 9. 10

Gal. 5. 26.

Matth. 23. 12.

Mat. 20. 26, 27

Luke 1. 51.

1. Cor 13. 4.

Luke 8. 14.

Hebr. 12. 4.

Col. 3. 5.

Ephes 4. 22

Rom. 8. 13.

Mat. 16. 14.

August. lib.
medit. cap. 4.Gal 1. 4.
1. Ioh. 5. 19, &
2. 16.

it in the lusts thereof. Neuerthelesse, wee are so foolish and sencelesse, to hearken vnto, and to beleue our flesh more then God; whose loue towards vs, is certaine and incomprehensible. But what are the counsels of the flesh, but only to couet and desire those false riches, whereof wee will speake heereafter, to get and obtaine wealth, by what meanes soeuer wee can, to aspire to honors and dignities of the world, to excell others therein, and to followe pleasures, delights, and other such like affections. When in the meane time we know, that God condemneth all such wicked and damnable counselles; declaring and shewing by his holy word, That the root of all euils, is couetousnesse and desire of riches, which maketh men fall into diuers temptations and snares; by many foolish and hurtfull thoughts, which bring them to misery, and vtter destruction: That it is not the doctie of Christians to be couetous of vaine glory: That whosoever shall exalt himselfe, shall be brought low: That whosoever will be great and chiefe among vs, shall be our seruant: That it is he that scattereth the proude in the imagination of their hearts: That loue is not enuious, loue doeth not boast it selfe, loue is not puffed vp: That the pleasures of this world hinder and let a man from reaping any fruite by the word of God: That it is the Lord that will iudge fornicators, and adulterers. And to bee short, the holy Ghost admonisheth vs, throughout the whole Scriptures, to mortifie our flesh, to cast it off, to renounce it, and all the desires thereof, as an enemy that counsellet vs to doe that which is euill.

Now if every one will examine his owne conscience, and looke into the ordinary and common course of man: Iudgement will soone bee giuen, and resolved vpon, that all men in generall haue a desire to enrich themselves, to become great, and of higher authoritie then others, that they enuy those which exceed them in such vanities: that they hunt after carnall pleasures and delights of the flesh, and that they rather and sooner beleue the counsell of the flesh, then of God. Experience sheweth it too manifestly, and the onely example and open confession of *S. Augustine*, a man endowed with great pietie and holinesse, shall serue to ouerthrow and conuince vs therein, who speaking of couetousnesse, ambition, pride, pleasures, and other concupiscences, and affections of the flesh: saith, I haue an army of traytors within me, who vnder pretence and shadow of friendship, are mine enemies, neuerthelesse, they are the same, with whom I haue liued from my youth vpwards, whom I haue sought to please, and whom I haue beleued: These are the friends whom I cherished, and made much of; the masters to whom I obeyed, the Lords whom I serued, the domestick neighbours among whom I dwelt, and the counsellors in whom I put my whole trust and confidence.

3. The world an other great enemy to man.

Our second great enemy, whom wee too lightly and too soone beleue, is the world, not the beautifull and great frame of the vniuersall globe, whereof the diuinitie, order, and equall firmenesse of all the seuerall parts, together with one perfect harmony, obeying the gracious and soueraigne gouernment of their Creator, by good right deserue to bee called pure, for without so excellent a disposition, there would be nothing els but an vnclane, and polluted disorder and confusion. For the world so taken & expounded, signifieth no other thing, but an ornament, or an order of things well disposed and set together. But to the contrary, in this place, as we meane & vnderstand the world, and according to the ordinary stile of the holy Scriptures, it is the corruption and vniuersall disorder found to bee in all men, who commonly and by nature, addict themselves to euill, staying and setting their thoughts and imaginations vpon this present life, little thinking vpon, nor caring for the kingdome of heauen. As *Saint Paul* calleth the world euill. And *Saint Iohn* saith, that all the world lyeth in wickednes: whereof he propounds certaine examples, saying, for that which is in the world, that is, the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eies, and the pride of life, is not of our heavenly Father. For by the lusts of the flesh, hee vnderstandeth, a desire to liue delicately at our ease, with all terrestriall commodities; by the lusts of the eies, the vanities of vnchast lookes, braueries, pomps, and other superfluities; and by the pride of life, ambition, pride, vaine confidence, and loue of our selues, alwaies ioyned with the despising of others. This kinde of world is our great and puissant enemy. For being so corrupt and vicious, it inuiceth, and mooueth vs, by the examples thereof, to follow it, and so to addict and abandon our selues, to the said corruptions. And we are so foolish, to beleue so great an enemy. For experience too euidently sheweth, how easily we are drawne to follow the world, and to conforme

forme our selues therunto. The ease of the flesh, which some men enjoy, the pleasures and lusts wherein they delight, their riches which make them honoured, the reputation to be better then others, by great expences in banquets and sumptuous apparrell, and such like vanities, serue for a faire shew to title, moue, and entice vs to follow the train and company of worldly men. And as every man easily beleueth that which he desireth, so we without any great resistance, suffer our selues to be perswaded, to walke with the world, wherunto we are naturally inclined. It is a secret of nature, that the Adamant stone draweth Iron vnto it: But that the world draweth vs vnto it, it is as naturall a thing, as to see water run downe out of a riuer, a chariot to goe swiftly downe a hill, and when we see a man gape or yawne, to doe the like after him. For beeing all borne with sinne, which carrieth and thrusteth vs on to all corruption, wee need no aide to driue vs forward, nor much solliciting therunto: The onely sight of that which we already loue, easily pusheth and draweth vs forward. As a crafty subtil whore allureth her louer, the bayte vpon a hooke inticeth the fish, and the infectious aire, infecteth those that draw it in. To be short, it happeneth vnto vs, in this terrestriall habitation, as vnto those, who conuersing with Colliers and Millars, can hardly keepe themselves, from being blackt with coales, or whited with meale: In such manner, that we ordinarily see, that where we ought by our holy conuersation, to draw and entice such as are lewdly and worldly giuen to follow vs: to the contrary, they are stronger then we, and carry vs away with them. And whereas we ought to serue for bright shining lights, in the middle of a crooked and peruerse nation, to draw worldlings out of the darke & wrong waies, which they are in: to the pathes of light, truth, and saluation: To the contrary worldly darkenes extinguisheth our light, and maketh vs erre & wander in their obscurity. Then let vs know, that if we suffer our selues to be carried away by the inticements of the world, If we do neuer so little cast behind our backs, the care of our soules, to get and heape vp mortall and transitory riches, if we follow after vaine and prophane men of this world, addicting our minds to the delights and pleasures of the flesh, and the ordinary excesse, wherinto they willingly run: our gold, silver, costly household stufte, pleasure, pompes, vnprofitable expences, and superfluities, will be as many fooles caps, on our heads, which with a lowd voice will cry out and say, that wee are fooles indeed, so to beleue and giue credit to our enemy the world.

4. *The Diuell an other great and principall enemy to man.*

The third and principall enemy to man, is the diuell; whom Iesus Christ for that cause calleth the enemy, which his name of Satan also signifieth: of whom we are so many times warned in the Scriptures to beware. And to speake truth, all his counsels and policies tend to death, and the vtter destruction of mankind. And for that cause also hee is called a murderer, and an homicide from the beginning. As he shewed himselfe evidently so to be, to our first parents Adam and Eue, when vnder pretence of love and fauour towards Eue, hee perswaded her to eate of the forbidden fruite, of the tree of knowledge of good and euill: whereupon God at that time, as it were by sound of trumpet, published open warre betwene Satan and vs: The Lord himselfe saying, that he would put enmitie betweene Satan and the seed of the woman. Now sith the diuell was so bold, as to enter into terrestriall paradise to assaile and deceiue our first parents, they beeing then in the image of God: And if after that, he was so rash and so presumptuous, to follow Iesus Christ himselfe, in the deserts, and there to assaile him, tempting him forty daies and forty nights, and after that making those three powerfull assaults against him, set downe and rehearsed in the Euangelists; haue we not reason to hearken vnto that which Saint Peter saith, that this our great aduersary is, and alwaies will be, like a roaring Lyon about vs, seeking whom hee may deuoure? An enemy so much the more dangerous because he is inuisible; because hee is neuer weary of the combate; and because hee transformeth himselfe into an angell of light, thereby the easilier to seduce & deceiue vs: He presenteth vnto our eyes, (saith S. Cyprian) enticing pleasures, that by our sight, he might destroy the chastity of our harts, he tempteth our eares with the sweetnes of musicke, by our hearing to weaken the strength and force of christianity: by iniurious words, he moueth the tongue to speake euill, and by outrages, inciteth our hands to fight, and to kill man; he offereth vnlawfull gaine, to induce vs to vse fraude and deceite, and pernicious commodities, to kindle and stirre vp our soules to couetousnes

Phil. 2. 15.

Math. 13. 28.

John 8. 24.

Gen. 3.

Math. 4. 1.

Luk. 4. 1.

1. Pet. 5. 8.

1. Cor. 11. 14.

Cyp. tract. 10.

de zel. & liuor.

tiousnes: he promisseth terrestriall honors, to bereave vs of heavenly ioy, he teacheth falsehood, to raiuish vs of the truth. To be short, he vseth a thousand kind of subtleties, in time of peace, and violence in persecutions? then what extreame folly, or rather desperate madness is it, to beleue and giue credit to such an enemy? But who is it (may some men say, that will be so ill aduise, to aske or take counsell of the Diuell? or when doth he speak to vs, know this for certain, that then he speaketh vnto vs, when he giueth or presenteth vnto vs. (but yet vnder the providence of God) Riches, honours, high estates, pleasures, delights of the flesh, prosperitie, and al things at our desires in worldly affaires. For those are the assaults of Sathā. That is the wrastring which we haue against principalities, against powers, against worldly gouernours, the princes of darkenes of this world, and against spirituall wickednes, which are in high places. To be short, those are the fiery darts of the diuell. It is true, hee presenteth not himselfe vnto vs, alwaies vnder the condition which he propounded to Iesus Christ saying, *(I will giue thee all the kingdomes of the world, and the glory thereof: if thou wilt fall downe and worshipping mee.)* He speakes not alwaies so plainly like a diuell. But oftentimes offereth himselfe vnto vs as a friend, to serue and accommodate vs in our wilhes and desires, yet we may easily perceiue and feele by the effects, that therewith he induceth, and mixeth certain venime and pernicious counsell, to make vs wander and stray, out of the pathes of truth & vertue, sometimes by perswading vs to dissemble with euill, and to deale therewith, to dispende with our selues in manner of liuing according to the lusts and pleasures of the world, and in practises dissenting, and far off from pietie, charitie, and true christianity, which may be veiled with the cloake of indifferencie, or of the custome and manners of the time and place, which permit vs not (as we thinke) to doe otherwise, and oftentimes incinuateth in our thoughts that simple men are not fit to liue in this world, that whosoever wil make himselfe a sheepe, shall be eaten and deuoured by wolues, and that if we liue among wolues, we must liue like wolues. This enemy both to God and man doth more and worse then this: for he maketh vs seeke after riches, to put our trust therein, to vse them in superfluities and delights, and to forget that we are mortall men. After that again, (as he knoweth how to extract venime & poyson out of al things,) he taketh away (God permitting) our goods, and makes vs poore, he afflicteth vs with long and grievous sickenes, and bringeth vs into disgrace, shame, and discredit with men, and with that kinde of proceeding, hee will seeke and goe about to perswade vs, that we haue good reason to murmur against God, to complaine of him, to forsake him, to reiect and driue him away, when he presenteth himselfe to vs in our consciences, *As the Gadarens sent Christ away from among them, because they had lost their hogges, which the Diuell threw headlong into the sea* and which is worse, to curse God, as the story of Iob evidently sheweth vnto vs. Further, if wee bee great sinners, our great enemy the diuell will present vnto vs, the rigor of Diuine iustice, thereby to plunge vs into despaire, and if we haue our hope and confidence in the mercy of God, he will moue and incite vs to sinne, falsely alleading, that where sin aboundeth, there grace abounded much more, and that to bee saued, there needeth no more, but to say a good peccavi, before wee die. To conclude, the temptations and allusions of the Diuell, are infinite, and he knowes too well how to put them in practise: If man will neuer so little yeeld vnto him. Neuerthelesse, let every man search and sound into his own conscience, and withal consider the common traine of men, yea and among diuers of those that make profession to know God; and they must of force yeeld and confesse themselves to bee of the number of those, that willingly heare, beleue, and too often follow the counsell of Sathan their enemy, If they wil not deny their owne workes, which are as many examples, and witnesses against them.

5. Conclusion of this Chapter.

Then let vs remember, that all such thoughts, imaginations, motions, affections, and temptations aforesaid, are the counsell of our capital enemy the Diuell. That we lodge and harbor another (as the second) with vs, and in such manner in vs, that it is as it were our selues, which is our flesh, with the concupiscences thereof. And for the third, wee haue the world, which wee loue and whereof wee desire to bee beloued, although the loue thereof is enmity against God. Therefore let vs conclude, for a truth, that it is an extreme folly, and meere madnesse in vs to beleue and giue credit to such enemies: and that to leaue our folly, and to amend our liues, wee must take better aduise, and beleue him that is our true and perfect friend. That is, our God speaking to vs in the holy Scriptures which onely containe in them certaine wholesome and saving counsels, and therefore what counsell so-

Eph. 6. 11, 12.
13.

Math. 4. 8.

Math. 8. 34.
Iob. 1.

Rom. 5. 20.

Eph. 4. 27.

Rom. 12. 14.

Iam. 4. 4.

euery world, the flesh, and the Deuill, shall giue vnto vs, let vs oppose the Oracles of the holy word of God against them, and with *Dauid* protest, That it is the light of our pathes, That the Testimonies thereof are our counsels, and that we looke to our wayes when wee obserue his word. That it is vnto vs the helmet of saluation, and the sword of the spirit, against all illusions and temptations, and to make answer with Iesus Christ, *It is written, It is written.* To be short, let vs practise the commandement of God, to reade and meditate his law day and night. To follow the contents thereof, and assuring our selues in his promises, we shall then conduct and guid our selues wisely, and prosper in all our wayes, and so learne how to keepe our selues from this folly, to beleue our enemies more then our friends.

Psal. 119. 105

24. 9.

Ephes. 6. 17.

Mat. 4. 4. & 7.

That man must shunne the seventh follie: which is to thinke himselfe wise. Chap. 8.

1. *It is an easie matter for a man to deceiue himselfe, in thinking to bee wise.*

NOW wee are to speake of a seventh folly, which sheweth man extreemely and perfectly to be a foole, for that being spotted and defiled with the sixe great follies aforesaid, & with many more besides, yet he thinketh himselfe to be wise; shewing thereby, that there is nothing easier then for a man to deceiue and beguile himselfe: for man bearing a disordered and blindeloue to himselfe, is easily perswaded, that there is nothing in him, to be dispraised, or disliked, & therby oftentimes thinketh his ignorance to be great wisdom; in such manner, that knowing very little or nothing at all, he beleueth that he knoweth all things, and hauing no industry, nor desire to doe one good and commendable worke well, dares inconsiderately put his hand to things of greatest moment. But how much the more hee thinketh well of himselfe, so much the more hee discovereth his owne beastlinesse. If you see a hundred men walking together in the streetes, or in a common market place, yee shall not finde one among them all, but will thinke himselfe greatly injured, and will bee angrie, if you call him foole, for euery man will bee thought and esteemed to bee wise. And neuerthelesse, those that beleue not (as they should) that there is a God: That esteeme man more then God, That thinke to liue alwaies, That knowe not wherefore they liue, That iudge the happy and vnhappy state of men by exterior things, and that beleue their enemies more then their friends (for it is the common traine of all men) are not they fooles, and so much the more fooles, that they thinke themselves to bee wise: which our precedent discourses evidently prooue.

2. *How men thinke themselves to be wise, and are not.*

This folly to think to be wise, may yet more generally be considered, and with notable instructions in our Christian Philosophy, that is, for that men (for the most part) thinking themselves to bee created onely for their owne profit, and to serue as men in this temporall life, little, or not at all dreame or remember that they are borne Christians, to beleue as they ought in the life euerlasting, for from thence it commeth, that being wise, prudent, and well aduised touching the world, and worldly affaires, and in the meane time foolish, ignorant, and senselesse Christians touching that which concerneth heauen, and the life to come, they thinke themselves to be sufficiently wise, how foolish soeuer they bee: fooles I say, touching heauen, the principall point, and wise concerning the world; wise as touching men, and this transitorie life, but fooles concerning God, and life euerlasting. For you shall find all sorts of men that are of high and honourable estate, Iudges, Counsellors, Lawyers, Philitions, Philosophers, Gentlemen, Captaines, Merchants, Citizens, and Artificers, to bee wise and well aduised in their arts and vocations, who notwithstanding touching that which is fit for Christians to do, and whereunto God specially calleth and obligeth them, are meerely ignorant. But it is not to bee wondred at, for euery one from his youth vpwards, learneth an art, science, and occupation, to bee a wise man and expert in his state and condition, and so to be able to prouide for that which is necessarie for this present life, but there are fewe that learne the art and science truly to bee Christians and

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wise and well aduised concerning things that belong to the life to come, which is to liue with God and his Angels. Experience sheweth, that a Lawyer is very wise and vnderstanding in the ciuill Lawes, and knowes how to winne his Clients cause: But oftentimes vnderstandeth little or nothing of the diuine Law, or how to defend his owne cause against the Diuell, to be iustified before God. The Physition is skilfull by art and practise to heale the diseases of the body, but thinketh not vpon the meanes how to cure the sicknesse of his owne soule. The Arethmetician, can multiply great numbers, and yet cannot learne how to reckon 70. or 80. yeares of his life, neuer remembering that it is requisite for him with *David* to pray vnto God, to giue him grace to keepe that accompt well, that he may apply his heart to true wisdom. The Geometrician is expert and skilfull to measure the earth, but in the meane time, hath not any vnderstanding of heauen where GOD dwelleth, nor of the way of life, which is in Christ to attaine thereunto. The Astrologian can tell how great the Sonne is, and what course it holdeth in the celestiall Spheare, but is wholly ignorant of that which the Gospell teacheth vs, concerning the Son of righteousnesse, Iesus Christ our Lord. A great many Philosophers know an infinite number of the secrets of nature, and in the meane time are wholly ignorant of the mysteries of the eternall saluation of the soule, reuealed in the holy Scriptures. The Merchant can tell how to keepe a booke of accompts, and reckonings touching marchandise, that he may thereby know what he oweth, and what is owing vnto him, but knoweth not what accompt to make vnto God of his life. A Smith knowes how to make keyes of Iron but is altogether ignorant of the keyes of the kingdome of heauen. Euery man knoweth what fruits Aple trees, Peare trees Cherry trees, and Plumbe trees beare, but few men know what fruits Christians ought to beare. To be short there are many men that are prouidēt, well aduised, and vnderstanding in worldly matters, but few Christians that are wise and well instructed in religion. But what profit is to be a wise and expert Lawyer, a Physition, a Philosopher, a Marchant, or an Artificer, and in the meane time to bee an ignorant Christian, and a misaduised foole? Let them be reputed and held to bee wise among beastes, that are not indowed with immortall soules: but among Christians, hee is so much the more foole, and sencelesse, who wisely seruing men for vaine honor and profit, and seruing God foolishly, loseth both body and soule eternally. Therefore *S. Augustine*, reprouing those to whom the bookes of *Plato*, and *Aristotle* were more delightfull then the holy Scriptures, calleth them fooles, as beeing people that learned a science like vnto their studies, *videlicet*, leaues and no fruit, that is to say, faire words, and not solid and true vertues. In this manner men thinking themselves to bee wise, (although they are partly wise in that which concerneth this present life) are fooles and sencelesse, because they vnderstand not any thing as they ought to doe, touching that which is requisite for them to knowe, thereby to obtaine eternall life.

Aug. li. spec.
pec. ca. 6.

3. Two points necessary for men to make them wise.

For that cause this common and vulger sentence, *Nosce te ipsum*, know thy selfe, is reputed and taken to come downe from heauen, in regard of the excellencie thereof, because it is necessarie for man to know his owne ignorance, pouertie, and myserie, that hee may thereby humble himselfe, and seeke for his owne good without himselfe, and by that meanes be led vnto God, wherein consisteth his sole felicitie. On this point dependeth the beginning, the middle, and the end of all true wisdom, nothing being more certaine, then that the knowledge of God, and of our selues, are things conioyned together; and in such maner vnited one vnto the other, by many wayes, that it cannot easily bee discerned which goeth before, and produceth the other. For first there is no Christian how little soeuer instructed in the doctrine of the holy spirit, when he beholdeth and looketh into his owne estate, but presently thinketh vpon his creator, in whom he liueth, & hath his force & essence. Because it is no difficult matter to comprehend, that the gifts and graces wherein consisteth our spirituall dignitie, proceed not by any meanes from our selues, and that our forces and abilities are nothing, vnlesse they subsist & depend on God. Consequently by the good gifts & graces, which like drops one after the other distill downe from heauen vpon vs, we are ledde as it were by little riuers, to the spring and fountaine from whence they proceed. As also, that by the small portion of good things, which wee obtaine from heauen, the infinitie of those that subsist in the Deitie, are made more apparant, together with the

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accursed state and condition whereinto we fell, by the revolting and sinne of our first parents. Which compelleth vs to lift vp our eyes vnto heauen, not onely to pray for, and to implore from thence the graces which we want, as to poore, needie, and defectiue persons, but also to bee moued and stirred vp, to feare the eternall God, and thereby to learne humilitie and obedience.

In this manner, by the feeling of our owne ignorance, vanitie, want, infirmitie, and folly: and which is more, our peruersitie and corruption, wee are ledde and induced to know, that in God onely consisteth and resteth the true light of wisdom, firmnesse of vertue, and certaintie of all good things, and the puritie of Iustice and Righteousnesse. From whence wee learne, that the knowledge of our selues, not onely prouoketh and inciteth euery man to know God, but also leadeth them by the hand to finde him out. On the other side, it is euident and manifest, that man neuer attaineth to the true knowledge of himselfe, vntill with the eyes of faith, he beholds the face of God, and from beholding it, looketh into the depth of his owne heart, thereby to see and consider all the secret corners of his soule. For as pride is naturally borne with vs, and deeply rooted in our hearts: so we are still of opinion, that there is much wisdom, righteousness, and holinesse in vs, vntill by manifest and euident arguments, wee are conuincd and made to see our owne ignorance, folly, iniquitie, and vncleannesse. But wee are neuer sufficiently conuincd, if we cast our eyes onely vpon our selues, and doe not presently thinke vpon God, who is the onely rule, by the which wee must order and direct this Iudgement. For seeing that wee are wholly perswaded by a foolish and an excessive kinde of loue, (which maketh vs prone and inclined to hypocrisie) to flatter with our selues, there is nothing easier vnto vs, then to content our minds more with a simple apparance of wisdom and righteousness, then with the effect and truth of Gods most exceeding vertues. For as it is true, that while wee liue heere on earth, our spirits are inclosed, and as it were bounded within the pollutions of this vncleane world, it happeneth that those things which are not altogether so disfigured and euill as others, please and content vs as well, as if they were most pure. As an eye, which neuer saw any other colour but blacke, thinketh that which is browne, or of a meane darke colour, to bee exceeding white, because it knoweth no other. But if we once begin to eleuate our thoughts to God, to meditate and thinke with our selues, how exquisite his wisdom, righteousness, and vertue is, whereunto we should be conformable, presently, that which wee so much esteemed of, vnder a vaine apparance of our owne dignitie and worthinesse, will bee vnto vs a distastefull smell and sent of our infirmitie, folly, povertie, and miserie.

And thus you see, how mutuall a coniunction there is betweene the knowledge of God, and of our selues, and that the one dependeth vpon the other. To this end that hath reference, which Iesus Christ speaking to the Pharisees, (who thinking themselves to be wise, asked him saying, *Are wee blind also?*) said, *If you were blinde, you should not haue sinned, but now you say, wee see, therefore your sinne remaineth.* For thereby the Lord would shewe, that as the beginning of repentance, is to know our selues, and confesse our owne misery and iniquitie: so to begin truly and effectually to looke into our selues, is to acknowledge that we are ignorant and fooles. As in trueth wee know nothing, if we know not Iesus Christ, that is all whatsoever maketh vs become Christians, and consequently children of God, and heires of eternall life. This is the science of all sciences, which consisteth in two points. First, in that which Saint Paul saith, *That he determined to know nothing but Iesus Christ, and him crucified.* Secondly, in this chiefe point of wisdom, *The feare of the Lord.* For by the first, we specially obtaine two things, which make a compleat Christian. The one, that in Christ, God is manifested vnto vs, Christ beeing the inuisible image of God, in whom all things both terrestriall and celestiall were created, and by him, and for him. The other, that by his blood shed vpon the crosse, we are deliuered, that is, we haue remission of sinnes, thereby to obtaine eternall life, which (saith the Apostle) is the mystery hid since the world began, and from all ages, but now is made manifest to his Saints, to whom God would make known, what is the riches of his glorious mystery among the gentiles, which riches is Christ in you, the hope of glory, and in whom euery man may be perfect. From whence wee learne, that as he which knoweth not Iesus Christ, knoweth nothing, and is a foole and sencelesse, how wise and prudent soeuer he is touching worldly matters: so hee that truly knoweth Christ, is sufficiently wise, and well aduised, how simple soeuer hee seemeth or sheweth to be. For the second point, the kingly Prophet *Dauid*, is an infallible and true Doctour to proue

Ioh. 9.40, 41.

1. Cor. 2.2.

Prou. 1.7.

Col. 1.15, 16.

Col. 1.14, 20.

Col. 1.26,
27, 28.

Pfal. lxxi. 10.
& 119. 2.

it, saying, *The feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, blessed are they that keepe his Testimonies, and seeke him with their whole heart.* For calling the feare of God the beginning of Wisdom, hee censurcth all those to bee fooles, that submit not themselves vnder his obedience. As if hee should say, that all those that feare not to offend their Creator, and liue not according to his Lawes and Commandements, are like vnto senselesse and ignorant beastes, and know not the first grounds and rudiments of wisdom. To conclude, it is most true, that all those that know not to what end they liue heere on earth, are fooles, and altogether without vnderstanding. Now wee are borne and liue also to the end, that wee should exercise our selues in the seruice of God. Then it followeth, that there is no greater blindnesse, nor beastly dulnesse, then when we despise the counsell and instructions giuen vnto vs by God, to walke in his wayes, and according to his commandements, and apply our minds and actions cleane contrary. But if we desire to shew true wisdom, let vs feare God, let vs willingly beare his yoke, and let vs in true faith and obedience, be content and ready to be gouerned by his most holy word.

4. *The conclusion of this Chapter.*

To end this Discourse, and to beate downe and suppress all humane presumption, it shall not bee amisse to insert that which *Socrates* said of himselfe, which was, that hee knew but one thing, that is, that hee knew nothing; therein speaking better and trulier then he thought he had done. For if a man adorned and instructed with and in so many notable sciences as hee was, should bee moued neuertheless to confesse that hee knew nothing, in regard and comparison of that whereof hee was ignorant; namely, in morall and naturall sciences, although hee had applied his minde and whole study thereunto: how much more ought hee (that by reason should bee farre wiser then *Socrates*) to confesse and acknowledge that he knoweth nothing, if hee hath not the vnderstanding of diuine science requisite for the saluation of his soule? And therefore wee conclude, that it is in vaine for vs to thinke our selues to bee wise, if wee know not that all humane wisdom, science, and vnderstanding, (without the knowledge of Iesus Christ, and the science of saluation) is but meere folly. And if also wee vnderstand not that, wee are but fooles and senselesse, when wee are not well aduised Christians. But if wee will conuert and turne vnto GOD, obseruing that course of life, which wee are taught by his holy Word to hold, thereby to attaine to heaven and eternall beatitude. Then wee shall amend our liues like Christian Philosophers, according to the will and pleasure of him that created vs, thereby in the end to become heires of his kingdome and eternall glory, through his sonne Iesus Christ our Lord.

That man being a Christian, should with all his heart, affect seuen principall things, requisite and necessarie to attaine eternall life. Whereof the foure first are, the Church, the Word of God, the Sacraments, and Prayer. Chap. 9.

1. *Two Families or Cities of all men, the one Terrestriall, the other Celestially.*

AS we began our Christian Philosophie with the consideration of the diuision which the holy Scriptures setteth downe of all mankind; making two sorts of them: one, the children of God; the other, the children of the diuell. So wee must proceed in the like manner to consider of them, diuided into two Families or Cities; and as we haue already shewed, that the children of God are specially to reforme in themselves seuen great and notorious follies, so wee thinke it fit for them to consider of seuen principall things requisite and altogether necessarie to attaine eternall life. Touching the first point, Saint *Augustine* hath written 22. bookes in his most painefull and admirable worke intituled, *The Citie of God*, wherein most learnedly, hee describeth the beginning and continuance of the family of God, vntill the time that hee liued, about 400. yeares after the Church of God was planted vpon that foundation, which Iesus Christ with his Apostles

Apostles had laid. He calleth the one a Terrestriall, the other a Celestiall citie; one, the citie of the great King, and Spirituall Sion, the other the citie of the Devill, and of Babylon. According to that which Saint *Iohn* writeth in the *Apocalips*. For as *Adam* by his transgression overthrow himselfe, and all his posteritie. And *Cain* his sonne, vpon that sinne, and by the murder of his brother *Abel*, raised the family of the Devill: God by his diuine decree, hauing from all eternitie, among all the seede of mankinde, that were to bee borne vpon earth, chosen and elected those, who by speciall grace, hee would preordaine to bee one day made heires of his glory in life euermlasting: at that time also laid the foundation of his heavenly Citie in Iesus Christ (the second person in the Deitie, and the first borne of all creatures) by the promise of his comming in the flesh. Those are the children of God, among whom he dwelleth by his spirit, as long as they liue in the world, enriching them with his most precious gifts, as much as hee thinketh to bee expedient for them to walke in the wayes of his heavenly kingdome. To the which end, and for the same purpose, hee worketh so, that by beleueing in the holy Scriptures, the Saviour of the world is giuen vnto them, as hee himselfe, by the preaching of his holy word, begetteth that faith in them, and by degrees increaseth the same, by such meanes as it hath pleased him to ordaine for that holy ministrie.

Aug. Ciuit.
De li 11 c. 1.
& li. 17. c. 16.
Apoc. 17. 21.

Col. 1. 15.
Gen. 3. 15.

2. *Seven principall things necessary to attaine to eternall life, The first is, the holy Church, whereof all the children of God ought to bee members.*

Wee say, that a Christian ought withall his heart to affect seven principall things, as beeing most necessary and requisite meanes to obtaine eternall life. Which are, the Church, the Word of God, the Sacraments, Prayer, reading of the holy Scriptures, Charitie, and Almes. Touching the first of these exquisite things, euery man knoweth, that wee all acknowledge one holy and Catholique Church, to the which God hath committed (as a sacred gage or pledge) all his rich treasures, to distribute them among vs for our saluations. For hee will that in the bosome or lappe thereof, and as by a good mother, his children should bee gathered together, nourished, and entertained, vntill they become perfect men in Iesus Christ, when by his grace they shall haue attained vnto the last end and purpose of faith, and receiued the crowne of glory. Whereby it is easie to bee vnderstood, that there is no greater euill in the world, then not to be of the Church, and consequently that wee ought specially to bee carefull to conioyne our selues therewith, and to be true members thereof.

The titles which the holy Ghost giueth her, when he calleth her the kingdome of God, the house of God, the pillar and proppe of trueth, and the mother of the children of God: evidently and clearly shew vnto vs, how great and important a duetie (for the glorie of God, and the salvation of man) it is in vs to bee conioyned and vnited to the true Church. As also when shee is called the beautifull Bride, or Spouse without spot, the faithfull Citie, the Citie of Righteousnesse, the Temple of God, the Congregation of Saints, the bodie of Christ. For thereby wee are evidently taught, that as the members of the Church, are acknowledged to bee holy, and to bee a part of the bodie of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God: So they that are neither in the Church, nor of the Church, neither yet holy, nor members of Christ, necessarily are of the family of Sathan, (which the holy Scripture calles the *uncleane Spirit*, and are part of his body. And therefore all the faithfull beleue (and it is most true) that true light, saluation, and life, are resident in the Church of GOD, and out of it darkenesse, destruction, and death. We know that the controuersie at this day is greater then ever it was, touching this point of the Church. But it is not our intent heerein to harpe vpon that string, neither to decide or dispute of any other question touching Christianitie, It shall bee the subiect of a greater matter of Diuinitie, when wee are once well formed and grounded in godlinesse and vertue, by this our Christian Philosophie, grounded vpon certaine and generall rules, farre from any cause of disputation. It shall suffice heerein to consider the Church as it is one, holy, and Catholike: one, because in vnitie of faith and charitie, it comprehendeth all the children of God, that are, that haue beene, and that euer shall be: holy, because in it, God iustificeth and cleanseth from sinne, those whom hee hath chosen in Christ, to make his mercy and glory shine and appeare in them:

Math. 13. 24.
1. Tim. 3. 15.
Gal. 4. 26.

Cant. 4. 6.
16. 1. 21.
Ephes. 4. 12.

Math. 12. 43

Catholike, because it is spread and disperfed abroad, throughout the vniuerfal world, vnder one head Iefus Chrift. To this Church we are all bound to vnite our felues, thereby to liue happily both in earth and in heauen.

3. *The word of God is the first and fure meanes to vnite man to the Church.*

Secondly, wee are singularly to confider the meanes ordained for vs by God, to ioyne and vnite our felues to his Church; which wee learne evidently and most clearely out of the holy Scriptures in diuers notable places, where it is said, That God hath placed in his house, some to bee Apostles, some Prophets, some Euangeliftes, some Pastours, and some Teachers, for the repairing of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministerie, and for the edification of the body of Chrift. As they are all sent to preach the Gospel to euery creature, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, & the holy Ghost. For as the Lord himselfe witnesseth, That this is eternall life, to know thee to be the onely very God, and whom thou hast sent Iefus Chrift; to know him I say, that is, to honour him as wee ought to doe; that hee may bee our Master and our Father, and that wee may bee his children, seruants, and people, dedicated to his glory: and to teach and shew vs the way to this felicitie, hee hath left vs his holy word, which heere on earth is vnto vs as a gate, and entry to goe into the kingdome of heauen. Therefore he saith, *My sheepe heare my voyce, and I know them, and they follow mee.* Againe, *Hee that is of God, beareth the words of God.* And the holy Ghost throughout the whole Scriptures, noteth the end and true vse of the preaching of this word, by the title which he attributeth thereunto; calling it the ministry of reconciliation, the Gospel of peace, the word of grace, the word of saluation, and the word of eternall life: Whereby wee learne, that those are Gods sheepe, Gods children, and members of the Church, that are reconciled to God, that haue peace of conscience, that feele the grace and fauour of God in their soules, and that hope for saluation, and life eternall, through Iesus Chrift, according to the certaine testimonies of his holy Gospel. Wee cannot bee saved, vnlesse wee bee illuminated with the heavenly light, which leadeth vs to life eternall. And wherethe Lord calleth his Apostles the light of the world: and Saint Paul saith, that God sent him to be a light, and saluation to the Gentiles, that is also vnderstood by all those that are called to announce and preach the same doctrine. For it is not in regard of their persons, but of the word and Gospel which they preach, that they are called lights: and therefore, he that wil clearely see and behold the way to heauen, ought carefully to hearken vnto, and to heare those, whose preaching is the shining light vnto man, that hee may not erre nor wander out of the heavenly way.

Againe, the Lord commandeth Saint Peter to feede his Lambes. And the blessed Apostle exhorteth his companions in the holy ministrie to doe the like: as Saint Paul also speaking to the Ministers of Ephesus, sheweth them, that the holy Ghost had placed them in that vocation, to feed the Church of God. Then whosoever desireth to haue fit nourishment for his soule, and not let it languish, want, and finally die: ought to labour to that ende, that it may bee fed, and nourished by the Word of God, and by the preaching thereof. This preaching is called, *the key of the kingdome of heauen.* Whereby wee are taught, that as by the holy ministrie, heauen is opened vnto those, that heare and beleeue the Gospel preached: so they that haue no care, nor make no conscience to heare it, are excluded from thence. For it is in the Church onely, that the Word is faithfully and purely preached. Therefore all the daies of our liues, wee ought to be carefull to bee taught and instructed therein, and by that meanes to vnite our felues more and more in the family of our mother the Church, and spouse of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Chrift. Besides this, let vs be warie, not onceto imagine, or to thinke, that being partly instructed, wee neede no more heare the Word preached. For wee must daily and alwaies be Disciples of Iesus Chrift, in the Schoole of his Church, vnder the ministrie of the Pastors which hee sendeth vs. *Those that know most, know but in part* (as Saint Paul saith) *and the preaching of the Gospell is ordained to profit vs, untill that wee become perfect men.* And that wee shall haue attained vnto the measure of the age of the fulnesse of Chrift: which perfection cannot obtaine the full ende and purpose thereof, but onely after death.

4 The Sacraments and publike praier, are other true and sure meanes to vnite vs to the Church.

Consequently for an other meanes, neerer to vnite vs to the Church, we haue the holy Sacraments, ordained and appointed therein, by our Lord Iesus Christ; for by them in the family of Christ, wee receiue the seales and certaine gages of our spirituall regeneration, and in all truth and vertue communicate all the good things of God, and the graces, which our great Sauour brought from heauen, to make vs obtaine saluation and eternall life. If wee were of a spirituall nature, like vnto the Angels, wee could onely with the Spirit contemplate and beholde G O D, and all his graces, and so bee made happie. But because wee are inueloped and couered with our grosse and terrestriall bodies, it is necessarie that God should vse among vs, sacred and visible signes, thereby to represent vnto vs, those spirituall and visible things, which by the vertue of his spirit, he accomplisheth in vs, for otherwise wee could not comprehend them: as also that it is expedient for vs, that all our senses should be exercised by exteriour testimonies, in the apprehension and meditation of the diuine promises, not onely to carry and bring vs wholly to the glory of our creatour and redeemer, but also to make vs more certaine, and fully satisfied in our consciences, of the mercy & grace of God towards vs. For although in truth, the holy Ghost is he onely that can touch and mooue our hearts, illuminate our vnderstandings, and assure our mindes, in such manner that it may be iudged to be his worke onely; therby to yeeld thanks & praise vnto God. Neuertheles, his maiesty aideth himself with the Sacraments, as inferiour instruments to perfect his worke in vs, as he thinketh good, and as it hath pleased him to ordaine (both in his holy Gospell and also in the ancient law) for the ease and solace of our infirmities. Wherefore, seeing that Iesus Christ, hath introduced those holy mysteries in his Church, to be celebrated in memory of him, and in regard of the necessity that we haue of them, we must be very carefull to communicate the same with deuotion and reuerence, according to the accustomed manner vsed among all true and faithfull Christians. Whereunto we must referre that which the Scripture saith, (*know you not that al we which haue bin baptised into Iesus Christ, haue bin baptised into his death? we are buried with him by baptisme into his death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, so the glory of the Father, so we also should walke in newnes of life.*) Againe, for ye are all the sonnes of God by faith in Iesus Christ, for all ye that are baptized in Christ haue put on Christ. There is neither Iew nor Grecian, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for you are all one in Iesus Christ; and if you be Christs, then you are Abrahams seed, and heires by promise. Againe, this sacred signe being confirmed vnto vs, by inuocation of the name of the Lord, it is a certain assurance vnto vs, that our sinnes are washed away, and that we are saued by his mercy, and the renewing of the holy Ghost. Againe, the cup of blessing, which we blesse, is it not the Communion of the blood of Christ? the bread which we breake, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ? take, eate, this is my body which is broken for you doe this in remembrance of me. This cuppe is the new testament in my blood, this doe as oft as you drink it in remembrance of me. For as often as you shall eate this bread and drinke this cup, you shew the Lords death till he comes. Againe except you eate the flesh of the sonne of man, & drinke his blood, you haue no life in you. Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternall life, and I will raise him vp at the latter day. For my flesh is meate indeed, and my blood drinke indeed; be that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.

Rem. 6. 3. 4.

Gal. 3. 26.

Acts 22. 16.

Tit. 3. 4. 5.

1. Cor 10. 6.

1 Cor 11. 24.

Ioh. 6. 53. 54.

Gen. 12. 8.

2. Tim. 2. 19

Psal. 14. 4.

Esay 56. 7.

Matt. 21. 13

Psal. 65. 2.

Fourthly, wee account and esteeme the inuocation of the name of God, according to the forme vsed in the Church, to bee an other holy meanes to vnite and hold vs firmly in the same. For seeing that by prayer, all the seruice of God is oftentimes signified in the holy Scriptures, and that his seruants and children are ordinarily noted and knowen by this testimony, that they inuoked the name of the Lord, it appeareth evidently, that those which despise the order established in his Church, to pray and to yeeld publike thanks vnto him; cut themselves off from the number of his children and seruants. Our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ calleth the Temple, the house of prayer: thereby shewing vs manifestly, that the principall part of the seruice that God requireth at our handes, is, that wee should assemble together to call vpon his Name. *Oh Lord, saith David, praise waiteth for thee in Zion; and vnto thee shall the vowes be performed.* By those words signifying, that the prayers

of the Church are so certainly heard, that God which vnderstandeth them, will, that with supplications, thanksgiuings shall bee ioyned with full assurance of faith, to feele the fruites of the prayer presented vnto him in the Congregation of his people. Therefore when Christians are assembled together, and with full consent of heart and spirit, accompany the prayers which the minister pronounceth, as the mouth of the Church, euery faithfull Christian may be fully assured that such prayers pierce the heauens, and that God is moued to heare them, not that he is subiect to any passiō, (as we are) to be moued at our words or supplications, but we must alwaies vse that manner of application, when we speake of his Deity, which hauing no cause, and beeing infinite, and onely so hath all his effects and workes so compassed in regard of vs, that hauing no proportion with his diuine and eternall essence, we must speake like men. Men cannot speake in better manner, for that is all that they can doe. Angels may possibly say more, and in better sort, but let them speake as well as they can, things finite cannot declare, comprehend, nor vnderstand, what belongeth to the infinite. Let vs content our selues, here to admire and praise his goodnes, in that it pleaseth him to assure vs by his word, that by the feeling that we haue of our owne afflictions, he assureth vs of his mercy, and great loue and charity towards vs. Therefore in all times and ages, all people and nations of the world, (both Christians and Idolaters,) assembled together, and in their assemblies offered sacrifices, and made publike prayers. This knowledg being imprinted in the hearts of al men, that haue any religion in them, that they must assemble together, to call vpon the name of the Lord, and to serue him, and that it is an honor which he requireth at the hands of euery man, and the meanes for vs to obtaine his eternall blessings.

5. Conclusion of this Chapter.

Matth. 13:44. To conclude this point, seeing the Church is the kingdome of God, and *That it is likened to a precious pearle, and to a rich treasure hidden in the fields, which whosoener findeth, he hideth it, and for ioy thereof selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field.* Let vs esteeme nothing more deare, nor more precious, then to be in his Church, all the daies of our life. Saying with Psal. 84:1, 2. *David, Oh Lord of Hosts, how amiable are thy Tabernacles, my soule longeth, yea, and fainteth for the courts of the Lord, for my heart and flesh reioice in the living God, blessed are they that dwell in thy house they will praise thee vncessantly. For a day in thy house is better then a thousand elsewhere. I had rather bee a doore keeper in the house of my God, then to dwell in the tabernacle of wickednesse.* For if *Dan* a man and a Prophet, so excellently endued with faith and godlinesse, herein plainly confessed, and so often in many other places also, the necessity that hee had to be in the Church of God, feeling himselfe in a manner rauished with an ardent desire to enioy so great a benefit: what ought wee to acknowledge and feele: wee I say, that are so ignorant, so weake, and so corrupt, in the middle of an infinite number of dangers and assaults, which wee daily incurre and sustaine in this world? And seeing that this Church cannot bee without her misteries, order, and pollicie, and that the Word of God, and the holy doctrine thereof, is as the soule of the Church, and the Sacraments and prayers, the true and quickning foode, and as it were the sinewes of the whole body of Christ to mainetaine the same; Let vs be carefull holily and orderly to obserue all the exercises of piety, and Christian discipline established in the Church.

That it is the duty of a Christian, not to neglect the vse of particular prayers, nor the reading of the holy Scriptures, that hee may know how to practise the doctrine thereof. Chap. 10.

1. The assistance of God is necessarie for all men, and consequently Prayer.

IF wee had a true feeling knowledge of our owne estate and condition, and of the force and efficacie of praier, wee should neede no aduise nor aduertisement to pray often vnto God, to present our vows vnto him, to beseech him to inspire vs with, and to encrease in vs, the vnderstanding of the truth, to augment faith, charity, patience, humility, and other his

his good graces an spirituall gifts in vs, to fortifie and strengthen vs against the temptations and assaults of the world, the flesh and the diuell, to giue vs all things necessary for this life, to preserue vs from so many dangers, wherewith we are environed: and especially and aboue al things, to giue vs his holy spirit, to guide & conduct vs holily and vprightly while we liue here on earth. He that feeleth not what need hee hath of such graces and giftes of God, and consequently to pray vnto God, for the obtaining thereof, is altogether senseles & misadvised. For as we haue noted in the precedent chapter, how much publike praiers, & preaching of the word of God, are necessary and profitable for vs in the Church, to vnite vs more and more vnto the same, and consequently to Iesus Christ, and by him to God: so we must vnderstand, that to obtaine the same, the vse of particular, and domesticall pray-ers, and the priuate reading of the holy Scriptures, also do serue, and are of great vse vnto vs to giue vs the vnderstanding of that holy writ, and to practise the diuine doctrine thereof. First, because euery man in his vocation hath great need of the assistance and fauor of God; therefore it followeth, that he ought to pray vnto him, for without his grace which by prayer wee obtaine, all that wee doe is but meere folly, and vanity. But when wee pray vnto God, remembering his promises and the experience of his grace and fauour, and that wee beseech him to guide and conduct vs, as a father doth his children: it is a good, and an assured meanes for vs to beleue, that all whatsoever shall happen vnto vs, in what estate and condition soeuer we be, is by the means and motion of his diuine prouidence, and that it is her will and pleasure, which cannot but bee good towards vs. Therefore not onely euery master & ruler of a house, should euery euening and morning pray vnto God, with his household, but also particularly call vpon him, and euery one in his vocation should doe the like, to the ende that fathers and mothers may obtain grace of God, to teach & conduct their children wel: magistrates and pastors to execute their charges and offices holily and vprightly: marchants & artificers to exercise & vse their arts & trafficks honestly: and euery one in general is to pray, that God will blesse the in their conditions, estates, works, and labors: & besides we may haue diuers persos of our acquaintance and kindred, whose estates may be such that they shall need our prayer vnto God for them. To conclude, there is not any Christian whatsoever, that after he shall haue prayed particularly vnto the Lord, as time, place, persons and necessity requireth, but hath neede daily to practise that which Iesus Christ teacheth vs, saying, you shall pray thus, *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.* For the zeale that we ought to haue to the glory of God, the charity which we should shew towards our neighbours, and the good that we wish vnto our selues, moueth vs euery day to make this prayer vnto God; and so much the carefulier and earnestlier, as saying it from the mouth of Iesus Christ, that made it: we are assured to be heard, and consequently to serue for the advancement of the kingdome of God, to the good and saluation of our brethren, and for our owne benefit.

Mat. 6.
Luk. 11.

2. Examples and considerable aduertisements touching Prayer.

It is certaine, that the most excellent seruants of God, addicted themselves most vnto priuate, and particular praiers. We reade of *Moses*, that He continued 40. daies and 40. nights prostrate on the ground before the face of God, that his prayer for the people might be heard. And *Samuel* protests saying, *God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, & cease praying for you.* But specially *Dauid* in his diuine canticles, sheweth that he was in a maner tied vnto prayers by ordinary exercise, saying to that purpose, *I prevented the morning light,* and prayed, for I waited on thy word, mine eies preuent the night watches, to meditate on thy word. And I cried vnto the Lord and prayed vnto him early in the morning. *Cornelius* the Centurian prayed earnestly vnto God, and received this answer of the Angell of the Lord, saying: *Thy prayers and thine almes are come up into remembrance before God.* And *Saint Paul* in diuers of his epistles saith, that he prayed vnto God incessantly night and day, for the Church, and ceased not to giue thanks for them, making mention of them in his praiers, and exhorteth al the faithfull by his example to praie without ceasing, and to perseuere in praier, watching in the same, with thanksgiuing. To moue vs to follow this example, let vs speciallie note the words of Iesus Christ, when thou praiest (saith he) enter into thy chamber, and when thou hast shutte the doore, praie vnto thy Father which is in secret, and thy father which is in secret shall reward thee openlie. And although this exhortation speciallie tendeth, to correct the hypo-

Deut. 9. 18. 19
1. Sam. 12. 23.
Psal. 119. 147
& 88. 14.

Acts. 10. 4

Phil. 1. 4.

Eph. 1. 16.

Col. 1. 19.

1. Thel. 1. 3.

& 7. 5.

Col. 4. 2.

Math. 6. 6.

crisies

Gen. 24. 63.
Acts 10. 9.
Mark. 6. 46.
& 1. 35.
Luke 6. 12.

Psal. 55. 17.

Dan. 6. 10.

crise of those, that make open shewes and boastings of their deuotions, the Lord neuerthelesse by that doctrine giueth vs a generall instruction (and that very profitable) to exercise our selues in praier, not onely publikely, but also priuately, withdrawing our selues into our Chambers to pray, with assurance in his promise, that it shall not bee done without profit. And so wee reade of *Isaac*, that hee went out of his house into the fields, to meditate and pray vnto God. And Saint *Peter* withdrew himselfe apart, vpon the top of the house (for the roofes of the Iewes houses were flat) to pray vnto God. And Iesus Christ himselfe went oftentimes aside to pray. In like manner wee shall not doe amisse, If according to his example, wee withdraw our selues apart, so much the freelier and quietlier without trouble or disturbance, to lift vp our hearts vnto God, presenting vnto him the pleasing sacrifice of our lips. And because wee are not willingly enclined thereunto, but rather carelessse and negligent in such spirituall exercises, wee shall doe the duties of faithfull Christians, when wee accustome our selues to pray certaine houres in the day, not superstitiously, but to helpe our infirmities and slackenesse; for otherwise it may bee, wee would oftentimes passe the day ouer without praying. *Dauid* so much exercised in Spirituall workes, practised this instruction, as hee sheweth, saying, *That hee called vpon the Lord, in the euening, in the morning, and at noone time.* And it is written of *Daniel*, *That three times every day hee entred into his chamber to pray vnto God.*

3. *The reading of the Word of God, recommended by authoritie, and which way a man may profit thereby.*

Col. 3. 16.

2. Pet. 2. 19.

Psal. 119. 105
Eph. 6. 17.

Math. 4. 4. 7.
10.
Rom. 15. 4.

1. Tim. 3. 16. 17

Acts 17. 11.

Acts 8. 28.

Touching the reading of the word of God, if we doe not exercise our selues therein carefully and diligently, it is as much as in vs lieth to contemne that which he often commandeth vs to doe, throughout the whole Scriptures. For Saint *Paul* writing to the Colossians, saith thus, (*Let the word of God dwell in you plenteously in all wisdom, teaching and admonishing your owne selues*) he speaketh to all the congregation of that Church, and desireth that the doctrine of the Gospell should bee so common and familiar among them, that it might in a manner be rooted in their minds, that thereby they themselves might not onely be instructed, but others also profite by them. Saint *Peter* likewise writeth to all the faithfull Iewes and commendeth them, because they took heed, to the word and doctrine of the Prophets as vnto a light that shineth in a darke place. Which is as much, as if he exhorted vs together with them, to take good heed vnto those sacred oracles, and to make them familiar & common vnto, and among vs, that by them we may be directed to the light of life. As *Dauid* also saith. *That the word of God was a lanthorne to his feete, and a light vnto his pathes.* Againe the Apostle calleth the word of God, the sword of the spirit, wherewith he would haue all the faithfull to be armed, to fight against *Sathan*, which they could not doe, if they did not diligently and oftentimes reade the holy Scriptures, by the example of Iesus Christ, to withstand and repulse the temptations of the Diuell, saying (*It is written, it is written.*) And further if Saint *Paul* saith, whatsoeuer things are written aforetime, are writtē for our learning that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might haue hope, it would bee a meanes to make Gods providence vnprofitable vnto vs, that hath given vs, and at all times miraculously preferred the same registers of his word, if wee should not carefullie and diligently reade them, thereby to be comforted and fortified in faith and hope of that, which therein is revealed vnto vs in Christ, for our saluation. Let vs hereunto adde, that if all the Scriptures (as the same Apostle witnesseth are given by inspiration of God, & are profitable to teach, to conuince, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be absolute, being made perfect vnto all good workes. It followeth from thence, that wee taught diligently to exercise our selues in the reading and meditation of those sacred registers of the holy Ghost, from them to gather so excellent and notable fruits. All men are flatterers, and we are all blinde in our owne conceits and imaginations, and suffer our selues naturally to be led away by them. Therefore it is necessary for vs, oftentimes to heare God speake vnto vs, by his Prophets and Apostles, which instruct, reprove, correct, and exhort vs to doe our duties. Saint *Luke* much commendeth the *Bereans*, because they searched the Scriptures daily, to know whether that which Saint *Paul* preached vnto them, was therein contained, that they might beleue, and so confirme themselves in Christian faith. The Eunuche of *Candaces* Queene of *Ethiopia*, riding in a Chariot tooke time to reade the Prophecie of *Esay*. Whereby we are to consider that which is written vpon the same

same place by Saint *Chrysostome*, speaking against those that excuse themselves, for not reading the holy Scriptures, alledging them to be difficult, and obscure, saying remember the *Ethiopian Eunuch*, who notwithstanding that he was a barbarian, hindered by innumerable affaires, and busines of the world, and vnderstood not what he reade, would not trauell by the way, without reading the Scriptures; then how much lesse did he neglect the same when he was at home in his house? And if he read them when he did not vnderstand them, how much the rather and the sooner did he reade them after hee had beene instructed therein? And God seeing his diligence, and great zeale, sent *Phillip* vnto him to teach him. God will not dislike nor dispise our affection and desire to profite in his holy word, but to the contrary often reading the same, he will make vs feeble and perceiue the truth of this promise, which is (that they shall all be taught of God) let vs be ashamed, (saith he in another place,) that a woman hauing had five husbands, and she a Samaritane, was so diligent and attentiu to learne, that neither the time nor her busines could cause her to leaue Christ, by whom she desired to be taught: and that we being Christians, seek not, neither yet enquire after any thing that concerneth our instructions in diuine things. Who is he, that being at home in his house, doth any thing worthy of the name of a Christian? Doe any of vs employ our time to inquire of, and seeke to vnderstand the Scriptures: to the contrary we shall sooner see a paire of tables, or a chesse bord lie before many men to play thereon, but the bible little or neuer in their hands, to reade therein. And yet we must know that the holy Scriptures are giuen vnto vs, to read and to imprint them in our hearts. The bookes of the Prophets and Apostles (saith he in another place) are the artificiall instruments of Christians, to make them obtaine saluation, and life eternall. And vpon these words of the Apostle (let the word of God dwell in you plentifully in all wisdom) hee saith, ye that liue heere on earth, hauing wiues and children harken and vnderstand, how Saint *Paul* specially commandeth you to reade the holy Scriptures, and not slightly nor carelessly, but continually and diligently: buy the bible, which is the cure of the Soule, therein to learne wholesome and good instruction, for ignorance of the holy Scriptures, is the cause of all euill. Saint *Hierom* doth not exempt young children from reading of the Scriptures. When a yong girle (saith he) is seuen yeeres old, and beginneth to be shamefast, to know what she should not speake, and to doubt what she should say, let her learne the Psalter by hart, and till shee cometh to twelue yeeres of age, let her make the booke of *Salomon*, the new Testament and the writings of the Prophets a Treasure in her hart. Againe, let her loue those diuine bookes in stead of precious stones, and costly apparel, and let not the gilded and faire outside of those bookes please her better then the true and notable doctrine of faith contained in them: let her first learne by the Psalmes of *Dauid*, to abandon and forsake the vanities of the world, let her be taught and instructed to liue vertuously, out of the Proverbs of *Salomon*, let her haue the Gospell alwaies by her, and neuer lay it out of her hands: let her with all her heart study the acts and the epistles of the Apostles: and when she shall haue enriched her soule with such treasures, let her learne the doctrine of the Prophets, and the bookes of *Moses*: & lastly the canticle of canticles: for if she should read them at the first, she might be hurt in her mind, by not vnderstanding those holy songs, of spirituall marriage, set downe vnder carnall words.

This discourse of Saint *Hierome*, ought at this day, not onely to make maides and young people ashamed, but men also, yea and such men as thinke themselves most lofty and great personages, though otherwise altogether ignorant of the bookes of the holy Scriptures: Some of them neuer seeing the Bible but on the outside; others contenting themselves slenderly to open it once a weeke, or at the most once a day, as it were going by, and it sufficeth them to haue some small beginning in Christian instructions, how obscure and meane soeuer it bee; not once remembring, that it is our duties as long as wee liue, to encrease more and more in the knowledge of the mysteries of our saluation: As without doubt the frequent and often reading of the holy Word of God, imparteth vnto vs that notable benefit. For by often hearing Christ speak vnto vs, by little and little we learne to vnderstand the language of the holy Ghost. And as there are diuers odoriferous drugs, which the more you rub them, the sweeter sauer they yeeld; so the more we search, reade and handle the holy Scriptures, so much the more they giue vs the knowledge and feeling of the Treasures, and delightfull fruits, which they keepe and closely hold in their sacred oracles. And if some men reape no profite by reading them, let them accuse and blame their owne default; in that they do not prepare themselves as they ought, to heare God speak

by

Est. 4. 3.
Iohn 6. 45.
Christ hom. 3.
chap. 40. in
Iohn.
Ier. 4.

Sermon 3. of
Lazarus.

Vpon the
Epist. to Col.
Hom. 9.
Hierom ad
Gaudent.

Id. ad. Lat.

them vnto vs: Such are all they that open the Bible, as if they held a prophane booke in their hands, are not attentiueto that which is written therein, and which are not mouued with an ardent desire to profite thereby, for the glory of God, their owne saluation, and the amendment of their liues: And to be short, that pray not vnto God, to giue them his holy spirit, to vnderstand his will, and the truth thereof, that they might walke in the same, and liue accordingly here on earth. For with the reading of those holy booke, we must ioine piety, the feare of God, and a true intent & affection to amend our liues. And doing so, we may assure our selues, to obtaine that which is written in the Psalmes. *That God reuealeth his secrets to them that feare and honour him, and giueth them the knowledge of his covenant.* To them (I say) that aske him the Spirit of Wisedome, thereby to vnderstand the mysteries of his holy word.

Psal. 25. 14.
Psal. 119.

4. Conclusion of this Chapter.

To conclude we must amend our negligence and carelesnes, in not imploying our time in priuate and particular prayers, from hence forth so addicting our hearts and earnest zeales thereunto, that watching and praying vnto God continually, our requests may be shewed vnto him in prayers and supplications, with thanksgiving, (as Saint Paul saith.) And to accomplish that aduertisement with Saint Peter giueth vs, to be alwaies ready to giue an answer to every man that asketh vs a reason of the hope that is in vs, with meeknes and reuerence, hauing a good conscience: let vs be carefull and diligent to reade, and often to meditate the word of God, that with Saint Augustine we may say: It is my delight and pleasure oh Lord to heare speaking of thee, to talke of thee, to write of thee, and to imprint in my hart that which I reade of thee. Therefore I enter into the delightful meadows of the holy Scriptures, therein I finde the faire Greene herbes of sacred sentences, which I eate and chaw, and gather and lay vp in the closet of my memory, whereby we are to note that the meaning of all this is, to direct our liues according to the will and commandements of God, and by that meanes to put in effect and practise, not onely that which wee shall reape out of the sacred vergiers of his holy word, but also what graces and blessings soeuer wee shall obtaine of him by our prayers. Wherein consisteth the full height of our good and perfection, and by this meanes the Soule vniteth it selfe with God, as to her last end, renouncing her owne will to fulfill the will of her creatour, and to doe as he commandeth. Otherwise, let vs not esteeme our selues to be Christians and children of God, to learne the knowledge of him, if we do not the workes that belong thereunto. Blessed are they (saith Iesus Christ) that heare the word of God and keepe it. And Saint Paul sayth, *The bearers of the law are not righteous before God, but the doers of the law shall be iustified.* And Saint Iames, *bee you doers of the word, and not bearers onely, deceiuing your owne selues, for as a sunne without light, is but the picture of the sunne, a coale without fire, is a dead coale, and a body without motion liueth not, so (as Saint Iames saith) faith without workes is dead.* And to end with the words of the Apostle, *(But you haue not so learned Christ, if so be you haue heard him, and haue bin taught by him, as the truth is in Iesus, that is, that you cast off (concerning the conuersation in times past) that old man, which is corrupted through the decciuable lusts, and be renewed in the Spirit of your mindes, and put on the new man, which after God, is created vnto righteousness and true holynes.)* Let vs alwaies seeke to liue so, that at the last we may bee without reproofe, spotte, wrinkle, or blame, and that the image of God may bee replcate and shine in vs.

Luke 21. 30.
Phil. 4. 6.
1. Peter 3. 15.

Aug. cap. 21.
meditat.

Luk. 11. 28.
Ro. n. 2. 13.
Iam. 1. 22.
Iam. 2. 17.

Eph. 4. 20, 21.

That a Christian ought with an ardent zeale to embrace charity, and be carefull to giue almes, and to helpe the poore. Chap. 11.

1. Man by nature hath a sinnefull body, and in many good things is inferior vnto beasts.

If we desire to know what man became by the fall and transgression of Adam, it is the very same that Saint Paul (following the Prophet David,) setteth downe, saying. *That there*

is no man iust, no not one, none that understandeth, none that seeketh God, none that doth
 Good, Their throte is an open Sepulchre, deceit is in their tongues : The venim of Aspice is vn-
 der their lippes : Their mouthes are full of cursings and bitterness ; destruction and miserie is in
 their waies ; They haue not knowne the way of peace, and the feare of the Lord is not before their
 eies. It is a wonderfull corruption, that diuers bealls surpasse man in many vertues, as the
 Doue in simplicitie, the Ante in diligence and industrie, the Storke in humanity, the
 Dogge in loue and fidelitie, the Oxe and the Ass in memory, and acknowledging of
 benefits, the Lambe in meekenesse, the Lion in magnanimitie, the Cocke in watchful-
 nesse and liberalitie, the Serpent in wisdom, and all of them in sobrietie and content-
 ment. But which is woorse, touching vice, man surpasseth all bealls ; being more traites-
 rous and cruell then a Woolfe, craftier then a Fox, prowder then a Peacocke, more volup-
 tuous and vnthankfull then a Hogge, and more dangerous then an Aspice. And to
 fill vp the measure of his euils, Thow wicked inclinations which are alone, and particu-
 larly in diuers bealls, are oftentimes found to bee altogether (or at the least a great part
 of them) in one man. For there are many men couetous, proud, subtil, cruell enui-
 ous, vnthankfull, and theeuers all at one time : and which is more, If the heart of man
 bee destitute of the Grace of G O D, hee is the most dangerous and venomous beast in
 the world, and the receptacle of all disordered desires. And for that many members
 vnited together make a body, the Apostle calleth the body of sinne, a heape of sinnes,
 euery vice being as it were a member of that body.

Rom. 8. 10.
 Plal. 14. 1.
 & 54. 4.

Rom. 6. 6.

Rom. 6. 19.

& 8. 13.

Col. 3. 4.

Matth. 16. 24.

By which assertion wee may well say, that as in the body of a sheepe, all the parts are
 good and profitable ; as the flesh to eate, the wooll to make cloth, the guts to make strings
 for muscull Instruments, and so of all the rest : in man it is cleane contrary, for all things
 in him are naught, and serue to doe euill, his reason to deceive, his libertie to disordered
 lust, his eies to see and behold vanitie, his heart to couet the same, his hands to fight and
 sleale, his feete to runne vnto euill, and his tongue to slauder, lye, and blaspheme : In such
 manner, that there is no member in man, that serueth not for a instrument of some iniqui-
 tie. (As S. Paul saith) and for that cause hee admonisheth vs, not to mortifie two or three
 members of this body of sinne, but the whole body, and so to put off the whole man :
 which Iesus Christ calleth the forsaking of our selues.

2. The loue of God, and of righteousness, conioyned by the band of Charitie, are
 the fountaine of all good things.

Heerein consisteth the true subiect of our Christian Phylosophie, that is, that renoun-
 cing and forsaking our naturall corruption, wee endeavour to attaine vnto the end of our
 Regeneration in Christ by his holy Spirit, in such manner that in our life there may bee a
 sweete melodie and accord, betweene the charitie and righteousness of God, and our loue
 and obedience. By this meanes ratifying and confirming the adoption, whereby he hath
 accepted of vs to bee his children ; for so the Image of God shall be repayred and renewed
 in vs, when wee amend and conuert vnto him, to loue and feare him, and to walke in new-
 nesse of life, to his glorie, and for our owne saluation. And as the Phylosophers haue cer-
 taine ends and purposes of honestie and vprightnesse, whereunto they leade and direct all
 perticular offices, and actions of vertue, that man ought to frame himselfe vnto : so the
 holy Scriptures, in that respect haue their manner of working, much better, and
 more certaine then all humane wisdom, and consisteth in two parts. The one to imprint
 in our hearts the loue of God, and of all righteousness, from the which by our naturall cor-
 ruption we are vtterly fallen. The other to giue and prescribe vnto vs a certaine rule, which
 suffereth vs not to erre and wander here and there, nor to take a wrong course for the dire-
 ction of our liues, to liue holily and vprightly.

Touching the first point, which in this place is the subiect of our argument. The holy
 Scriptures haue many excellent, good and strong reasons to induce and incline our hearts
 to charity, & consequently to the loue of that which is good, they being things in such man-
 ner conioined, that the one is the ground and spring of the other. For charitie is the one-
 ly true cause and motion of all good workes, which in truth, is the proper effect of chari-
 tie ; which in it hath two respects : the first towards God, according to that which we are
 commanded by Iesus Christ to doe, for the accomplishing of the Lawe : that is, To loue

Mat. 22. 37.

Ioh. 4. 7. 8.

God withall our hearts, with all our soules, and with all our strengths, and our neighbour as our selues: to loue God I say for his owne sake, and our neighbour for the loue of God. To make vs bend all our actions to attaine to this perfection, the holy Scriptures could not lay a better foundation, then to tell vs, that Charity proceedeth from God, that hee that loueth is borne of God, and knoweth God, and that hee that loueth not, knoweth not God, for God is charity. For by this wee learne that God is the fountaine and spring of loue, and that his affection runneth into and spreadeth it selfe abroad in those parts of man, wherein the true knowledge of the Deity dwelleth.

Eph. 2. 4.

Rom. 5. 8.

Ioh. 3. 16.

1. Iohn 4. 19.

In such manner that as the true apprehension of God, necessarily ingendreth in vs the loue of God; so consequently it followeth, that where there is no charity, there is no true knowledge of God. And therefore we may well say, that we loue God, according to the knowledge that wee haue of him, and of his benefits towards vs. As wee are taught that God loued vs, at such time as wee were his enemies, and dead by sinne, yea, and loued vs in such manner, that hee gaue his onely begotten Sonne, that whosoever belieueth in him should not perish, but haue life euerlasting. Which maketh vs loue him: (as Saint Iohn saith,) *That wee loue God, because hee first loued vs.* And so, for that the more hee exhorteth vs to liue vprightly and holily; so much the more cause haue wee, to assure and comfort our selues in the loue which hee beareth vnto vs. For the interieur feeling of our loue towards God, is a certaine testimony vnto vs, that he loueth vs. As Iesus Christ by the signes of loue of the sinnefull woman, weeping at his feete, and washing them with her teares, shewed the Phariesies, that God loued that woman much, & that he had forgiven her many sinnes. For as the sunne is the fountaine & the originall spring of all bodily light, and that without it, there should bee none, and where most light is, necessarily there is a greater participation of his radiant beames. So God is the beginning and fountaine of all charity, so that no creature can loue him well but by himselfe; & where he imparteth more abundance of the heate of his loue, there necessarily appeareth a greater reflection of loue towards the Deity: and further if God did not preuent man, with the fauour and sweetnesse of his loue, embracing him with the living flames of his Charity, there would bee nothing but a kinde of coldnesse in him, and no true knowledge of Gods benefits.

Luk. 7. 38. 47.

Cicero de amicis.

Let vs heere note the saying of an Infidel, that true amitie consisteth onely in willing, and not willing: so wee ought manifestly to shewe our loue towards GOD in conformance and subiection to his will, in desiring to doe that which hee willet vs to doe, and in hating that which displeaseth him. For the highest, the chiefest, and the most perfect degree of loue, is that which leadeth vs to the perfection of vertue, that maketh vs of men to become Angels, and that maketh vs Citizens of heauen, while wee are yet living here on earth. Therefore euery man ought to make account, that he hath so much, and so farre proceeded, and entered into the loue of God, and that hee shall haue so much the more peace and quietnesse of conscience, as hee is lesse in loue with himselfe, and neerer vnited vnto GOD, referring himselfe in all things, at all times, and in all places to the will of GOD, to doe that which he commandeth, and to shunne that which he forbiddeth.

Ioh. 13. 34. 35

1. Iohn 4. 12.

Rom. 13. 10.

Gal. 5. 6.

1. Cor. 13. 1.

1. Iohn 4. 2.

Touching the other point, of the loue of our neighbour: It is the most visible marke of the children of God, and the true disciples of Iesus Christ, and for that cause most recommended, throughout all the holy Scriptures. Specially, by our Lord Iesus Christ, when hee saith, *I giue you a commandement, that is to say, whereon men ought to thinke continually, as if it were renewed every houre: That you loue one another, as I haue loued you, to the end that you also should loue one another. By this shall all men know, that you are my disciples, if you haue loue one to another.* To the same ende Saint Iohn saith, *If wee loue one another, God dwelleth in vs, and his loue is perfect in vs.* And Saint Paul, after he had exhorted the faithfull vnto all holinesse and righteousnesse, and specially to the obseruation of this commandement of God, *To loue their neighbours as themselves, maketh this conclusion: Therefore loue is the fulfilling of the Law.* Whereunto that also tendeth, which hee saith in another place, *That faith working by loue;* is that which auaileth with Christ, and that without this diuine vertue, all other gifts and graces profit vs nothing. From whence we specially gather this doctrine, that none but those that are truly faithfull, are endued with charitie, because they only know God, by faith in his word; and loue him, and their neighbours in him, for the loue of him. For we must beleue this diuine sentence, *That if any man saith that hee loueth God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar.*

Thus

Thus you see how the loue of God, and of our neighbours, are inseparable things, to worke and fulfill all righteousness, by the bands of charitie.

3. *The duties of Charitie prooued by two naturall reasons.*

Consequently, and without going from the matter which we handle, wee may evidently prooue that duetie which God requirerh at our hands, towards our neighbours, by two naturall and iust rules, which necessarily follow the diuine precept, To loue our brother as our selues. The first, (which also was common among Infidels and Pagans) is, That we doe not to others, that which wee would not haue done vnto our selues. The second, consisteth in that which Christ himselfe expressly commandeth, saying, *Whatsoeuer you would haue men should doe vnto you, euen so doe you to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.* For the loue of our selues requireth, that wee doe not onely desire, that other men should not hurt, nor doe euill vnto vs, but also that they should doe vs good. Therefore as in one short and brieue sentence, God hath comprehended all that duetie, which wee are to shew one vnto another, that wee may liue together iustly, peaceably and happely: Saying, Loue thy neighbour as thy selfe; so to perfect all commentaries, or discourses that may be made vpon this Christian pollicie, these two naturall rules shall suffice. That is, not to do that vnto another, which wee would not haue done vnto our selues: and to doe to others as wee would they should doe vnto vs. Obseruing well these things, wee shall be clothed with that charitie which Saint Paul calleth the *band of perfection*. For then there will not be found among vs any iniurie, fraude, wrong, nor outrage: all ambition, pride, enuy, hatred, euill speaking, and other such passions hurtfull to our neighbours would cease, and nothing should be seene nor found among men, but vprightnesse: peace, concord, amitie, and mutuall support and assistance one of another. As Saint Paul very well noteth all these excellent fruits of charitie, writing to the *Corinthians*. To the which also wee must referre that which Saint Peter saith, Exhorting all the faithfull to purifie their soules, in obeying the truth, through the Spirit, to loue brotherly without faining, louing one another with a pure heart feruently. For as he saith in another place, *Charitie couereth a multitude of sinnes.*

Matth. 7. 12.

Col. 3. 14.

1 Cor. 13. 4.

1 Pet. 1. 22.

1 Pet. 4. 8.

Now if wee follow this doctrine of the holy Ghost, touching our duties towards our neighbours, there will be nothing to deare nor precious vnto vs, which wee will not be ready to doe, giue, and bestowe, for the loue of them, no not our owne liues. Besides this, the zeale and seruencie of this Christian charitie, will make vs reiect and cast of all that, which by any meanes may coole, or slacken the same: as ingratitude, iniuries, hatred, and all indignities that may be vsed against our brethren. For if wee ought to loue all men, for the loue of God; If the image of our common Father and Creator, which they beare, obligeth and bindeth vs to procure vnto them all the good that wee can, and if they beeing our owne flesh, wee ought wholly to bend our selues to loue them: It followeth, that what indignity soeuer is in them, God ought not neuerthelesse to lose his right: his Image by that meanes is not defaced in them, and the coniunction which he hath set and placed betweene them and vs, still remaineth.

To this purpose let vs note and marke well, In the parable of the Samaritane which Iesus Christ teacheth vs, that euery man whom we know, or know not, a stranger, yea and our enemies, (as the Samaritans and the Iewes were one vnto the other) is our neighbour, whom we ought to loue as our selues. As our Lord also correcting the pride and vaine glory of the Phareesies, declareth: saying, you haue heard that it hath bin sayd, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy, but I say vnto you, loue your enemies: which loue hee will not haue vs to shew in speech onely, but in deed and in our works, in blessing them that curse vs doing good to them that hate vs, and praying for them that hurt and persecute vs. And as Saint Paul saith, *If thine enemy hunger, feede him, If he thirst giue him drinke, and so wee shall bee children of our Father which is in heauen, that maketh his Sunne to rise, on the euill and the good.* But to loue them that loue you, Publicans and sinners doe the same, saith the Lord.

Luk. 10. 29.

Mat. 5. 43. 44.

Rom. 12. 20.

Math. 5. 45. 46.

4. *Almes*

4. *Almes are the proper fruits and effects of Charitie.*

Among the testimonies and fruits of our Charitie, the good, helpe, and assistance that wee doe to the poore is one speciall thing. For wee should falsely bragge and boaste of the loue wee beare to our neighbours, if wee shew it not in our endeouours, to helpe and to doe good to those that are poore and needy. *Whofoener hath this worlds Goods* (saith Saint Iohn) *and seeth his brother haue neede, and shutteth vp his compassion from him, how dwelleth the loue of God in him?* Let vs not loue with words, and with tongue, but with the heart, and truly. Therefore it is written, that when the Apostles gaue Saint Paul the right hands of fellowship, they recommended no other thing vnto him, but onely that hee should remember the poore. Which hee also did, as hee witnesseth very well in his Epistles. Whereupon it is to bee noted, and specially marked, that the latter iudgement, and the sentence, which our Lord will then giue (of eternall blessednesse or cursednesse) vnto man, shall be grounded vpon our duties of charitie (or the neglect thereof) to the poore. That is it which wee call Almes; which word signifieth pittie and compassion. From whence wee learne, that the aide and assistance which wee giue to those that are in want ought to proceede from the feeling that wee haue of their affliction. As *Esay* sheweth, saying, *If thou poure out thy soule to the hungry, and refreshest the troubled soule, then shall thy light spring out in darkenesse, and thy darkenesse shall bee as the noone day.* For by the first part of this sentence hee teacheth vs, That true Almes is as it were an opening and communication of the heart, by compassion feeling an others mans miserie.

And to that ende Saint Iohn proueth, that there is no charity in him, that seeth his brothers neede and shutteth vp his compassion from him. Signifying by the word Compassion: the pittie and mercy wherewith euery man ought to be inwardly touched, for the pouertie of his neighbour, that hee might helpe him in necessitie. For it is most true, that the apprehension which wee haue to heare of the pittifull estate of our neighbour, is of no such force to moue our hearts, to pitie and compassion, as that which the sight thereof procureth. Therefore the faithfull ought to be carefull to visit the poore in their afflictions, to the end that seeing with our eyes those that lie vpon strawe, that are sicke and naked, that shake for colde, that want breade, whose little children crie out for want of foode, and that are lodged in such places, wherein wee would hardly lay our dogges! such spectacles, I say, moue the inward parts of our hearts to haue compassion of them, that are in such miserable state, and to helpe them with our meanes.

That is it which Christ teacheth vs, when hee would haue vs not onely to supply the want of the poore with meate, drinke, and clothes, but also to visite them, auouching that to bee done to himselfe, that wee shall haue done to the poore and needie. For thus hee saith, *I was sicke, and you visited mee.* And Saint Iames sayeth, *Pure Religion, and undefiled before God, euen the Father, is this, to visite the fatherlesse and widowes in their aduersities, to comfort them both by our wordes and our meanes, which giueth great force and efficacie to the word: and to speake plainly, hee that helpeth not the poore, hauing meanes to doe it, is a murtherer.* For as a man puts not out a lampe onely by blowing, but also by not putting more oyle vnto it: and as wee put out the fire, by not supplying it with wood, as well as by throwing water vpon it: and as in an extreame hote Summer, many hearbes drie, not onely by cutting, and pulling them vp, but also for want of watering: So wee take away the life of man, not onely by killing him with a sword, or by doing other violence vnto him, but also by denying and refusing to giue him that which hee needeth to sustaine his life, As Saint Ambrose saith, That not to giue the poore that which they want, is as much as to kill them: Then let vs beware of burying their liues in our chestes and coffers, with our riches. If GOD by his providence giues vs more riches, then hee giues to other men, it is not to that end that wee should deuoure and hide them in our chestes, but to serue him as Ministers and Stewards to nourish, and to maintaine the poore: Which if wee neglect, their want, hunger, and nakednesse will crie vnto GOD, and accuse vs of ingratitude, and infidelitie: And hee as a iust Iudge, hearing their cryes, and therein beeing dishonored,

Iohn 3.17,18

Gal 2.9,10.
2 Cor.9.9.

Matth.25.34.

Esay 58.10.

1 Iohn 3.17.

Matt.25.36.
Iames 1.27In Psal. Beati
immacu.

dishonoured, will bee reuenged: for therein consisteth his glory, specially in this, that when wee supply the want of the members of his Sonne, Our charitie (saith the Apostle) causeth thanks to be giuen to G O D, by them, acknowledging the care that he hath of them, in that he giueth meanes and will vnto others to supply their necessities. 2. Cor. 9. 12.

5. Conclusion of this Chapter.

To ende this discourse, seeing that the summe and effect of the Lawe of God, is charitie out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith vnfaigned, (as Saint Paul saith, Let vs be clothed with this precious heauenly gift, and with this supernaturall vertue, which the eternall God our father distilleth into vs: that is, Charitie: That wee may be perfectly vnited and conioined vnto him, by loue, and by the same meanes to our neighbour, thereby to obtaine the perfection and beatitude, whereunto wee are called. 1. Tim. 1. 5.

And seeing that the promises are the foundation of faith, let vs meditate vpon them touching this point, that wee may be assured, that Charitie hath a great recompence before God, that all the daies of our liues wee may reape greater aboundance of fruite, calling to minde this sentence of the Apostle, *That hee which soweth sparingly, shall reape also sparingly, and hee that soweth liberally, shall reape also liberally.* And that which Saint Augustine saith, That the poore mans field is fertile, quickly yeelding, and in great aboundance, that which was sowed therein. And to speake troth, it is a fatte ground, readie tilled and prepared by the Lord, to receiue our seed: therein is neither Ice, nor drinasse, Catterpillar nor Locust, Haile, nor Armies of Souldiers, that can hinder vs from reaping the happy haruest which shall continue with vs for euer. *For giuing to the poore, we lend vnto the Lord* (saith the wise man) because it is Christ which demandeth his benefits of vs, as hauing giuen them vnto vs, to vse and dispose of them well, and yet in his great liberalitie, hee giueth himselfe as a pledge and surety vnto vs for them, with promise to restore them double vnto vs againe, and further to giue vs a great reward in heauen, for G O D taketh pleasure in such sacrifices. *Therefore While wee haue time let vs doe good to all men, but specially vnto them which are of the household of Faith.* According to the Apostles counsell, for if to day wee bee rich, the next day wee may bee poore: for that fire, warre, theeuies, and badde debtors, may bee meanes to bereaue vs of our goods. If the husband man knew that an armie of men were comming, hee would carrie as much of his wheate as he could out of his barne into the towne, and leaue it there with some friend of his, to keepe it safe for him. But wee are sufficiently aduertised and forewarned of a thousand dangers which are as it were at our heeles, to make vs by death lose, or soone leaue our goods, which by consequence should bee lost to vs. Then let vs giue vnto the poore according to our abilities, before we lose them, and by that meanes wee shall carry them, or at the least some part of them, to heauen, by the hands of those that aske of vs for Gods sake. And if in this manner we giue him our riches in keeping, he will offer vs them againe, in the great day of his glory, with life and eternall ioy. 2. Cor. 4. 6.
De Verb.
Domini.
Prou. 14. 7.
Luke 6. 35.
Heb 13. 16.
Gal. 6. 10

To leade a happy life, a Christian Philosopher must purge himselfe of seuerall pernicious vices, that is, Couetousnesse, Ambition, excesse of Apparell and meates, Voluptuousnesse, unlawfull pleasure, Envy, and slander. Chap. 12.

1. Reasons out of the holy Scriptures to make men enclined to holinesse, and righteousnesse.

IN the former Chapter you haue heard the reasons out of the holy Scriptures, which I ought to moue and incite vs, to give and incline our hearts vnto charity, as to the first and generall vertue of a Christian, and which in him is the cause of all good

workes. Now wee must note and set downe thereasons of the same word, which serue to make vs loue holinesse and righteousnesse, that so we may see the commonest and principallest rules that therein are to be obserued by vs, to teach vs to leade our liues vertuously void of all vice. Which in truth is a most ample subiect, sufficient to fill a whole volume, for him that would write thereof at large. But as it hath bene said before, it shall suffice herein to shew some order, whereby a Christian man may bee ledde and conducted to a right ende and course, to order his waies in such sort, that hee may liue happely. To that purpose, that wee may first shew how the holy Scripture vseth a singular and most excellent method, to print in our hearts the loue of righteousnesse; wee may well say, that it could not lay a better foundation, then to tell vs, that we must be sanctified, because our God is holy. For so it is written, that the Lord spake to *Moyse* saying, *Speake to all the Congregation of the children of Israel, and say vnto them, you shall bee holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.* And Saint *Peter* to the same ende saith, *As hee which hath called you is holy, so bee yee holy, in all manner of conuersation, because it is written, Bee you holy, for I am holy.* To the which foundation agreeth, and is very conuenient, the exhortation which wee haue already noted to be given by Iesus Christ himselfe, and by his forerunner Saint *Iohn Baptist*, (saying, *Amend your liues for the kingdome of God is at hand.* For the finall ende and purpose of all these sacred Oracles is, that wee should purge our selues of all vices and all vncleannesse. Now there is nothing more difficult then to perswade and bring men to this point, that they should wholly put off the body of sinne, wherein they are borne, renouncing all carnall affections, to frame themselves to serue God holily. For they willingly rest and abide in their corruptions, and vncleannesse, ordinarily vsing an exterior maske and vaile of holinesse, and righteousnesse, to hide the vice which is within them. Then by good right and diuine reason, wee are called by the holy Ghost to this conformitie, that all the faithfull ought to haue with God, who by our adoption seeketh to restore and repaire his image in vs: that wee may beare it as it becommeth lawfull children, thereby to represent their Father. For although the most perfect, yea, the Angels, are farre off from making themselves equall in holinesse with God, (and to presume thereunto would bee a madde and senselesse enterprise or desire:) Neuerthelesse, the infirmities of the least Christians hinder them not to aspire vnto the example of God, and to approach neere vnto it, according to the measure of his grace, and as their capacities can beare it. For the ende of our vocation, (whereunto wee must alwaies haue regard, if we will make answer to G O D, and subsist before his face) is, That seeing hee hath separated vs from that body of sinne, to bee his people, wee must purge our selues of all pollutions, and vncleannesse of the world. For seeing that, as lost sheepe that haue gone astray, hee hath brought vs backe againe to the soueraigne Pastour of our soules, by the band of holinesse, wee must bee vnited to him, and by him to G O D, the King of Saints. That it belongeth to his glory to haue no familiarity nor acquaintance with iniquity and vncleannesse, and that hee hath vnited vs vnto him by Christ: wee must bee holy in all manner of conuersation: (saith Saint *Peter*) to the ende that no part of our liues should bee voide of that sweete fauour of holinesse. To the same foundation wee must bring this admonition of the Prophet, which is, If wee will dwell in the tabernacle of God, and rest in his holy mount, wee must walke vprightly, worke righteousnesse, and speake truth in our hearts. As *Esay* in his prophesie of the Ioy to come which the Church shall haue vnder the Messias saith. And there shall be a path and a way, which way shall be called holy, the polluted shall not passe by it: as we must also consider that the Scriptures to moue vs the more to this loue of righteousnesse, sheweth vs in diuers places, that as God reconciled himselfe vnto vs by the death of Christ his sonne, that suffered for vs; so he hath left vs an example and patterne, whereunto we must be conformable, by following his steppes. In such manner, that the same affection that was in him, should be in vs, and that as he hath done, we should doe. And to that end also the Scripture taketh occasion to exhort, and to tell vs, of all the benefits of God, & the parts of our saluation. When it saith, that we are the children of the Lord our God, that we may be a holy people and precious; and that wee should keepe his commandements. That in times past we were darkenes, but now are light in the Lord, That we might walke as children of the light, according to the fruits of the spirit, in all goodnes, righteousnes and truth. That whosoever hopeth to see God, must purge himselfe, as hee is pure. That our body is the temple of the holy Ghost, which we haue of God, & yet are not

our owne, being bought for a price, that we glorifie God in our bodies and in our soules, which appertaine vnto him. That being redeemed from our vaine conuersation, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ, as a lambe vndefiled and without spotte, wee must purifie our soules, in obeying the truth, being regenerated by immortall seede, that is, the word of God which liueth and endureth for euer. That we are baptized and buried in the death of Iesus Christ, that we should cease from euil works, and walk in newnes of life, doing good works. That being raised with Christ, we should seeke those things that are aboue, and mortifie our members from all euill concupiscences & vncleannes. That we are in Christ to be new creatures and to make vs approoue in all things, as the seruants of God, by the armour of righteousness, on the right hand and on the left: abstaining from all apparance of euill, that both in body & soule, we may be kept blamelesse at the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ: thus many good and fit foundations wee haue, to teach vs to leade our liues orderly in holines and righteousness.

1. Pet. 1. 18. 19

2. 2. 3.

Rom. 6. 2.

1. Col. 3. 1. 5.

2. Cor. 5. 17 &

6. 4. 7.

1. Thes. 5. 22

23.

2. *Generall rules out of the holy Scriptures, thereby to frame the life of a Christian, to all right conuersione and holinesse.*

Now we must enter into the consideration of certaine rules, which the holy Scriptures prescribe vnto vs concerning the meanes how wee shall frame all our actions and workes according to the modell of that perfection, which God requireth to bee in his children. In the deduction whereof, wee will first begin with a speciall discoverie of the most vicious corruptions which wee must necessarily leaue, that we may not falsifie that name of faithfull Christians, which wee desire to keepe and preserue. For if wee be well perswaded to leaue and forsake vice, wee shall soone enter into the pathes of vertue. Wee haue already shewed what Saint Paul prescribeth vnto vs, touching the same, that is, To destroy and mortifie our bodies which are borne in sinne, to liue to God in Iesus Christ, and to giue our members as weapons of righteousness vnto God. And to cast off the olde man, to be renewed in the Spirit of our minde, by putting on the new man, to walke in holinesse and righteousness: which Iesus Christ calleth forsaking of our selues, which is in truth to be vnderstood, when mans heart is once moued to forsake himselfe, & to abandon pride, couetousnesse, intemperance, delights, superfluities, and all other vices, which are begotten by the loue of our selues; leauing his soule free without hinderance to serue God in humilitie and all good workes. As to the contrary, in all places where this forsaking of our selues is not, man easily runnes into all iniquitie and filchinesse; or at the least, if he retaineth some small apparance of vertue, it is alwayes corrupted with some desire of vaine glory. But the Apostle giueth vs another notable and generall instruction concerning a Christian life, wherein hee beginneth with these wordes, *I beseech you brethren, by the mercie of God, that you giue vp your bodies a liuing sacrifice, holy and acceptable vnto God, &c.* For there also hee goeth on with this exhortation, tending to this end, that the faithfull should not conform themselves to the world, but bee changed by an interior renewing of the minde, to hate all euill, and giue themselves to goodnesse. Which transformation or renewing of the minde, as Saint Paul saith, and which is the first entrance into a happy life, all the Philosophers were ignorant of, as also of the forsaking (aforesaid) of our selues, and the mortification of our bodies, to put on the newe man (all which things tend to one selfe same doctrine) for those wise men of the world onely taught, that reason ought to rule and moderate man, according to the precepts of honestie and vertue, which they could well declare and discover, being not able to fore or mount vp higher then to expound the dignitie and naturall force of man, when it was requisite to shew him what belongeth to his duerie. But to the contrary, the Christian Phylosopher will haue all our reason withdraw it selfe, & giue place to an interior regeneration, which is the proper work of the holy Ghost; that we may wholly be ledde by him, in such manner, that man liueth no more of himselfe, but hath Christ liuing and reigning in him. For so wee attaine to that vertue, when hauing forsaken our selues, and as it were destroyed and mortified all our naturall corruptions, wee become and are made new creatures, faithfully and truely to apply all our studies to follow God, and his commandements. And when the holy Scripture enioyneth vs to the forsaking of our selues, the intent thereof is, not onely to deface and pull out of our hearts, couetousnesse, insolencie, presumptions, and such like naturall corruptions, but also to roote

Rom. 6. 6. and

11. 13.

Ephes. 4. 22, 23

Mat. 16. 24.

Mark. 8. 14.

Luke 9. 29.

Rom. 12. 1

vp all ambition, desire of humane glorie, and other such like poysons and pestilences which lie secretly hidden in our breastes. Which is as much to say, that a Christian man should bee so well disposed in minde, that hee should beleue and alwayes call to minde, that all his life time hee walketh before God, and that hee must yeeld an account vnto him of all his thoughts, wordes and workes.

Tit. 2. 2.
and 11. 12.

To that end Saint Paul in an other place more distinctly setteth downe and disciphereth all the seuerall points belonging to a Christian, to order his life here on earth according to the vocation, age, and sexe of euery one, beginning thus: *That the eldormen be watchfull, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in loue, and in patience, &c.* And then proceeding in that manner to instruct all sorts of persons, hee saith, *For the grace of God that bringeth saluation to all men, hath appeared, and teacheth vs, that wee should denie vngodlinesse, and worldly lustes, and that wee should liue soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.* Whereby wee see, how the Apostle draweth all our actions into three members or parts: whereof the first, which is Sobrietie, signifieth as well chastitie and temperance, as the pure and moderate vse of Gods gifts, and likewise patience in all aduersities. The second, which is righteousness, comprehendeth the vpright dealing that wee ought to vse, with, and towards our neighbours, to giue vnto euery man that which belongeth vnto him. The third, which is Godlinesse, purgeth and cleanseth vs from the polutions of the world, to vnite vs vnto God, to liue holily. And to say truely, when these three vertues are ioyned together by an inseparable band, they make an intire perfection. But because there is nothing more difficult in this terrestriall muddinesse or filthinesse, then to attaine to such an Angelicall life. The

Ibidem 13.

Apostle Saint Paul, to comfort vs in our infirmities and weakenesse, and withall to teach vs to do, as much as in vs lieth, to vnburthen our soules of the bands of sinne, calleth vs to that blessed hope, which wee ought to haue of the apparition of the glory of our great God, and of our Sauour Iesus Christ; that is, at the comming to iudge the quicke and the dead, and where the fruits of the saluation which he hath procured for vs, shall appeare and manifestly be seene. Whereby it is certaine, that the Apostle seeketh to withdraw vs from all the allurements and inticements which are accustomed to dazell our eyes in this world, and to hinder vs from aspiring (as it is requisite) to that celest iall glory, and eternall happinesse, whereunto God by his grace hath ordained vs.

3. *Seuen pernicious vices, whereof wee must purge our selues.*
The first, Couetousnesse.

Now to apply these so excellent generall rules of all Christian righteousness, to our most dangerous corruptions. To deliuer vs from them, as we began the foundation of our Philosophy, vpon the foot or perfect number of seuen; so we will proceede in the same, by making it manifestly appeare, That it is the duty of a Christian, to purge his soule of seuen pernicious vices, which are couetousnes, ambition, excelsse of apparel, and meates, voluptuousnes, vnlawfull pleasures, enuy and slander. For the first, you must note, that couetousnes is a word which signifieth to desire or couet, which the Grecians call loue of money, or desire to haue more: neuer thelesse, it is very true, that all the desires and affections of the soule are naturally good, as nature it selfe also is, as it is created by God. But as it hath bene corrupted by sime, so it is corrupted in affections, by the disorder which the nature of sinne worketh therein. And to speake plainly, the first originall of coueting, is a faculty and a vertue of the will in man, by the which naturally he desireth good things, in such sort, that it is giuen him by God, to the end, that he should wish & seek for that which he thinketh to be good and profitable for him, and that having obtained it, he should hold and retaine it. Now forasmuch as God is the true and onely good of the soule, and that this good is infinite, it is not against nature, that the bredth, length, and deepenes of our desire or coueting, should be as it were infinite, and cannot be filled with any other thing whatsoever but onely with God: for it is naturall vnto vs to desire that good, and when our desire is filled therewith, then it will stay and rest it selfe. But as it wandreth and strayeth hither & thither, among terrestriall things, by the corruption of our nature, it neuer findeth end, nor contentment in her affections, but to the contrary, one begetteth another, whereof wee see and find an infinite number, which haue their particular names from the things which they most desire. For the desire of gold and riches, is called couetousnes; the desire of honours, ambition; that which passeth the bounds of lawfull coniunction between man and woman

is called lechery, the excessive desire of meates and drinks, gluttony and drunkennes, and so of the rest. From thence it commeth, that when a man once begetteth couetousnes in his hart, to loue money without measure, with a desire to haue more then he hath, he becometh insatiable in his desire, alwaies greedy, alwaies thirsting, and alwaies burning with a feruent passion to increase his riches. That which he possesseth is to him as nothing, to aspire to that which he hath not. And because that which hee hath not is infinite touching man; so his desire is neuer satisfied. His purse and his chests may well be filled, but not his desire, which is bottomlesse, which maketh him neuer contented with that which he hath, thereby alwaies to torment and vexe himselfe in minde, to couet after that which hee enioyeth not. Therefore *Anacharsis* sayd, that a man which is couetous of money, is hardly capable of good counsell. And *Socrates* saith, that it is a hard matter to restraine the desire, and that he which coueteth after riches, is madde, because neither shame of the world, nor feare of death, can repress couetousnesse. Which corruption *Esa* lively describeth vnto vs, and withall pronounceth a curse vpon it, saying: Woe vnto them that ioyne house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place to buy, that they may be placed by themselves, in the midst of the earth. For there the Prophet sheweth that couetousnes is so farre distant from faciety, that it spreadeth it selfe ouer all that whatsoever it can come by, to the ende not to leaue one foot of ground unpurchased, which it desireth to haue, as if a couetous man should possesse the whole world. It is a disease alwaies much more common then we think it to be, as experience hath at all times shewed, by the most pernicious fruites thereof. The Prophets likewise spake of it in their time, one saying; (Euery one looketh to their owne waies, and euery one to his owne desire.) An other sayth, (For from the least of them, vnto the greatest of them, euery one is giuen to couetousnes.) Our Lord & Sauour Iesus Christ and his Apostles reprocue and condemne that vice in many places. And Saint *Paul* notably foresheweth, and Saint *Peter* also, that in the latter daies, there shall be men that are couetous, Seducers and false Prophets, who through couetousnes shall make merchandise of our soules. It is most true, and worthy to be noted, that this vice contrary to the nature & condition of all other vices, which die and lessen with age, waxeth stronger in age, although it is a monstrous thing, that many couetous old men, haue nothing in them more vnreasonable, then this, that the lesse way that they haue to goe, or time to liue, they seeke to lade themselves with greater store of prouisiō, as if they had a long voiage in hand, or should liue euer. Which moued a Pagan to say, that the disease which lieth in mans veines, which is rooted in his bowels, and which growing old cannot be gotten away, is called couetousnes. Which also bringeth with it al other sorts of euils & miseries. For as the Apostle saith, That they that will be rich, fall into temptations and snares of the diuell, and into many foolish and nosome lusts, which draw men into perdition and destruction: that the desire of money is the roote of all euill, which while some lusted after, they erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrowes.

Esa. 5.8.

Esa. 56. 11.

Ier. 6. 13. &

8. 10.

Matthew 6.

Luke 12. 6.

Eph. 5.

1. Cor. 6.

2. Tim. 3. 2.

2. Peter 2. 3.

Cic. 4. Tus.

1. Tim. 6. 9. 10.

Barna: Sup.

Cant.

Sermo 39.

Col. 3. 5.

Math. 6. 24.

Luk. 16. 13.

A Sentence in trueth, which ought onely to bee more then sufficient to make and persuade vs to leaue all couetousnesse. For seeing that as Christians, wee know that Satan is alwayes watching about vs, to cast vs headlong into sinne, and therefore daily pray vnto God, not to leade vs into temptation, what apparance or likelihood is there, that we would nourish couetousnesse, which maketh vs fall into the snares of the Deuill, to bee drawn into hell? Againe, what worsething can bee said of it, then to call this vice the roote of all euils & miseries, which plunge men ouer head and eares into ruine and perdition, making them fall from the faith? In it consisteth the fulnesse of all euill, because the end thereof draweth on it selfe the paines of eternall death. Then let vs truly say, that couetousnes is like the fire and the Anuill, wherewith the Deuill forgeth a thousand chaines of iniquity, to draw men into hell, and so many fiery darts to wound them deadly, by poysoning their hearts with the baits of all kinde of vices. Saint *Bernard* compareth couetousnesse to a Ladie sitting in a Chariot, the foure wheeles whereof, are as many vices, that is, despising or contemning of God, Inhumanitie, Defiance, and forgetfulnes of death: The two horses, niggardlinesse, and greedinesse, and the coachman, Couetousnes to haue. Saint *Paul* likewise calleth couetousnes, Idolatry; and the couetous man an Idolater. And our Lord Iesus Christ saith, that *No man can serue two masters*, (that is, God and riches) *because hee will either hate the one, and loue the other, or cleaue to the one, and forsake the other.* And in trueth the couetous man maketh an idol of his money, and to satisfie and serue his owne couetous desire, forgetteth his duetie towards God, and so doeth injury vnto him, but much more

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to his neighbors, diuers wayes. For ordinarily hee wanteth no inhumane nor cruell inuentions and devices to draw other mens goods vnto himselfe, sparing no man, easily perswading himselfe, that other men are exposed vnto him as a prey to enrich himselfe thereby. Which made Saint *Chrysostome* properly call the couetous man, an enemy to all men: but which is worse, he is an enemy to himselfe, for that perpetually procuring trouble to himselfe, to get that which hee thinketh to be well gotten, he permitteth no rest nor quietnesse to himselfe, nor yet leasure to reape any pleasure of his owne riches.

Chrysost. hom
9. super Mat.

Siratonicus.

A certaine ancient Father was wont to mocke at the Rhodians superfluitie, saying, That they built houses as if they were immortall, and made hauock in the kitchen, as if they had but a short time to liue. But couetous men get and spend their riches, as if they should neuer die. They are like Mules, which carry great burthens of golde and siluer vpon their backs, and eate nothing but hay. They resemble a rich Ward or an Orphan, that dyeth young, before hee hath enioyed his patrimony. For in effect they are alwayes poore, and like him that hath nothing: and comparable to *Tantalus*, whom the Poets faine to bee in hell, and there dieth for hunger and thirst, liuing in the middle of great store of fruites, and water about him vp to the chin.

1. Tim. 6. 6.
Matth. 6. 9.

To amend this accursed vice of Auarice, the fruitfull mother to man of many children, that make him an enemy to God, to his neighbours, and to himselfe. Let vs learne and be perswaded, that temporall riches, are so farre from giuing contentment, and making a man happie, that to the contrary they breed and ingender a thousand griefes, and cares in his soule, and therein serue for as many thornes therewith to choake all the seed, and roote of vertue, by their meanes making vs miserable and unhappie. Let vs consider that euery couetous man, that cannot bee content with his daily bread, but seeketh by all the meanes that hee can daily to encrease it, as many times as hee maketh that petition vnto GOD, in the Lords Prayer, hee plainly mocketh with God: seeking to hide his couetous affection; whereas to the contrary, true prayer should open and shewe the interior desire of the heart. Therefore the better to instruct vs, let vs remember that godlinesse is great gaine, if a man bee content with that hee hath. And that as wee are Christians, wee ought not to lay vp treasure for our selues vpon earth, where the moath and canker corrupt, and where theeues breake through and steale, but that wee must lay vp treasure for our selues in heauen: Imparting liberally of that which God giueth vs, to the poore, and bestow therest of our riches vpon good vses. For by that meanes, wee shall obtaine the fruites of *Dauids* Prayer, which is, *Lord incline my heart vnto thy Testimonies, and not to conuersionesse.*

Psal. 119. 36

4. Of Ambition, Pride, and Boasting or bragging.

For the second point we may well say, that among the desires or concupiscences which haue the greatest force in the soule of man, Ambition is one: which is an vnmeasureable lustie or seeking after honour, glory, and reputation. Which vice wee may truly describe to haue three faces. First, for that man not content with his state and condition, seeketh and desireth to be of greater authority and command. Secondly, when hee pretendeth to gette glory and reputation of men, presuming vpon some graces, that he hath receiued of God, more then others; which kinde of ambition, may properly be called pride, or arrogancy. Thirdly, for that many men say or do things, to seeme more then they are, or then they haue in their owne powers; which is called boasting or bragging. Now as we said in the precedent proposition, we must also consider two originall points, or first causes of all our affections: the one, of pure and entire nature; the other, of the corruption thereof; and so wee must and may say, as it is true, that ambition might well be in a man as a vertue, if he had not de generated from his creation, and had considered the excellency of his estate, and the great benefites which hee had receiued of God, specially in regard of his soule, by nature celestiall and diuine; for so he might haue continued in a holy pride, to desire to be made like to his creatour in goodnes, by the onely meanes which God had ordained, to maintaine him in the forme of his image; that is, in obedience, and for other things in such a degree as is conuenient for the creature. But our first parents giuing eare vnto him, who before had ouerthrowne himselfe by his owne pride, presuming not onely to bee equall with God, in goodnes, but also in power and greatnes, easily beleeued (by the liberty of their wil) the promise which that lier made vnto them, of an estate and condition higher and more excellent, then

then that wherein God had created them. So *Adam* made according to the image of God, Gen. 1. 3. and ordained to bee Lord ouer all his other creatures, was not content therewith, but coveted and sought to bee greater, and to bee equall with God. At which time that false pride began to enter into him, by turning from the Lord, (whereof *Ecclesiastes* speaketh) which Eccles. 10. 14, 15. was the beginning of sinne. Which corruption hath in such manner corrupted his posteritie, that there is no one childe of *Adam*, which is not pricked forward and wounded with couetousnesse, to rise and climbe vp to a higher degree of honour and authoritie then hee hath; yea, if hee may to bee the highest, and (which is worse) not for the glory of God, or the good and profite of his neighbour, but onely to content his vaine desire, and to please his foolish and carnall affections. For as the couetous man is neuer satisfied with money, no more is the ambitious man with honour and greatnesse: because his vice will not permit him to remember from whence he came, and to what estate hee is exalted, but forcibly carrieth him to that which hee seeketh, and aspireth vnto. In such manner, that if he bee the second person in any high estate and dignitie, his onely and continuall thought is, how to eleuate himselfe aboue him that precedeth him therein. And if hee cannot make himselfe chiefe commander of a great kingdome, like the Prince himselfe, hee will at the least assay, to bee next vnto the person of the Prince, as *Jonathan* said to *David*, *Thou shalt bee King of Israel, and I shall bee next vnto thee.* As it is written, That the mother of *John* and *James* the Apostles besought Christ, that one of them might sit on his right hand, the other on his left in his kingdome. And in the Scripture one *Diotrephes* is said to haue sought the preheminance in the Church. And the Apostles disputed among themselves, who should bee the chiefe, and asked the Lord who should bee the greatest in the kingdome of heaven. So that there is no vice nor corruption whatsoever, which this couetousnesse of honour doth not beget, as such an elder daughter of the incredulitie of our first parents could not but bee a fruitfull mother of most wicked children. Whereof *Saint Bernard* maketh a notable description, saying, That Ambition is a secret poyson, a hidden plague, a forger of deceits, the mother of hypocrisie, the fountaine of enuie, the spring of all vices, the moath of holinesse, the blinding of the heart, and that which conuerteth wholesome medicines into diseases, and Physicke into languishing dolors: and likewise calleth it the ape of Charitie. For as that Christian vertue is patient, expecting eternall good, Ambition endureth all for temporall things. Charitie is fauourable to the poore, Ambition to the rich, Charitie endureth all for the truthes sake, Ambition for vanitie; there beeing no iniquitie nor crueltie, how great soeuer, whereinto Ambition will not thrust it selfe. What other thing but this pestilent vice onely moued *Corath*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram* to murmur against *Moses* and *Aaron*, and to raise that sedition which is spoken of in the holy Scriptures? *Ahab* to kill all the blood royall, to reigne Queene of Israel? *Zimri* and *Omri*, and many others to murder their Lords and Princes? *Abimelech* to massacre seuentie of his brethren the sonnes of *Gideon*? and *Abshalom* an hypocrite and an ingratefull childe, to drive his owne father out of his Kingdome, and to pursue him with an armie to put him to death?

The second kinde of Ambition, properly called Arrogancie or Pride, which is a swelling Of pride: of the soule, or of the heart, and proceedeth of an opinion in our selues, to bee endowed with giftes and graces more then others: prouoketh a man to commit true sacriledge against God, making man to attribute the glory of that vnto himselfe, which hee hath receiued from God, and therefore due vnto him. Which hee doeth two wayes, that is, in glorifying himselfe, and presumptuously esteeming of his owne person, because of the graces and giftes that hee hath, or at least thinketh to haue more then others: And againe, when hee seeketh, and with great desire receiueth glory of others, in such manner that hee reioyceth much, when it is given vnto him, and is angrie if any man denies it him. The true cause of this pride is, the inconsiderat loue that every one beareth vnto himselfe, which hindreth man to know himselfe. For if hee had that true knowledge, hee could not see any thing in his owne nature, but that onely which would cause him to despise, and humble himselfe: so farre off should he be from finding any thing therein, wherof to bragge and become proude: for as touching that which he may haue more then an other, by the speciall grace of God, he ought to hearken vnto *Saint Paul* speaking thus, for who separateth thee? 1 Cor. 4. 7. and what hast thou, that thou hast not receiued? and if thou hast receiued it, why reioicest thou, as though thou hadst not receiued it? And yet the Apostle confesseth, that hee himselfe had beene in danger to fall into a proud conceite more then became him, by the great-
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2. Cor. 12. 7.
1. Cor. 8. 1.

nes of the Reuealations that he had, If God had not preuented him. Whereby (as he saith elsewhere, that knowledge puffeth vp) he noteth how common this infirmity is to all men, to take an occasion to waxe proude, by reason of the encreasing of the gifts of God. And it is most strange, that it creepeth sometime into humility it selfe, and into all other vertues. For you shall see many men, who condemning pride, and other vices, without measure, to the vttermost setting out and affecting their owne modesty, and such like graces, take pleasure therein after a proud manner, and by such meanes fall into that pride, which they find falt withall, and blame in others. Whereby it appeareth how crooked and slippery this vicious serpent is, and into how many shapes it transformeth it selfe, to infect and poyson our hearts with his arrogancy, and withall corruptions. And yet it is most true, that if we put our miseries and vices in one scale, and all those excellent graces and merits which we presume and brag of in an other scale; the counterpoise of abiection will weigh downe all our glory and make vs blush for shame and confusion.

Let vs only weigh our ignorance against our knowledge, our want of vertue, against our perfection, our sinnes against our righteousness, and our corruption against our holines, and it will be more then enough to abate all the Pride and presumption wherewith our minds are infected. It is said, that the peacocke having so many beautifull feathers, and but two feete onely, taketh a great pride to behold her taile when shee spreadeth it abroad, and that as soone as she looketh vpon her feete, and sees them to be so ill favoured, presently she leaues her pride, & lets fall her taile, seeming as it were to hide that, which before she thought to be very faire and beautifull. How much more ought wee by the feeling and apprehension of diuers filthy feet which sustaine vs in vice, (that is our corrupt and peruerse affections,) to humble our selues, and to beate down the pride and arrogancy which liueth in vs, of things which are lighter then feathers: that is our owne naturall inclinations, which haue onely a beginning and an appearance of beauty? for as touching supernaturall & diuine graces, how much the more they abound and increase in vs, so much the more we are bound in all humility of heart, to giue honour to God, and to vse them all to his glory, without making idols of our selues, by sacrificing to our nets, and burning incense to our yearne, as the Prophet saith. We see that when the sunne shineth directly over our heads the shadowes of our bodies are but short and little, which by experience wee finde to bee true about noone time, and a little before and after noone. So there ought to be lesse pride and presumption in vs, when the sonne of righteousness with great force casteth down the beames of his gifts and graces vpon our soules.

Habac. 1. 16

Boasting.

Touching Boasting and bragging, which is the third common effect of Ambition, there are some men so foolish in this respect, and in such manner carried away with the desire of glorie & praise, therby to nourish and feed their pride, that the lesse matter that they haue in themselves to bee proud of, so much the more they boast and bragge: in such manner, that their vauntings are certaine signes and testimonies of their indignitie and miserie. For as it is a signe that the Sunne descendeth and goeth downe from vs, when the shadowe of our bodies waxe and grow long: so wee may holde it for a certaine and true argument, that vertue decreaseth in that man, in whom wee see presumption to encrease, by his boasting and bragging. And as wee iudge a vessell to bee full, by the little sound that it giueth, when wee knocke vpon the head thereof; and when it sounds hollow, that is a signe that it is empty: so we may well beleeeue, that in such men as take great paines to make their valour and merits sound high, there is more wind and vntruth, then truth & effect of vertue in them. They are like to pedlers, who out of their little packs willingly shew every man all that they haue; where to the contrary, marchants hang out but small musters of the rich wares and marchandises which they haue in their great warehouses. And as eares of corne when they hang down their heads, ordinarily are full & well grained, but those that stand vpright and highest, make men gesse that they are light, and haue little or nothing in them. So we commonly see, those that are humble and modest, are as much replenished with all laudable conditions, as braggers and glorious boasters are vnfurnished thereof, and want them. And as experience sheweth vs, low vallies are commonly fertile, and to the contrary, the higher that hils are, so much the barrener they are.

Againe, we must consider, that such braggers & boasters commonly bereaue themselves of more glory and commendation, then they get by their vauntings, for presently they discover themselves to be liars, for although they speake truth, yet they make themselves odious to the world, by praising and commending themselves, whereby that happeneth vnto them

them both in the one & the other, which we naturally see by experience, that a shadow runneth away from him that followeth it, & followeth him that goes from it. To correct & amend this kind of ambition, let vs remember the great number of the pernicious effects of this vice, and the horrible vengeance which God hath alwayes taken of ambitious & proud persons. How fearfull was his iudgment vpon *Adam* and *Eue*, because of the sin whereinto they fell by this concupiscence. And what punishment did he lay vpon *Aman*, *Athaliah*, *Abſalon*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and *Herod*. Let vs thinke vpon those iudgements which the holy Ghost hath pronounced, *That God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble: that whosoever will exalt himselfe, shall be brought low, and whosoever will humble himselfe, shall be exalted. That God scattereth the proud in the imagination of their hearts, and exalteth them of low degree.* To be short, let vs despise all the glory of the world, which is nothing else, but as it were a blast of winde, or a little smoke. And if among worldly men, wee are held to be abjects, and contemptible in this world, in this life, (which is of so short a continuance) let vs bee content and comfort our selues in that we are great, rich and full of glory before God, in his Son Iesus Christ, being his children, and heires of his kingdome. Finally, let vs learne, that humility is the foundation of Christian Phylosophie, and of all commendable vertues: and that as our humble behaviour in all things is the glory of God, the only efficient cause of our good: so the confession of our indignity, hath for reward his mercy & goodnes. And yet we must not bee proud or vaine glorious thereof, but only in this, that by our humbleness we haue learned wholly to depend vpon our Father which is in heauen, to be new creatures in the Lord.

Gene. 3.
Eith. 7. 10.
2. King. 11. 16.
1. Sam. 18.
Esay 14.
Dan. 4.
2. Pet. 1. 5.
Matt. 23. 12.
Luke 1. 51. 52

5. Of excesse of apparell, and meates, and of drunkennesse.

Consequently, and for the third kind of our greatest corruptions, we must note, that the desire of vaine glory sheweth it selfe in 2. other principal things, besides those before rehearsed, that is, in sumptuousnes of apparel, & ornaments of the body, & in superfluity & excesse of meates & drinks, which vanities haue need to be reformed in vs. For the first point, every man cannot chuse but confesse in conscience, that the ordinary excesse in apparell & ornaments of the body, proceeds from a foolish desire that we haue to be of great account among men. It is true that there are three things much esteemed in the world, that is, nobility, riches & beauty, (specially in women & maids) which is the cause why every man will be accounted to be rich, or noble; & for women, either they would be, or at least thought to be faire. And because costly ornaments & sumptuous apparel, are means to encrease the apparance, shew, and reputation of riches, beautie, and nobilitie, from thence specially it proceedeth, that every one exceedeth in this corruption. The Artificer goes like a Merchant, the Merchant like a Gentleman, the Gentleman like a Prince, and so every one raiseth his estate, and in truth goes beyond it, to excel and surpass others of the same and the like quality. Whereby the curiositie and superstitie thereof is such and so great, that there must be an excesse, either in the price of the stuffe, that they may weare the finest, and consequently the dearest; or in the qualitie thereof, as wearing silke in stead of woollen cloth, or in broad gards, or els 4. or 5. gards one by another, or els in new fashions, accompanied with superfluity & vnseemlines, as in ruffes, cuffes, coiffes, caulcs, and other foolish, worldly & fleshly inuentions. Whereof women are such curious mistresses of art, that the greatest part of them openly shew, all their study and care almost to be, how to dresse their bodies, and to tire their heads: which is no new thing, for in the Prophet *Esaies* time, *The women of Iudea ware ornaments vpon their* *slippers, or shoes, chaines, bracelets, necklaces, claspes, buckles, spangles, rings, tires, Jewels, and carcanets of gold, Jewels hanging one their foreheads, mantles, loose frockes, vailcs, bodkins, looking glasses, curled and frised haire, and locks pulled, and laid out, and hanging downe by their eares.* Which vanities many women and maides in these daies vse, and often surpass them, and which is worse some are not content with the colour which God hath giuen them, and to wash their faces with pure water, to make them cleane, but vse artefical waters, mixt and composed with colours, therewith to looke whiter or redder in their faces, then they are, and to shew (as they thinke) of a greater beautie in them then euer God made. Now as this folly and kind of sacriledge, was in the time of *Iesabel* and by succession hath bin, & continued in all those that haue not refrained to follow her steps, although dogs did eat *Iesabel* her & her paintings: so the holy Fathers sharply blamed such corruptions. *S. Augustin* expressly wrot a whole treatise thereof. And *Tertullian* having shewed that God created no painted or counterfeit colored men asketh if they thought to rise again at the latter day with their faces painted and artificially coloured. Which being valikely, he strictly exhorteth women, to abstaine from

Esay 3. 18.

In Epist. ad
Poli. ion.
Tert. de cult.
mulie.

Ser. 5. de laps
& li. de hab.
vic. Hom. 3. 1.
in Math.
Contra Hel-
ui & ad let de
inst. fil. & in
Epist. ad Fur.

Math. 25. 41.
42. 43.

Esay 58. 7.

Gen. 3. 21.

it, as from things cleane contrary to their creation & resurrection, calling them seruants of the deuill which do the contrary. *S. Cyprian* confirmeth the same by a similitude, saying, If a painter hauing made an image or picture, another should come, & seeking to mēd his work, wold put other colours vpon it, he wold be angry & offended therat. How much more the, saith he, may our Creator be angry, if a mortal man taketh on him by painting, to correct the image of his God? *S. Chrys.* saith, that women which paint themselues, are like to those that put dirt and filth vpon a painted or golden image. And *S. Ierome* calleth it a reproching of God, because he made them not faire enough. And to the same purpose reciting a story of a woman that was plagued by the hand of God, because she had painted her daughter, he addeth, that those that vse it, violate the temple of the holy Ghost. In another place calling such painting, fires which inflame youth, nurseries of lechery, & signes of an vnchaste heart. But to return to our purpose, of pomps & superfluities in apparel, we are all found guilty of great excesse therein, & too common among vs, & for that cause euery onespeaketh, complaineth and crieth out therof, and say that they can see no amendment therein; that it is still worse & worse, that it deserueth a great punishment, & that God wil punish vs for it: which are as many iudgments registred in heauen against vs, which we shal once feele (if they be not already laid vpon vs) when God proceedeth to the execution: for besides that those which loue such foolish expences, & to their shame & confusion, consume their goods, which they ought to imploy in charitable works, oftentimes they imploy other mens goods therein, & somtimes the substance of the poore, which many of them get into their hands by vnlawful means, for which cause many times, seditions, ciuil wars, tyrannies, & cruelties are moued, begun, & executed in commonwealths, towns & states, to the end that such stuards desirous of vain glory, & fishing in troubled waters, may haue the better meanes to maintaine their pomps and braueries. But that is far from the dutie of christians, whom God in his word commandeth to seeke peace, as also not to forget, that they are instituted & ordained by his diuine authoritie, not to be lords, but stuards of the goods that he giueth them, vpon condition to yeeld an account thereof, and to vse them in such sort, that being modestly clothed & fed, they should with the rest help the poore & needy. It is not without cause, that Iesus Christ foretelleth vs of the iudgment which he wil pronounce at the latter day, which is, *Depart from me ye cursed into eueralsting fire: for I was hungry, and ye gaue me no meat; I thirsted, and ye gaue me no drinke, I was a stranger, and ye tooke me not in to you, I was naked, and ye clothed me not, and in prison, and ye visited mee not.* In which sentence there is enough contained to make all those quake for feare, whose excesse in apparell would largely suffice to cover the nakednesse of many poore members of Christ: of whom they make little or no account at all. And yet they are their own flesh and blood (as *Esay* saith) which they are bound to clothe and cover. Besides this, they shew themselues to be altogether ignorant of the maner and quality of the apparell which God made for our first parents *Adam* and *Eue* in Paradise, and also of the cause why that apparell was made. For it is certaine, that their clothes were made of beastes skinnies, to teach them that in their fall and transgression of Gods commandements, they were become like poore beasts, and that the shame they had to see themselues naked by sin, was the cause to make them seeke for clothes. And so the first vse of clothes is a manifest reproch vnto vs of sinne, to humble vs before God: And no cause to make vs glorie in our apparell, but to the contrary, they are as it were a fading or withering state of death ordained to fall vpon our forefathers and vs, because of the ambition and pride of *Adam* and *Eua*, seeking to make themselues equall with God. In such maner, that the onely, beholding or looking vpon our apparell ought to put vs in minde, to renounce and forsake all pride and vanitie, and to seeke to cloth our bodies honestly, to hide our shame, and not sumptuously to encrease it. The second vse of our apparell is, to keepe and preserue vs from colde, raue, and heate of the Sunne, wherein also there is no subiect or matter ministered vnto vs, to be proud, but rather to make vs humble, putting vs in mind of the wrath of God against sinne: for if man had not offended God in Paradise, neither heat nor cold should euer haue hurt him. Then let vs remember Christs exhortation to amend our liues, let vs forsake and detest excesse and pride of apparell, beginning at the reformation of our hearts. For as euery sort of seede produceth herbes or fruits according to the kind, so the heart (as the nurserie of the affections of the soule) being humble and modest, will be the cause to make vs weare and put on the like apparell, as to the contrary, an ambitious and proud heart, cannot but delight and take pleasure in pomps, pride of apparell, and other vanities. And let vs knowe that it is a great folly and

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extreme iniquity for vs, to haue more care of the garnishing of our bodies, then of the ornaments of our soules. But as the body is more & dearer vnto vs then our clothes, & that many times we sel & pawn our apparel, to feed or heale the body, if need require. So we ought to abandon al affection & desire to clothe our bodies richly, that we may the better benefit our soules. Humility, holines, chastity, and charity, are the precious ornaments of the soule, wherunto nothing is more contrary then pride & ambition: which shew themselves in the excesse & superfluity of exterior apparel. Again, if it be a common thing among vs, that we haue great care to weare better apparel then ordinary, when we are bidden to a banquet, or to an assembly of honorable personages, where we are to be & conuerse with our equals: what ought we to do in the behalf of our soules, by the which through faith here on earth, we conuerse with God, and his holy angels all the daies of our liues (if wee liue like true christians) that when we die, we may be ready, and effectually be receiued into that celestial company in heaven? It should bee as it were an overthrowing of all good order, if not thinking vpon this difference, we take more care to adorn & beautifie that which is exterior & mortal, then that which is interior & immortal. Let vs rather follow S. Peters exhortation, which he directeth to women, & toucheth men also, that is, *Whose apparelling let it not be that outward, with broidred haire, & gold about, or in putting on of apparel, but let it be the hidden man of the heart, which consisteth in the incorruption of a meeke and quiet spirit, which is before God a thing much set by.* Or as S. Paul saith, *Likewise also the women, that they array themselves in comely apparel, with shamesfastnes & modesty, not with broidred haire, or gold, or peale, or costly apparell, but as becometh women that profess the feare of God with good works.* To be short, let vs so renounce all our ambitious vanities, that every man according to his quality (not imaginary, but true) that is, as his state & condition requireth, and can beare it, apparelling himself modestly, may shew by effect that he feareth God, and desireth to edifie others. For if *Pithagoras* did so much by his instructions, that the women in his time (beeing infidels) left off their iewels, and other costly ornaments, as seruing only for instruments of folly, and incontinency, and learned from him, that their only and speciall ornament was chastity; wee ought much more to feare to wrong Iesus Christ our soveraign doctor and great master, in such maner, that his authority & doctrine should not take place among vs that are christians, to make vs leaue & forsake our vanities & follies.

1. Pet. 3. 3.

1. Tim. 2. 9.

Iust. li. 20.

Banquets.

Solon.

Epictetus.

Timothæus.

Iust. li. 20.

Iust. li. 20.

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Touching the other point, wherein also appeareth a couetous desire of vaine glory, that is in feasts and banquets, it is manifest, & well known to all men, that there is no banquet, no nor any ordinary meale made by many men, wherein there is not superfluity & excesse. Neuertheles, we know that meats & drinks are given vnto vs by God for two special purposes; the first, to nourish & sustain vs, that by food our bodies receiuing force & vigor (which we properly call refection) we may apply our selues to serue God, every one in that vocation wherunto he hath called vs. But to the contrary, we commonly see, that our meales for the most part, serue to make vs vnfit for our vocation, our bodies by long sitting at the table, and the abundance of feuerall meats, becoming so heavy & out of order, that rising from our meals, we are fitter (like hogs) to lye down to sleepe, then disposed (like Christians) to do our duties to God, specially in regard of reading his word, giuing him thanks, & praying vnto him. So that therby we rather destroy and kill, then feed and nourish our bodies. Whereas if we had a regard and care to eate and drinke soberly, and necessarily, our bodies would bee in better temper, and our soules so much the more and better disposed to their proper actions. Sobrietie is the mother of health, and the nurse of vertue; for the Spirit is alwayes apt to comprehend that which it professeth, when the braines are not troubled by vapours, which the superfluities of meats send into the head. A Pagan was wont to say, that if the greatest & soveraign good of man, is to haue no need of nourishment, it is manifest that the next good therunto, is to need or vse but a litle. Another sayd, that when we sit down to meate, we must make account that we are to feed 2. gesses, the body & the soule, and that all the meate which we put into the bodie, presently passeth through it, without any great profit, but that which is good, (as wise discourses, & prudent thoughts) entreteth into the soule, & staies therein to a profitable vse. To this purpose a grecian captain hauing suppt with *Plato* in his scholl where he had but a sober & a smale meale, (for the greatest banquets which the wisemen in those times vsed, were only made with olives, cheese, apples, coleworts, bread & wine, said that those which suppt with *Plato*, were sure not to be ill at ease the next day, nor long time after. For it is true, that they ordinarily met together at supper & dinner without any excesse of meates, not to fill their bellies, but to refresh their minds & spirits, and to learne instructions one of the other, by notable discourses of Philosophie, which concerne the arte and science of li-

uing well. And it is to be noted and specially considered, that in the holy Scriptures, we find that our first parents for a long time, lived, and fed themselves only with fruits, milk, meale and water. And who could ever after their times, approach neere, or attaine vnto the long and happy dayes and ages which they liued? What preparation or store of daintie meates might the Israelites (being sixe hundred thousand men that came out of Egypt) looke for, or expect to carry with them, when they went into a strange countrey, beeing 40. yeares on their iourney in the deserts, and therein drinking nothing but water, and many times could find none? The other end and vse of eating and drinking, is to praise God, and to extoll his

1. Cor. 10. 31 goodnes & liberality toward vs. To the which end, S. Paul saith, *Whether you eat or drinke, or whatsoeuer you doe, doe all to the glory of God.* But where is there one among vs, when he eateth and drinketh, that is moued in heart to say with *David*, *Lord thou art good and gracious.* And

Psal. 119. 68. in how many bankets do men take occasion or subiect to enter into an acknowledgment or any discourse of the graciousnes, mercy and power of God, author of al goodnes? But rather consume and passe the time away in vaine and foolish talke, or else to welcoms one the other, and to moue and presse them to eat and drinke. *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and other Philo-

Plut. Simpos. li. 1. sopers, were of aduise, that it was a commendable and profitable thing, to gather and to keep a record of such discourses, and speeches as should be spoken and made, when men were at a banquet, or at a great feast. But if that were practised among vs that are Christians, such re-

gifters for the most part would bee filled with narrations, so vnworthy our profession, that prophane persons would be ashamed to vse the like when they were at meat. For in truth, in our bankets ordinarily there are no discourses of learning or godlines, but only a maner of merry & pleasant intertainment, altogether fauoring of the world, & oftentimes too much of the flesh. And to fill vp the measure of excessse, Drunkennesse is the next point, so much

Drunkennes. vsed in these daies, that it is become a vice almost without remedy. For now we thinke wee haue not made our ghests good cheere, nor bidden them sufficiently welcome, if we moue not all the company at the table, as it were by constraint to drink more then they desire, & in many places & countries, til they be drunk. That is it wherof some make great brags and vaunts (as if they gloried therein) how much they haue drunk, & how they made their companions drunk. Some haue glasses without feet, that men cannot set them down out of their hands, til they haue drunk al out, & some haue litle bells hanging at their cups, by the ringing therof to shew their valor in drinking al out. Some proceed further, & haue a die placed and closed in the foot of the cup, which whē they stir it, he that drunk last is bound to drink again, or some other of the company, according to the nūber of the points that shalbe found vpon the die, whē it hath bin shakt. A deuillish inuētion without doubt, if euer there was any, in such maner to profane the prouidence of God, & the vse of wine, so excellent a creature, applying it by lots or chance to drunkennes. Again, there are many other like acursed means vsed for the same purpose, as meats expressly prepared by art, which are caled shoinghorns for wine, to force & constrain men to drink without thirst, till they be drunk. And yet the inconueniences which happen therby, are so apparant, noisome, and so wel noted by Pagans, that it is a monstrous thing, that there should be Christians found that do not abhor, nor are not ashamed of so detestable & pernicious a vice, as drunkennesse is. For to say truth, there is no vice more contrary to the excellency of the creation of man endued with vnderstanding & reason: for by means of that excessse, he loseth the vse of vnderstanding, reason, & iudgment. Again, how can it be the light of vnderstanding which maketh him differēt frō brute beasts when wine bereaueth him both of sense & reason, & taking man frō man, placeth him among the ranck of beasts, as it is plainly confessed by a drunken Proverb, That some drunkards are like apes, some like hogs, & some like lions. As experience sheweth, that some being drunk are like apes, for foolish toies & light behauiours: others sleep & wallow in their vomiting like hogs. And others quarrell & brawle, wrangle, & fight like lions. And we may well say, that all drunkards are true Lyons to themselves, because they do iniury to themselves, waste their goods, & consume both bodie and soule. Therefore a Pagan said, that drunkennesse is a voluntary fury. And an ancient father saith, it is a wonder, that the bodies of drunkards, which by nature are of earth, being so much discepred with drinking, do not consume to filth & dirt, but that the soule serueth the in a maner for salt, to keep their bodies for a time from rotting. And certēly, the excellēcy of the spirit in Christians, serueth to meditate vpon things that belong to God, & there is no exercise that can be more comodious & profitable for the, nor wherein the Lord is more glorified, the in praier, praising & giuing thanks vnto God. But drunkennes wholly abolisheth the vse thereof, as also of the reading, & hearing of the word of God. For

Senec. in epist.
84. ad Lucil.
Basil. in serm.
oort, Ebri.

if being sober and fasting, often times and too much, wee fall asleepe when wee heare it; there is nothing to be expected of drunkards but onely a meere beastly senselesnes, which wholly depriveth them of the profit of diuine doctrine. For as a great continuall raine (saith Saint *Augustine*) moistneth and soaketh the earth, and makes it so boggie, that it can not bee laboured, nor plowed to bring forth fruit: so our flesh drunke by ouer great abundance of wine, is not capeable to receiue spirituall tillage, nor to beare fruits fit and conuenient for the immortall soule. And therefore we must take heede, that our bodies to much distempered, and as it were drownd in wine, become not like marshes, wherein there growes and breeds nothing but weedes, frogs, snakes, and such like creatures. Oh great wickednes in humane kinde (saith this ancient Father in an other place) that we should oftentimes presse and force men that are full already, to drink more then needs, & refuse to giue a cup of water to a poore body, begging it at our dore: Sitting at the table we say (to those that are full vp to the throat) you are not merry, you eate nothing, to haue them eat more, and refuse a morsell of bread to a poore hungrie man. Wee speake to our guests whom the abundance of sweet wine and dainty meats (but too much prouoke them) bidding them make good cheere and bee meery; and forget them, that wanting bread for themselves, and their children, sigh, mourne and weepe. Oh great Sacriledge (saith Saint *Ierome*) in such sort to giue the goods of the poore, to those that are not poore. The Drunkard (saith Saint *Chrysostome*) is a voluntarie Diuell, guilty and inexcusable of his owne ruine and decay. And Saint *Augustine* saith, That drunkenness is an amiable diuell, a dainty poison, and a sweet sinne. Saint *Paul* telleth drunkards, *That they shall not inherit the kindome of heauen.* And to shew how much wee should abhorre this vice, hee forbiddeth vs to keepe company with those, that professing the Gospell, are adicted to drunkenness.

Serm. 23. de
Ebr. cauend.

Serm. de
temp.

In epist. hom.
1. de verb. A.
post. modici
vino vttere.
Ad sac. Virg.
1 Cor. 6. 10.
& 5. 11.

Of necessitie (saith an ancient Father) we must be in company of those, with whom wee meet in a ship or in the warres, but to be conuersant with euery man to eat & drink, it is not the part of a wise and vertuous man. If a Pagan Phylosopher could make answer to *Antigonius*, and said (when he asked his aduice and counsell what he should doe, being bidden to a banquet where certaine insolent women should come) that he should remember that he was a kings son; therby aduertising him, to beware of dishonest company, and so to shun all occasion of euil: how much more ought we to remember, that we are the children of the king of heauen, his royal priesthood, his holy nation, and his free people. That we may abstaine from fleshly lusts, which fight against the soule, and therefore must not haunt any company whatsoever, to feast, drinke, or doe any thing that may any way tend to disorder, riot, or excessse? But it may be some will say, Is it vnlawfull for vs when we are at feasts and banquets, to speake of other things then of God, and to serue him? or must wee neuer make banquets, and feast our friends? Therunto I say, there is great difference between alwayes and neuter; that nothing hindreth vs from recreating our selues together, with seemely speeches, and modest mirth, wel becomming a christian life, & that God permitteth vs to make feasts and banquets, according to the examples therof found in the holy Scriptures, which also we doe not restraine to a strict maner of eating bread & herbs, and drinking water, nor yet to halfe an hower time. God hath created good meats, and sweet & delicate wines, to vse them for our food & necessity, but we must alwaies vse sobriety and honesty, in such maner, that our feasts may be seasoned with christian discourses, and that therin we vse no excessse in abundance, curiositie of meats, nor sitting long time at the table. And at such times specially we must remember the poore & needie, and that which Iesus Christ to that purpose saith; *Therfore giue almes of those things which you haue, and behold, all things shall be cleane to you.* For therby he sheweth, that our meats vpon our tables, and all the goods that we haue shall be vncleane, if while wee enioy great plentie of wealth, wee haue no care nor desire to bestowe a part thereof on them that want: let vs therefore spare, as much as we can of our abundance and superfluitie to helpe the poore. To the which end also in an other place he exhorteth vs at our feastes and banquets, not to invite the rich that can bid vs againe, but the poore, the maimed, the lame, and the blinde, which haue nothing to giue vs againe, and saith, that wee shall bee blessed in so doing, and sure to be recompensed at the resurrection of the Iust. As also he admonisheth vs to take heed to our selues, lest at any time our hearts bee suppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this life, lest the latter day come vpon vs vnawares, and suppress vs to our vtter destruction.

Plut. in vij.
Sap. conuiu.

Menedemus.

1. Pet. 2. 9. 11.

Gene. 21.

Iob 1.

1. Kings 3.

2. Sam. 3.

Esther 9.

Matth. 9.

Luke 11. 41.

Luke 14. 12.

Luke 21. 34

To conclude, let vs remember the saying of *Solomon*, *That wee, sorrowe, grieve, murmuring, wounds, and readnesse of eyes, happen to them that carrie long at the wine, and to them that goe and*

Esay 5.11.

1.Tim.5.23.

Ephel.5.18.

seek mixt wine: which goeth downe pleasantly, but in the ende thereof it will bite like a Serpent, and hurt like a Cocatrice. And let vs learne this sentence of Esay, Woe unto them that rise vp care-ly to follow drunkenesse, and to them that continue untill night, till the wine doth inflame them, and the Harpe and Viol, the Timbrel and Pipe, and wine are in their feasts, and regard not the Worke of the Lord, neither consider the worke of his hands. Let vs vse wine soberly, for the preseruati-on of our health, (as Saint Paul exhorteth his Disciple) by that sweet liquour, taking occa-sion to praise God for his bountie, and not to abuse it, and so to offend him that created it. Aboue all things being carefull to be filled with the holy Ghost. To bee short, let vs drive from our banquets and feasts, all excesse, proceeding of ambition and vaine glory, and from that foolish desire to bee esteemed rich, and liberall in such vanities, more then o-thers: thereby not to incur the disgrace of pouertie or nigardlinesse. Let vs rather seeke for reputation in sobrietie and affection, to giue a good example to our neighbours: that so changing vice into vertue, wee may altogether (in the aboundance of the blessings of God) acknowledge his great liberalitie toward vs, to his honour and glory.

6. Of Pleasure, Adultery, and Lecherie.

Touching pleasure and voluptuousnesse, which we also set among the most pernicious vices: it is certaine that all the affections which God hath placed in mans nature, tend vn-to as many good, proper, and conuenient things, whereof he may obtaine the possession and fruition, and in them pleasure and delight, and that his affections are giuen vnto him, as goades to prick him forward, and to induce him to seeke after God his soueraigne good, in whom onely hee may finde true ioy and entire pleasure. But as those affections haue beene depraued by sinne, so they produce effects contrarie to their originall, and with great difference betweene naturall men, and those that are renewed by the holy Ghost. Now it is not alwaies true, that voluptuousnes or delight is an ease, which the heart taketh, in the enioying of that good which is conuenient and fit for it, nor that euery man may receiue pleasure and ioy in all parts both of the body and of the soule, as well by the interior as the exterior senses, as every one is more or lesse addicted to one, or diuers of those parts, and taketh more pleasure in the delights that he may receiue by them. For wee see that the meaner and common sort of people, and those that are the rudest, and the ignorantest, are more moued, and take greater delight in corporall and exterior things, which concerne the bodily senses; then in spirituall things, which are of a higher qualitie, and more con-uenient for the Spirit, and wherein they may receiue more delight. But men that are wise and prudent, know well how to embrace the one, and to leaue the others. But the subiect of our proposition leadeth vs here to speak of the most vile and abiect pleasure of all others, which is receiued by the sense of feeling: against the which generally, there are an infinite number of notable sentences, set downe by the Pagans and infidels, whereby with the common consent of all the world, this false pleasure and delight is blamed and con-demned, as most dangerous, most pernicious, and altogether vnworthy of man.

Architas apud
Cic. in li. de
Senct.

One saith, That there is no deadlier plague then voluptuousnesse, that it is the spring and originall of treasons, and the ruine of common wealths, there beeing no enterprife so wic-ked, whereunto man is not pricked forward and prouoked by this vice. Plato calleth it the fishbooke of all evils: for by sweet delights and pleasures, men are taken and carried into all miseries, and put to death, like fishes caught by the fishbooke, when it is covered with a bait, saying further, That it continually procureth hurt to man, and ingendreth griefe, folly, forgetfulnesse of wisdom, and insolency in his minde. Plutarch saith, That pleasure dis-solueth mans body, and softeneth it by delights, mortifieth his strength, and decayeth his force: from whence proceedeth abundance of diseases, and is the cause that wee see the be-ginning of weake old age to appeare in yong men. An other Pagan saith, It is a cruel beast, which makes men slaues, and tieth them fast in chaines of Diamants. An other, That pleasure and griefe are twinnes, whereof the first is no sooner borne, but the other present-ly followeth, and holdeth it as it were by the heele, to supplant it, and to change pleasure into repentance. An other compareth it to a white sepulchre, or toombe, faire without, but full of infection and stinking deadly saueur within. An other, to a strong poyson mixt with hypocras or milke, as in trueth voluptuousnesse poysoneth man in such sort, that it killeth reason and vertue in his soule, and health in his body.

But if all these sentences aforesaid were said by Pagans and Infidels, that onely regarded naturall

naturall man; and this present life, how much more ought this vice to bee detested by the children of God, regenerated by his holy Spirit, and in regard of eternall life? It is the cares of the world (saith Iesus Christ) that hinder them which haue heard the Gospel preached, to bring forth fruit. And Saint *Paul* also meaneth the same, when hee saith, *They that are in the flesh, cannot please God: That he which liueth in pleasure, is dead, while hee liueth.* Wherefore it becommeth the faithfull, not to take care for the flesh to fulfill the lustes thereof. Then let vs beware of so dangerous an enemy as pleasure is; let vs flie the occasions that may moue vs thereunto, and such companions as are addicted to it: For as greene wood laid on the fire, will not burne at the first, yet at the last it burnes and consumes. So it is with him that haunteth and keepeth company with riotous and voluptuous fellows, hee may for a time resist and forbear from euil; but in the end he plungeth therein, and sinketh ouer head and eares.

Luke 8.14.
Rom. 8.8.
1. Tim. 5.6.
Rom. 13.14.

To that ende let vs shunne and auoyd Idlenesse, as the true mother of voluptuousnesse, as a Pagan saith, That doing nothing, wee learne to doe euill: and that as by continuall labour, concupiscence decreaseth; so by idlenesse it increaseth. Standing puddle waters easily corrupt, and so doe idle men. But specially let vs consider, that nothing is more contrary to amendment of life, in Gods children; nor to the sighes and teares (required of them by the holy Ghost) for the bewayling of their sinnes and corruptions, then carnall pleasures. For as it is a thing contrary to nature, to light fire in water: so it is monstrous, that voluptuousnesse and pleasure should breed in a sorrowfull and greeued heart for his sinnes. When the holy Scripture calleth vs to a solemne acknowledging and feeling of our iniquities, it exalteth vs to fast, to weepe, and to mourne, and saith, *Let the bridegrome goe forth of his chamber, and the bride out of her bedchamber.*

Ioc. 1.12.16.

Therefore let vs submit our selues to the wholesome aduertisements of the holy Ghost, indeuouring our mindes to tame and pull downe our rebellious flesh, and to quench the fire of concupiscences, by fasting, weeping & prayer to the Lord. And so we shall triumph ouer that monster voluptuousnesse: for it is true, that when the flesh is extenuated and kept low, it sharpneth the forces of the spirit, conuerteth the vigor of the body into the vertues of the soule, restraineth the carnall marrow thereof, from casting out stinking and villanous exhalations, keepeth the secret prouocation hidden in the intrailles from heating the braines, and preserveth the senses, alienated from their right functions, from lusting after that villanous pleasure which inciteth and prouoketh them thereunto, and which li- deth and passeth away as soone as it is borne: that so the spirit onely may take her rest, and sole delight, in the meditation and enioying of the supercelestial good, which is conuenient and fitte for it, and reioyce that it hath vanquished and overcome her greatest aduersary the flesh. But all that which we haue formerly said, beeing generally spoken of voluptuousnesse, we must now shew the particular kindes thereof. The holy Scriptures speaking of the monstrous corruption of men, worse then beasts in this respect, setteth downe such abhominable kindes therof, that chaste hearts would abhorre to heare them named, and therefore we will leaue to speake of such sinne against nature, for the which the persons guilty, were vtterly to be rooted out of the earth, by the law of God. Neither will we here speake of incestuous coniunction forbidden by the Lord, but only of two kindes of Concupiscence or Lechery, too common among Christians, & yet most pernicious and damnable. The first is adultery, whereby we vnderstand that lechery which is committed between such persons, whereof the one or both of them, are otherwise lincd by marriage, so odious a vice, that among the infidels, it was most exactly lookt into, and grievously punished. *Aristotle* saith, If a man or woman committeth adultery with any other then their owne wife, or husband, such a one ought to be placed in the ranke of most vilanous and infamous persons. And among the *Locrians*, there was a law made by one *Zaleucus*, that condemned adulterers to haue both their eies put out, which was afterward so well kept and obserued, that the law-makers owne sonne being found guilty therein, though all the people intreated for him, that he might be spared, *Zaleucus* would not hearken thereunto, but caused one of his owne eies to be put out, and one of his sonnes, that so the rigour of the law might be obserued. *Augustus Caesar* also made a law called *Iulia*, touching Adultery, which permitted the father in that case to kill his daughter. And the son of *Fabius* a Senator of Rome, hauing kilde his mother, and him that was taken in Adultery with her, was absolved and acquitted of the fact by the Senate of Rome.

Leuit. 18.28.
Deut. 18.

Adultery.

Aristotle.
Polit. 2.

To be short, it is certaine, that in all nations, where honour and ciuility bare neuer so

little sway, his vice of Adultery hath beene grievously punished, and much hated of all generous persons. For if any man had but mooved or solicited a woman to commit adultery he was punished with diuers paines, as the ciuill lawes declare. And yet the dispensation, slackenes, and negligence of Christians in suffering such iniquity, hath begotten such libertie, that now it is a great and a rare commendation giuen and attributed to married persons, to say that they haue liued faithfully in marriage. And yet God saith, (*Thou shalt not commit adultery*) and hath enioyned the paines of death vpon that offence: and which is more hath giuen that iudgement against the maide, that is betrothed to a man, and to him that shal ly with her.

Exodus 20.
Deuter. 5.
Leuit. 20. 10.
Deut. 22. 22.
Gen. 38. 24.
1. Cor. 6. 10.

Heb. 13. 4.
Malachi. 3. 5.

For which cause *Iuda* the Patriarch, being told that *Thamar* that should marry with his sonne, had committed Adultery, hee commaund her to bee burnt. And these sentences are set downe in the holy Scriptures (that Adulterers shall not inherite the kingdome of God) that marriage is honorable among all men, and the bed vndefiled, but whoremongers and adulterers God will iudge. To amend this detestable vice, first let vs note, that as a man committing Adultery sinneth more grievously then the woman, because hee ought to surpass her in vertue, and to guide her by good examples, so the fault of the woman is most great, and without remedy, for thereby proceedeth confusion, and doubtfulnes of children, whereby many times, mens goods are transported and giuen to those to whom they belong not; but because, that both in the one and the other, there is breach of faith, and promise before God (as *Salomon* saith) they sinne equally and alike before his maiesty, and shall receiue like and most grievous punishment at the latter day. Let vs also remember, that the Lord hauing pronounced the sentence of death against Adulterers, is constant and resolute in his iudgements, and that if Magistrates doe not execute them here on earth, God hath diuers meanes to execute iudgement, and to doe iustice, both in this life, and in the life to come. As the Scriptures specially witnes, by the examples of *Sedechias* and *Achab* that were Adulterers: of *Salomon* that committed Idolatry by meanes of that vice: and of *Dauid*, by the effect of the sentence giuen by the holy Ghost, that the sword should neuer depart from his house.

Prou. 2. 17.

Ierem. 29. 23.
1 Kings 11.
2. Sam. 12. 10.

Fornication.

Deut. 23. 17. 18

Gen. 34.

1. Cor. 10.
Nomb. 25. 9.

1 Thel. 4. 3. 4.

Col. 3. 5.
Ephel. 5. 3.

The other kinde of voluptuousnes, now in question, is fornication; which is committed betweene free persons, whereof neither the one nor the other, are married, it is true, that although the Philosophers wrot many notable precepts against this vice, yet the Pagans neuer made any great account thereof, nor sought much to punish it. But they are neither lawmakers nor iudges for vs. But the most holy and euer liuing God, who, forbidding Adultery, therewith also prohibiteth carnall copulation betweene vnmarried persons (as it is written) There shal be no whore of the daughters of Israel, nor a Sodomite of the sonnes of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord thy God. The history of the children of *Iacob*, (which vnder pretence of circumcision massacred all the people of *Sichem*, because they had defiled their sister *Dina*.) sheweth how much God hath alwaies beene pleased with chastity, and detested fornication, when he suffered so horrible vengeance to be taken vpon *Sichem*, his father, and al his subiects, because one of them had deflowred a maide.

And that specially which is written in the Scripture, that for Fornication God caused three and twenty thousand Iewes to be slaine in one daie, which is a most certaine testimony, how he alwaies condemned, and grievously punished this sinne: Therefore it ought to bee abhorred among vs that are Christians, and so much the more apprehended, in regard of the Lords iudgement to come, wee hauing receiued greater measures of the graces of God, and a more cleare, more ample, and liuelier instruction of his will, for the preservation of our bodies and soules in purity and chastitie, then the Iewes had. For so wee ought to practise and put in vre the sentence of Saint *Paul*, saying, That euery one of you should know how to possesse his vessell, in holinesse and honour, and not in the lust of concupiscence, euen as the Gentiles that knew not God. For this is the will of God, that wee should abstaine from fornication: and for that cause hee exhorteth all the faithfull to mortifie their members, which are on the earth, as fornication, inordinate affections, and euill concupiscence. And in another place, hee requireth, That fornication and all uncleannesse, should not bee once named among vs, as it becommeth Saints. And that wee should not company together, If any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or infected with other vices forbidden by God, and that wee should not eate with such a one. Wee haue already noted the sentences and iudgements set downe in the holy Scriptures, against dissolute and impudent persons: which iudgement to come

Saint

Saint Iohn representeth vnto vs, in a most fearefull manner saying, *That the fearefull and vn- Apoc. 21. 8.*
belacuing, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whooremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolaters,
and all Liers, shall haue their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the
second death.

To conclude, let vs remember, and meditate vpon the liuely and pregnant reasons a-
foresaid, shewed to this purpose; and vpon this also which the Apostle propoundeth vnto
vs, to make vs abhorre fornication, saying, *Know ye not that your bodies are the members of* 1 Cor. 6. 15,
Christ, shall wee then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an Harlot? God 16, 17, 18,
forbid. Doe ye not know, that hee which coupleth himselfe with an Harlot is one body? For two, 19, 20.
saith hee, shall bee one flesh, but he that is ioyned vnto the Lord is one Spirit. Flee Fornication, eue-
ry sinne that a man doth, is without the body, but hee that committeth Fornication, sin-
neth against his owne body; Know ye not that your body is the Temple of the holy Ghost, which
is in you, whom you haue of God? And yet are not your owne, for you are bought for a price; there-
fore glorifie God in your body and in your spirit, for they are Gods. And to the same ende, let
vs thinke one that which an Ancient Father hath written, saying: That when Fornication
hath once sealed on mans vnderstanding, it hardly suffereth him to thinke vpon any good
thing; that the naturall desires are glued, that from the suggestions of the flesh proceedeth
thought, from thought affection, from affection delight, from delight consent, from con-
sent action, from action custome, from custome despaire, or doubt of amendment, from
despaire excuse, from excuse glorifying in sinne, and from glorifying in sinne, the inevita-
ble condemnation and iudgement of God. And lastly, that if by the infirmity of our flesh,
we feele our selues to be carried away to the first degrees of so damnable corruption, let vs
breake, or at the least, in so good time prevent the other degrees which mount higher, that
wee may auoide running headlong, and falling into eternall death.

Gregor. in
moral.

7. Of unlawfull pastimes, Dauncing, Dice, Playes and Commedies.

Wee must also note, that among our most pernicious corruptions, are reckoned foo-
lish pastimes, and laciuous and hurtfull recreations, which many with great desire seeke
after; specially, Dauncing, Dicing, Playes and Commedies. For the first, wee must (to
our great shame and confusion) acknowledge that it is a common thing to see married
men and women, yong men and maides, in companies together dauncing with great light-
nesse, vanitie, signes, and iestures, saouring of laciuousnesse; either with instruments of
musicke, or singing dissolute songs. And yet those daunces were alwaies the effects, sub-
iects or dependances of great vices, namely of Idolatrie, drunkennesse, and fornication.
Resembling the Pagans in their most vilanous and dishonest banquets; as their feasts of
Bacchus, Pan, and other such like Idols were celebrated with daunces.

And it is written of the Iewes, that when they had offered to the golden calfe, they sat
downe to eate and drinke and rose vp to play, to dance after flutes, and to sing. And all
great banquets and drunken feasts are commonly celebrated with the same vanities, as the
Proverb saith, when the belly is full, the legges are light to dance. For we doe not often see
that exercise vsed in the morning, or when men are fasting. And it is said of the Amalekites
that when they sacked Siceleg, *David* found them dauncing, after they had eaten and
drunke. For this cause an ancient father writing against dauncing in his time, said, that wine
is the cause thereof. But be it what may be, we must of force confesse, that all dauncers are
moued and prouoked to that action, by the pleasures of the flesh, from whence also folle
concupiscences, condemned by God doe proceede, which would easily be transformed into
fornication. If God by his mercy and diuine power did not preserve many from it. Wee
know that Christ saith, who soeuer looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed
adultery with her already in his heart. For the eyes are like windowes, whereby the poison
of concupiscence entrencheth into the heart. And so it appeareth into what danger men and
women run, when by dancing they haue liberty to see each other to meet together, to feast;
to embrace, to touch, and to kisse. Which are allurements and inticements to kindle the
fire of Concupiscence of the flesh, or to speake more properly, right solicitors of lechery, and
an invention of the Diuell: to throw men headlong into that which they ought specially to
abhorre. Which made an ancient father aptly compare man and woman to two earthen ves-
sels, which Sathan causeth to meete together, in the tempests, leapings and gambadoes of
dancing, to bruse and breake each other. And Ecclesiastes after hee had said, that many
wondering

Exod. 32. 6;
18. 19.

Basil. Sermon.
in ebrietate.

Matth. 5. 28.

Eccl. 9 10, 11.

wondring at the beauty of a strange woman, haue been cast out, for her words burne as fire, addeth, Sit not all with an other mans wife, neither lie with her vpon the bed, nor banquet with her, lest thine heart encline vnto her, and so through thy desire fall into destruction. Wherby we may conceiue, into what danger they runne, who hauing eaten & drunk with women in some banquet, where commonly they dresse themselves brauely to the shew, chuse and take them by the hand, leade them to daunce, approach neere vnto them, kisse them, and shew them their agilitie in turnings and windings about, frisking, and steppes backward and forward: They doing the like. Which actions are like great winds that kinde and set on fire their hearts; which are alreadie but too much naturally inflamed with concupiscence. And if there bee any impudent devices in dauncing, lasciuious songs, or sound of Instruments, which put them in minde of such things: Is it not as much as if one should cast oyle into the fire of concupiscence, which naturally burneth in our breasts, and to augment the danger of our vtter decay? As Saint Paul saith, that *Euill words corrupt good manners.* And Saint Peter saith, *It is sufficient for vs that wee haue spent the time past of our liues, after the lusts of the Gentiles, walking in wantonnesse, lusts, drunkennesse, in gluttony, drinkings, and in abominable Idolatries.* What can wee otherwise vnderstand by these insolencies but that which is contrarie to modestie, and Christian chastitie; and consequently all those lasciuious toies, fooleries and vanities, which are seene and found to be in dauncing? Let vs consider this exercise in it selfe, and looke vpon the leappings, skippings, turnings, and returnings, goings backward, and forward, caperings, windings about and beating or stamping of the ground with their feete, with diuers other such light toies, and it may bee truly said, that all such fooleries and vndecent actions, make them that doe them resemble men troubled in minde, or madde, rather then such as are wise, or of staied iudgement. And againe, if standing in a high place, or on a hill, wee should see a company of people dauncing and leaping, and heare no musicke play, nor any man sing, we could iudge no lesse, but that they were fooles, madde men, or drunkards.

Masking and Mummung.

This dauncing also brought the vse of Masking and Mummung in request: the shamefulnesse and scandall whereof, is so notoriously knowne, that it needes no great discourse, and therefore wee will onely say, that the face being giuen by God to man, to shew it openly, and the mouth to speake, wee doe as much as in vs lieth, to crosse the diuine ordinance of God, and wholly to contrarie him, when we put one a counterfet face, and speake not. They also are no otherwise to bee esteemed of that put on strange apparell to make themselves seeme of another sex and kinde, then by nature they were created. For it is nothing to the purpose for any man to alledge, that many of those that doe such things, thinke no euill, because that which is euill of it selfe, is vnexcusable, and all actions or things done and deuised to bee done by the motions and affections of the flesh, are not allowable.

Christ. Hom. 49. in Matth.

All the auncient fathers and doctors of the Church do agree in one, and write against dauncing; Saint Chrysostome hath written whole volumes thereof, and in one of them, wherein he speaketh of the banquet made by Herod, among other things, he saith, It was the Diuell that made him take such delight in the kings daughter, for whom he so much lusted: for where there is dauncing and leaping, there the Diuell rules. Because God gaue vs not legges to fetch gambadoes, and to shew tumbling trickes, but to walke and goe modestly or to be quiet in the company of Saints. But when the body turnes, winds, and becomes deformed by leaping impudently, it is to be thought and beleued, that the soule becommeth worse, and more villanous. And in his exposition of the marriages of Isaac and Jacob, he exhorteth Christians to marke and obserue, that there they had no dauncing: behold (saith he) how ciuilly they celebrated their marriages: vnderstand this you that make so great account of Sathanicall pompes, and contaminated filthines at the entry into the holy estate of matrimony: Was there any viols? was there any drummes? was there any diabolicall daunces there? Saint Ambrose saith, That no man daunceth vnlesse he be drunke or mad. And touching Herodias that had taught her daughter to dance, he saith, what say you holy women to this? you see what you ought to teach your daughters, and what you should make them leaue and forget: by this maide that danced, beeing the daughter of an incestuous harlot. But let her that is a chaste matron or mother, & a godly wife, teach her daughters godlines and not dauncing. It belongs to impudent women (saith an other Father) which haue cast all feare of God behinde their backs, and which make no account of the terrors and threatnings of eternall fire in hell, to prouoke their yong daughters to intemperance by teaching

ibid. in duab. Hom. Sup. Gen.

Ambro. l. 3. de Virg.

Basil in ferm. de ebrietate.

teaching them to dance. Then let vs boldly say, (agreeing with the iudgement of this reuerent antiquity:) That it is an inuention of the Diuell, (what faire shew or colour soeuer is set thereon:) that at this day there should be schooles erected, permitted and openly kept among vs, to teach this vanity and pernicious folly of Dancing. It were rather to bee desired that all he and she dauncers should carefully study, in the schoole of the holy Ghost, which is the doctrine of the Scriptures, to diswade themselves from dancing, that such inticements and occasions to draw, and to be drawne vnto concupiscence and wantonnes might bee abolished from among Christians. Wherein we should follow the authority of diuers counsels helde by the Church which expressely condemned dancing. As also at the last Parliament holden in Orleans, the state of France by their deputies required, that it should bee publickly forbidden, and an act was made to that purpose.

Concil. Lado.
cap. 53.
Concil. Const.
6.
Concil. Agar.
Of playing
at dice, &c.
1. Cor. 10. 31.
Eph. 5. 16.
Math. 12. 36.

Touching plaies, we must resolue, that there is none of them lawfull, if they do not procure some honest benefit and commodity to man, tending to the glory of God. For that is the meaning of Saint Pauls doctrine, when he aduertiseth vs, to doe all things to the glory of God, and when he saith, Redeeming the season, for the dayes are euill. As also of Iesus Christs words, saying, *That of euery euil word that men shall speake, they shall giue an account thereof at the day of iudgment.* For all these instructions of the holy Ghost are set down for the ground of our proposition. We may well say, that there are plaies which consist in the exercise of the body, as to shoote in a bow, or in a barquebus, to play at fence, to wrastle, and such like; the rest in the dexterity of the spirit, as to play at chesse and draughts, all which playes are indifferent things, lawfull & permitted to Christians, when they vse them moderately, that is in regard of the first, to make themselves active and strong, that they may be the fitter, apter, and better able to serue their prince and countrey, when neede shall require: or else for the health of men in particular, as also to recreate themselves, when they are weary with working in their ordinary vocation, that hauing done, they may go to it again, with a liuelier spirit, and somewhat refreshed. Whereunto the second kind of playes may serue. But here we must aduise you of two things; First that there be no excessse vsed in these plaies, whereby men shall be seduced to leaue and neglect their ordinary vocations. Secondly, that wee must not therein vse to play for money, for failing in the first point, we should lose and abuse time, in stead of redeeming it. And for the second, it is certaine, that plaies are not in any sort approoued by diuine or humane lawes, therein to employ, or thereby to get mony, which to the contrary, God puts into our hands, to bee faithfull stewards therof, and to vse it with a good conscience. It is true, that it is otherwise to bee vnderstood, when the Magistrate propounds certaine prizes in games, made for corporall exercises to draw his subiects the willinge to come to them, and thereby to make them abler for the publike seruice of their country.

Againe, there are other playes, which depend vpon casting of lots, and hazard at dice, and cards, from the which Christians ought wholly to abstaine. For first, it may well bee said, that they are forbidden by this diuine precept, *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine*: because the right vse of lots, is to referre them to the wisdom, providence, and power of God, wherewith hee worketh among men. So the Apostles vsed it in the Election of Mathias. And Salomon noteth, saying, *The Lot is cast into the lappe, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord.* Wherefore wee may vse Lots in things of great consequence, where the will of God, ought to bee knowne extraordinarily. But to apply them, (and consequently Gods providence therewith) to our vaine and friuolous pleasures, and oftentimes accompanied with offences against the Diuine maiestie, wee may say, that lots in that manner are abused, and so the name of God is taken in vaine.

Abs. 1.
Prou. 16. 33.

Secondly, such plaies as are permitted ought (as it is said before) to bring necessarie commoditie to the body, or to the Spirit: otherwise they are idle workes, and so there is time lost, for the which wee must yeeld account. The plaies at Cards and Dice containe no kinde of exercise, neither yet bring any profit to the health of the body, nor true recreation to the Spirit. For touching the body, by sitting long, it is made heavier, and ladeth it selfe the more with grosse humours, which by vsing any stirring exercise, or by travell, are moderated and consume: and touching the Spirit, the doubtfull chance of the Dice, or euent of the game, expected by those that play, and the feare they haue of their mo ney, either to be lost or wonne, holdeth them still in paine and anguish. If there bee an y shadow or shew of pleasure, or contentment in them, the onely ground thereof is couetousnesse, and a desire to winne money, which while they are in play, they feare to lose, and so

haue

haue no true delight. And they neuer receiue so much pleasure in winning, that can any waies counteruaile the displeasure that they haue when they lose their money. So you see how the spirit cannot bee properly recreated, by casting of lots, nor yet the body receiue any commodity or profit thereby.

Math. 22. 39. Thirdly, that which vtterly condemneth plaies at Cards and Dice, is that the true ende and purpose of play is to draw vnto themselves other mens goods, because in them there is ready mony stakt downe. For from thence proceedeth an infinite number of most pernicious euils. That is, the losse of their goods, when the Dice crosse one of the players, and manifest theft in the other, which thinketh by vniust gaine to keepe that which belongeth to his neighbour. Which is farre from the duty and effects of Christian charity, and specially from the obedience of Gods commaundement, to loue his neighbour as himselfe. And from such iniquity proceedeth quarrels, contentions, debates, and oftentimes murders, swearing, curling, blaspheming, and to conclude, manifest impiety. Then who will not giue iudgement, that the tree which bringeth forth such fruits is most wicked and worthy to be pulled vp by the rootes? Therefore these kind of playes haue alwaies beene detested and prohibited in al wel governed estates, both Christian and Pagan. Yet it is sayd, that the Lidians being in great necessity and want of victuals, inuented this exercise, that by playing they might finde some meanes to releue themselves in that time of famine, for that many men sat playing two daies together without eating, which kinde of life continued among them for the space of 28. yeares together, and preserued their country from a great famine, by sparing victuals in that manner.

But to the contrary, at this day we see, that we are so farre from recompencing (by fasting) the fault that is committed, by so villanous an exercise, as carding and dicing is, that it is rather vsed with all kinde of dissolutenes, gluttony, excelsse, and superfluitie. Which by experience is too much seen, in those new faculties of gamsters, and people that liue wholly without any care: vnlesse it be of their bellies. It is certaine that the ancient wisemen of the world, did alwaies abhorre the manner of passing, or rather loosing of time, which ought to be vnto vs the dearest thing in the world. As among other examples, this one of a Pagan is specially to be noted, who being sent from Lacedemonia to Corinthus, to intreate of peace betweene those people, and finding the gouernors playing at dice, he turned backe againe, and would not deliuer his message, saying, that he would not defile nor stayne the Lacedemonians glory with so great an ignomie, as, to make peace and amity with dice players. We haue a law in the Digestes, which speaketh of punishing those, that induce others to play. And at Rome, they that vsed this exercise were condemned to pay a fourth part more then that which they had lost at play, for a fine. The Christian Emperors strictly forbad these kinde of playes. And the Emperor Iustinian, among other things ordained, that no man should be constrained to pay that which he had lost in play, and that if he did pay it, it was lawfull for him to aske it againe, commanding that it should be restored to the party, excepting a prescription of 50. yeares. In the Cannon Law, those plaies are prohibited vpon paine of deprivation of the communion, as the Apostolical canons (so called) declare. And S. Cyprian purposely wrot a treatise to shew how Christians ought to abhor such kind of playes, wherein among other things, he saith. That such plays are snares & inuentions of the Diuell, which he forgeth to keepe idolatry in greater vse, and recommendation among men. Noting vpon that point, that Mercury one of the Pagan Gods who is said to haue bin the inuenter of the playes at cards, caused his picture to be painted vpon them, ordaining that when men began to play, they should kisse the cards for a sacrifice vnto him, or else shed some wine vpon the table to honor his picture. Which corruptio Christiāns hauing receiued from Idolaters, haue only changed the images, putting the pictures of a king, a queen, & a knaue, (as we tearme it) on them, in stead of the Pagans idol. Therefore wee may well say, that to play at cards and dice, is to take pleasure in the works of the Diuell, and in some manner to refresh and confirme ancient Idolatry, in stead of vtterly abolishing the memory thereof. To conclude with Cyprian, let vs be children of God, and not players at cards and dice, let vs throw downe our money vpon the Table of the Lord, where Christ preseedeth and angels behold vs, that it may be giuen to the poore, and not lost foolishly. Let vs in that manner giue our goods to Christ to keepe, who will restore it vs a hundred fold againe, in perpetuall fruit. Playing at cards and dice is dangerous, worthy of death, and full of folly. There is no truth in them, but a quagmier of al sorts of lies, and false oathes: let vs withdraw our hands. Turne backe our hearts, and take away the mist of darkenes which Sathan cast before

Chilon.

Digest. lib. 11.
Tit. 5. lib. 1.
Alcon Pedian
Sur la 2 deū
Col. 3. Tit. 43
Lalcarrum vltus

Can. Episco.
dist. 35.

Cap. 42. & 43
Cyprian de
Alcator.

our hands, turne backe our hearts, and take away the mist of darkenesse which Sathan casts before our eies, that our hands may be cleane, and not defiled by honouring the diuell, taking pleasure in his inuentions, Let vs flie from such an enemy, that perswadeth vs by such crafty deuises; and employ our time to learne the true wisdom of the Euangelicall doctrine that wee may resist and beate backe the hurtfull darts of our malicious enemy. Let vs lift vp pure hands to Christ, and that we may please God, let vs neuer looke on Cardes nor Dice any more. So bee it. In this manner Saint Cyprian endeth his Treatise.

Touching Comedies and Tragedies. It is certaine that in that manner of recreation, which within these few yeares is become so common among Christians, there is nothing else but lewdnesse and corruption. To proue it, all the places of the holy Scriptures beforealleged, against playing at Cards and Dice, wherein wee are aduertised to doe all things to the glory of God; to redeeme the time, and to beware of euill words, and vnprofitable workes, doe specially serue. For no man is ignorant (if his iudgement bee not peruered) that in such shewes acted by Stages players, God is dishonoured and offended many waies, time ill employed, and good manners depraued. Let vs heare certaine Auncient Fathers speaking to this purpose, who not content to reprove these foolish representations, because long since they were instituted by Pagans, in honour of their false gods; (for in regard thereof only, wee must confesse that they are detestable, and not to be vsed among Christians (but also for diuers sinnes therein committed against God, and for the vices which proceede thereof, to the great detriment and hurt of many. S. Cyprian saith, Although such spectacles had neuer bene consecrated to false Gods, yet Christians ought not to see them, nor to bee present at them, for if it were not so great a sinne as it is, in them there is an infinite number of vanities, and many things altogether vnfit for, and ill becomming Christian grauitie. For if man of himselfe be inclined to all vice, what will he doe when he hath examples to intice and prouoke him more thereunto? And if our nature of it selfe, be subiect to imbecility and weakenes, what will it be when by indirect courses it shal be led headlong into vice? And in another place, he saith, Vpon Theaters and Stages, you see things acted whereof you should be ashamed, and much moued in minde thereat. There you haue a lively representation of murders, incests, and other execrable actions, to put you in minde of the wickednesse in former times committed. All that are present to heare and see them learne thereby, that the same which in former ages hath bin done, may be done againe. Sinne is not defaced by length or space of time, no age suffocateth wickednesse, neither doth obliuion bury Iniquitie. But that which for a while was left of, being in these daies renewed, serueth for an euill example.

Lactantius saith, What doe the gestures or countenances of players teach vs, but villany and filthines? what will yong men doe, when they see such abominable things represented vpon stages, without all shame or impeachment, & that euery one beholdeth them so gladly, and with so great applause? It is not to bee doubted, but that the things which they see there, put them in a conceit to doe and practise the like: and that they are prouoked and stirred vp vnto diuers filthy motions, by the pleasures which they take in that which they behold, and returne home with their hearts full of bad desires, and their soules corrupted with the venom thereof. S. Iohn Chrysostome saith, At playes adultery is conceived, and dishonest loue taught: calling them the schoole of intemperance, the band of all dissolution, a place to minitter laughter, and the example of dishonesty. If concupiscence (saith hee in another place) and euill desire assaile vs in the Church, while we are singing Psalmes, while the word of God is preaching, and when we are most attentiuetherin to pray, how is it possible when wee are at a play, where wee neither heare nor see any thing that is good, and where wee are inuironed with many perils and dangers, for vs to escape and shun the power of so many subtil and craftie enemies, as are there assembled together? And if when man by chaunce meeteth with a woman, apparelled as she ordinarily goeth, oftentimes hath his heart so much inflamed by beholding her, that the sight of her only sufficeth to intrap him, & to moue him to lust after her: what shal we say of them which spend whole daies in theaters, at their leasures to see & behold beautifull women brauely tired and apparelled, heare nothing but lasciuious speeches, Sirens songs, inticing vowes, & looke on painted faces, alluring eyes, and bodies set forth in such maner, that there are thousand snares to intrap and deceiue those that behold them? We must not (saith S. Basil) imploy our sight to behold the vanities of stage plaiers, nor vse our eares to heare musick and songs, which seduce and corrupt our hearts: for such kind of delights draw after them perpetual ignominy & seruitude.

Comedies
and Tragedies.

Cyprian lib.
de Spect

Ibid. lib. 2. de
Ep. in 2.

Lactant. li. 6.
de Inst. ca. 26

Chrys. Hom.
42 in act. idē
Hom. 3 de
David & Saul

Basil. in orat.
Legend. li.
gens.

Aug. super
Psal. 119.

Aug. lib. 2. De
Ciu. Dei. c. 13

Arist. li. 2. de
Ethic. c. 8

1. Cor. 15.
Eccles. 9. 3, 4.

Saint *Augustine* calleth Theaters, Storehouses of incontinency, and a publike profession of wickednesse, saying, That among the occasions of sinne, which they most shunned, who in times past earnestly repented, one was, Not to be present at such spectacles. Saint *Salvian* saith, That sinne onely and ordinarily infecteth those senses and powers of the body, whereby they are seene and receiued, as filthy thoughts corrupt the soules, vnchaste sight the eyes, and filthy speeches and words the eares. And that although men offend God by one of these parts, the rest are still cleane and without sinne. But when wee are present at Comedies, there is no part in man exempted from sinne: for there the soule is inflamed with euill desires, the eyes are poisoned with that which they see, the eares with that which they heare, and whatsoever is done therein, is so filthy and pernicious, that it cannot be spoken of without blushing. To be short all the ancient Fathers, condemned such plaies and spectacles, placing them among the workes of Satan; and for a certaine cause and occasion of the corruption of manners, and the ruine of Common wealthes. And therefore diuers politike, and well gouerned common wealthes, (although they had not receiued the light of Christian faith) would not permit Plaies in their Townes. Others knowing what hurt and dammage they brought into their Cities, banished them from thence, and some would neuer suffer their wives and daughters to goe to such sports, esteeming them that did so, to be so infamous, that they deprived them of their freedome, specially at Rome. Saint *Augustine* saith, yet it is true, that as vertue in man is finite and limited, so it cannot alwaies be employed in graue and important affaires, but hath neede of some respite and intermission in labours, and some honest recreation, as wee haue already said touching all men in generall; In such sort that for a man to know how to recreate himselfe, and to intertaine others therein, with requisite meanes and measure. It is an action of vertue: which the Auncient Fathers tearmed Ioyfulness. But wee must know, that it is sinne in such recreations to vse lasciuious words, or dishonest gestures to suffer our selues by excesse to bee carried away to the vaine pleasures of any pastime whatsoever, or to say or doe any thing, which is not commendable, and conuenient for the time, place and persons which recreate themselves. And after that manner, it may happen, that things which are acted in some Comedies, may bee honest and holy, and those that Acte them, should bee notable persons well aduised, to behaue themselves in such sort, that thereby no hurt nor scandale should arise or bee given. Yet wee cannot alwaies excuse, the badde actions which are oftentimes mixed with those good Acts: for whatsoever may bee alledged to the contrary they are preiudiciall to vertue, and wholly unfit for Christian grauitie: specially, such plaies as ordinarily haue those plaies in them.

To conclude, if euill wordes corrupt good manners, (as the Apostle saith:) And if the holy Ghost forbiddeth vs to cast our eyes vpon a wicked woman, If wee will not fall into her snares, and not to vse the company of a woman that is a Singer, and a Dauncer, nor to heare her, lest wee bee taken by her craftinesse. And if our Sauour hath taught vs, that hee which looketh vpon a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart: what hurt will not villanous and filthy actions doe, which are shewed openly vpon stages in Tragedies and Comedies, and whereby all the senses are tempted and corrupted? Who is so vaine glorious, and presumptuous, to thinke or imagine, that hee can bee assured in so euident a danger, and feele no euill motions among thole infernall practises, nor commit any sinne, finding himselfe to bee in the company of so many faire, lasciuious, and wanton women, not onely of those that ordinarily play vpon the stage, but of others that willingly frequent them? It is an easie matter for them, by their indecent motions and gestures, their vnchaste eyes, their dissolute apparell, and their sweete voyces, like Syrens to inchant and transforme those that delight to heare and to behold them into beastes, giuing them so much the greater occasion to ouerthrow themselves, as they are shamelesse, wicked, and incontinent.

8. Of Enuie and Slaunder.

There resteth yet two other most pernicious vices, to make the number of seauen compleate, wherein wee haue comprehended our greatest corruptions. That is Enuie, and Slaunder: which also proceede from the forger of humane miseries, the enemy

enemy of our saluation, and are branches of Sathanicall malice, as it is written, That by
 the enuy of the Diuelli, death entered into the world. For this wicked and malicious
 enemy of mankind, being so enuious that hee could not endure to see the glory where-
 unto God had called man, was moued thereby to tempt our first parents: whose ambi-
 tion and disobedience gaue place to sinne. And the first branch of this wicked plant be-
 ing Enuy, was the cause that moued *Adams* eldest sonne to kill his yonger brother *Abel*.
 And to speake truth, this vice of Enuy, is a passion of the soule, breeding bitterness, ma-
 lice, and griefe therein, against the commendable and worthy qualities that are in others.
 From whence in an enuious mans heart, there riseth a secret hatred to those, whom
 he seeth to prosper, whether they be his superiours, inferiours, or equals: being grieved that
 he is not comparable with the first, and fearing that the others would prosper and become
 his equals, or els surpass him: resembling one that hath a tender sight, to whom the light
 or any bright shining things is hurtfull. Therefore, whereas all other vices bring some plea-
 sure with them (although triuolous and accursed) enuy onely to the contrarie, is alwaies
 accompanied with sadnesse and griefe, because mans heart is setled therein, and receiue-
 th and feelth it in his body, as if it bit and gnawed his stomacke. VVhereby it may well be
 approved, that they did not much erre, which said, That enuy is most iust, because shee
 procureth that paine and punishment to the enuious man, which he deserueth. Saint *An-*
gustine saith, shee resembleth a shippe, tossed in the waues of the sea, alwaies troubled, ra-
 ging without cause, helde in miserie full of furie, and like to a rauening Wolfe. It is the
 scurfe of the soule (saith Saint *Cyprian*) the turbation of the thoughts, and the rust of the
 heart. For as rust eateth Iron (saith Saint *Basil*) so Enuy eateth him in whole heart it
 lodgeth. VVhich *Salomon* very well noteth, saying: *That Enuy is the rotting or corrupting of*
the heart. And as the Viper knaweth a hole in the mothers belly to come forth: so en-
 uy consumeth his heart that hath conceiued it, to bring forth that which is hurtfull to
 another man. For desiring and wishing no good to any man, shee vseth a generall iniustice,
 wholly abandoning the office and dutie of humanitie, to hurt those whom shee ought ra-
 ther to loue and cheerish. So it appeareth, that there is no vice more detestable, nor
 more contrarie to charitie, then enuy. And therefore Saint *Paul* saith. *Loue is not enui-*
ous, it reioyceth not in iniquitie, it thinketh no euill. And Saint *James* giueth it the name of
 bitter: vnderstanding thereby, that it is a venim or poison of ill will, conuerting all
 things into bitterness: from whence ensueth contentions and debates. As the Apo-
 stle addeth, that where enuy and strife is, there is sedition and all manner of euill workes.
 As in truth, hatred (which Saint *Iohn* placeth in the ranke of murders) willingly follow-
 eth enuy, and so powerfully in some men, that it makes them commit homicides, and
 other crimes.

We haue already shewed how by this second passion of euils, man from the beginning
 was induced to harbor murder in his heart, to moisten the earth with brothers blood. *A-*
*dam*s sinne then beginning to take his first effect in his sonne *Cain* vpon innocent *Abel*, for
 a testimony in time to come, that wicked men should haue prerogative in this world, to
 oppresse the good. *Saul*, by enuy oftentimes sought to kill *Dauid*: And the children of
Jacob consulted together to put their brother *Ioseph* to death, and afterwards solde him for
 money to Marchants that caried him into Egypt, from among the children of God, by that
 meanes exposing his body to misery, and his soule to vtter perdition. Whereby we learne,
 and may well say, that there is no vice more odious, nor more to bee shunned, then enueie,
 which hauing diminished no part of the malignitie of her originall, thrusteth men forward
 into wicked and execrable actions.

And yet, to what passion can wee say that wee are more inclined, or willinger to giue
 place, then to this most pernicious vice? Let every man enter into the cabinet of his owne
 Conscience, and he shall therein finde a thousand sprigs of enuy and ielousie, ingrafted in
 the best part of his soule. For as the foolish loue of our selues, is a plague wherewith
 all the children of *Adam* are infected: So is enueie, which proceedeth thereof. From
 whence this Prouerbe riseth, That one Potter alwayes enuyeth another, either in re-
 spect of commoditie, or of honour. An other Prouerbe saith, That our neighbours
 eye is alwayes an enemy, or enuious vnto vs. And to verifie it, wee see very fewe
 that can endure, without some dislike, that those that are of their qualitie or trade,
 should be more esteemed, and rise to be greater then they, much lesse can wee without enuy
 endure, that those whom wee esteeme to bee of lesse estimation then our selues, should

attaine to degrees of honour and reputation aboue vs : And to bee brieft, This vice in one sort or other, infuseth her venom into our breasts. And yet it should suffice vs, that our owne wickednesse which is great and abundant, doth afflict vs without troubling our mindes, at the prosperitie of others, and by that meanes make our selues two fold miserable. But malignant enuy, enemie to the quietnesse of him that entertaineth her, will by no meanes permit it. Wherefore, seeing this vice begetteth and nourisheth so many others, to reuenge her owne iniquitie in her selfe, and that there is nothing more contrary to Christian Charitie, nor that sooner thrusteth men forward to commit most detestable crimes, when by degrees this cursed passion possesseth their hearts : let vs abandon and vtterly forsake all the branches of enuie ; which (as all other damnable affections) is borne and conceived with the corruption of our nature : And let every man content himselfe with the estate and condition whereunto God hath called him, faithfully imploying his time therein, and attending the blessing of the Lord, let him neuer be iealous for the good gifts and graces which it pleaseth him by his most iust liberality to bestow vpon others. For whosoever doth to the contrarie, opposeth himselfe (as much as in him lyeth) against the providence and soueraigne libertie of G O D. Who according to his diuine wisdom and power, most wisely ordereth all things, by number, waight and measure. It is true, that if in vs there remaines any sparkes or seedes of the true affections of nature, as it was first created in our hearts, wee might serue ourselues with prouocations of enuy, to pricke vs forward, and to moue our mindes, to get and obtaine those true benefits whereunto Saint *Paul* doth exhort vs, speaking of diuers gifts of the spirit of God in his Church, That wee might be desirous of the best gifts, without discontentment, rather reioycing, and giuing glory and thanks to Christ, for those wherewith hee enricheth our brethren.

1. Cor. 12. 31

De Zel. et
Liur.

2. Cor. 9. 2.

Psal. 119.

Slauder.

Let vs imitate the good (saith Saint *Cyprian*) if we be able to second them in vertue, if not, let vs reioice to see them grow vp in godlinesse, let vs bee partners with them in loue, instead of enuying at them : Let vs make our selues coheires with them of vertues by coniunction for Charity, and brotherly vuity. As Saint *Paul* making mention of collections for the poore, saith, *Achaia was prepared a yeare agoe, and your zeale hath prouoked many.* As if he would say, that the emulation and holy enuy, which others had conceived by the example of the Corinthians, had pricked them forward to enlarge their charity towards the poore. To conclude, let vs remember that there belongeth a good and conuenient enuie to Christians, which respecteth and hath a regard to good and vertuous men, to follow their steps, and to the iust, to become iust with them, as Saint *Augustine* saith.

Touching the vice of Slander, Backbiting, and Reuiling, (for these three words signifie all one thing, when a man speaketh against his neighbour, to the preiudice of his honor, reputation and credit) they are expressely prohibited in this diuine precept, *Thou shalt not beare false witnesse against thy neighbour.* For the branches of this commandement extend themselves very farre. As first, They that before a magistrate or otherwise by oath, or words simply auerre and affirme a falshood, to the preiudice of an other man, are herein condemned, and are properly called callumniators, and consequently children of the Deuill, the first inuentor of this iniquity, as his name also signifieth : for that false Serpent to deceiue *Eua*, durst take vpon him to belie God, as if hee through enuy had forbidden *Adam* to eate the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and euill : by which meanes causing man to fall, he deuised by sinne to infect *Adam* and all his posteritie with the same venom and poison of calumination.

Secondly, although that which is reported or alledged against any man, be true in it selfe, yet if it be related and recited otherwise, & in another sence then it was said or done, that also is false witnes. Likewise wee fall into the same vice and error, when wee tell that which is true, thereby to gather matter of slander, and to perswade men to beleue some other wicked and reprochfull thing. Wee know that God in the Iudaicall Lawe, ordained, That a false witnesse should be punished with the like paine that the crime or offence wherewith he charged his neighbour wrongfully deserved. And to that purpose *Solo non* saith, That a false witnesse shall not bee unpunished : and hee that speaketh lies, shall not escape. Wee reade in the Psalmes of *David*, how many horrible curses hee pronounceth against those that had slandered him. Which are so many Prophetes pronounced by the holy Ghost against callumniators. For which cause if there bee any sparkes of conscience in vs, we wil abhorre false witnessing, and withdrawe our mindes from giuing out, or spreading false reports of

Deut. 19. 16.

Prou. 19. 5.

Psal. 109.

our

our neighbours : That wee may not bee esteemed children of the Diuell ; which is the father of lies. For it is the duty of a Christian, to keepe himselfe pure and vndefiled from all detractions and euill reports (how light or small soeuer we esteeme them) which consist in relation and recitall of the faults and infirmities which wee note to bee in our neighbour, although, that which wee can say and iustifie bee true. And yet there is no vice more common among men then this, because wee are wickedly inclined, rather to speake euill then any good which wee know of our neighbours : and when with this naturall imperfection, hatred, ambition, or enuy ioyneth, it is as it were oyle cast vpon the fire, which wee secretly hatch within our breasts to make it flame out; and burne brighter. For euill speaking against, or of him whom wee hate, giueth vs a kinde of inward contentment, as a manner of reuenge which wee take of him. And euery Ambitious man willingly imagineth and conceiueth his honour to bee the more encreased, by how much the more hee taketh away the honour and credite of him whom hee blameth or slandereth: for enuy hath his entent and purpose, to lessen and diminish the credit of his neighbour, by speaking euill of him, that it may be a step or footstoole to the envious, to eleuate and raise himselfe aboue an other. Therefore *Moses* saith, *Thou shalt not goe up and downe as a tale bearer among thy people.* By this word *Goe*, properly taxing those, that runne from place to place, curiously to enquire of their neighbours imperfections, afterward to report them abroad, and so to speak euil of them. Which imperfection is also represented by *Saint Paul* saying, All men are naturally infected with these vices, *To haue their throats an open Sepulchre, to vse their tongues to deceit, to beare the poison of Asps under their lips, and to haue their mouths full of cursings and bitterness.* For the common and ordinary speeches of those that are any thing familiar together, sufficiently shew, that their vsual manner is, to discourse of the faults and infirmities of their neighbours, because our tongues are so bitter & full of venim, instead of being mild, and inclined to charity & compassion. Which is a disease so much the more dangerous, because we cannot easily preuent it, and for that the contagion thereof, which redoundeth to another mans hurt, is most pernicious. For we may easilier take heed and beware of one that stealeth any thing from vs, then of him which detraeth from vs, and violateth our good name, which neuerthelesse, is much more to be esteemed then riches : as the slander of a malicious tongue is almost incurable, it being a difficult thing for a man so to rid and iustifie himselfe of a slander once raised against him, that there will not remaine some euill impression thereof in many persons; as it is seene by great wounds, which leaue a scarre after them when they are healed. Which *Diogenes* well noted, who beeing askt, What beast biteth hardest, made answer, that among Domesticall or tame beasts the Flatterer, and among Sauage beastes, the Slaunderer biteth foremost. And those that giue care to slaunders and backbiting speeches, are no lesse to bee blamed and reprooued then the slaundersers themselves, because they shew themselves to be touched with one self same imperfection, to take a delight to speake euil of an other. But (which is worse) whosoever taketh pleasure to heare the imperfections and infirmities of another, sheweth thereby, that in him there is no zeale of the glory of God, nor charity towards his neighbor. For seeing that God is dishonored by the sin of men, when any man tels vs of them, we ought to be sorrowfull to heare & vnderstand of any such offence made against the diuine maiestie of God. And Christian charitie should beget in vs compassion towards our brother, because that by his vices he draweth the wrath of God vpon himself. Therefore *Dauid* protesteth that he which receiueth a false report against his neighbour, shall not dwell in the holy mountaine. As *S. Bernard* aduertiseth vs, saying, Take heed of beeing curious or inquisitiue to looke into, or rashly to iudge of an other mans life; and although thou findest or perceiuest any thing in him that is euill, iudge him not, neither condemne him therefore : and if thou canst not excuse the fact, at the least excuse his intent, ignorance, forgetfulnesse, misadvisednesse, and other inconueniences : And if the thing bee so euident, that thou canst not excuse it, nor make any commendable conclusion thereof, to the honour and credit of him that hath committed the fact, looke into thy selfe, and say in thine heart, Certainly it was a strong and vehement temptation that incited and moued this man thereunto, I my selfe might also fall vnder such a burthen, if God did not sustaine and vphold me by his grace. By this meanes an affection of compassion and charitie towards our neighbour that hath erred, would rise in our hearts, together with an effect of wisdom, and good aduise for our own instruction, and will not suffer euill report and slander to haue any place within our thoughts.

Leu. 19. 16.

Rom. 3. 13.

Plutar. in Apoth.

Psal. 15. 3.
Sup. Cant.

And we may in regard of our selues make an other profit and benefit of this so common a vice, (if we be not foolisher then Infidels were) who taught, that the best way and meanes for man to stop the mouthes of slanderers, and the notablest reuenge that may bee taken of them, is, to bee the more earnest to practise and to studie to doe well, as wee see they are prone, and more inclined to slander vs. For as the Sunne being right ouer the head, or top of any thing whatsoever, casteth but a very short shadow, because of the light that shineth round about it: so the excellencie of vertue and desert in whomsoever it be, in the end constraineth the slanderer to hold his tongue, and in a maner cleane extinguisheth his slander, not being able any more to hurt a right honest man. Then if we heare and vnderstand that one speaketh euill of vs, let vs liue in such sort, that credit may not bee given to false reports, and let them likewise serue vs for an aduice, to beware of falling into the same vice, for the which wee are blamed: because wee are weake, and alwayes ready to erre. But let vs specially remember that the patience of a Christian is tryed by detraction and false reports, wherewith they are pursued by the wicked, as Saint *Augustine* saith. In this therefore wee must follow Iesus Christ, of whom Saint *Peter* witnesseth, That when hee was reuiled, reuiled not againe, but committed it to him that iudgeth righteously; so farre was hee from being any thing moued when men spake euill of him. To this example wee may adde that of *David*, to comfort vs likewise; who protesteth, That when those that had charged him with false reports were sicke, hee put on sackcloth, and humbled his soule with fasting, and doubled his prayer for them, with a sorrowfull and an afflicted heart. Yet it is not said, that an honest man should neglect his honour and good reputation; but rather that hee ought to maintaine and preferue the same, by all commendable meanes that GOD shall aford him, without breach of Charitie, and peace with his neighbour, alwayes hauing a speciall care to liue honestly, and vprightly, not onely before the Lord, but also before men, as Saint *Paul* saith. Otherwise wee ought to be satisfied with the testimonie of a good conscience, walking betweene honour and dishonour, euill report, and good report, being well assured, that God in the end will make our innocency appeare, and will blesse the patience, peaceableness, and contentment which we shall haue in him.

Cont. Petil.
1. Pet. 2. 23.

Psal. 35. 13.

1. Cor. 8. 21.
Ibid. 6. 8.

James 1. 26.

To conclude, let vs obserue these three points of the dutie of a Christian: first, to abstaine from all slander and detraction: secondly, not to hearken nor giue care to backbiters: and thirdly, not to be moued nor vexed so much for any euill reports or slanders raised against vs, as to giue euill speeches againe, or to doe euill for euill. Touching the two first points, if we doe the contrarie, wee serue the Diuell; by the one with our tongues, by the other with our eares, and giue euident testimony, that wee are vtterly bereft of loue towards God, and charitie towards our neighbours. For the third and last point, a true Christian ought so to behaue himselfe, that he should neuer doe iniurie for iniurie, knowing, that doing so, hee shall doe euill. And for conclusion of this instruction, let vs carefully ingraffe in our memories, this sentence of Saint *James*, saying, *If any man among you seeme religious, and refraineth not his tongue, but deceiveth his owne heart, that mans Religion is vaine.*

9. Conclusion of this Chapter.

Thus wee see, by the discourse of the eight severall diuisions of this Chapter, that Christian Philosophy is not a Doctrine of words, but of a holy life, purged and clenfed of seuen principall and pernicious vices, and that this science ought not to bee comprehended by the vnderstanding and memorie onely (as other humane disciplines commonly are) but should rather haue an interior possession in the soule, and be seated in the depth, and profunditie of the heart, and so become profitable and fruitfull, continually shewing forth the vertues thereof. To the which ende, let this be our speciall care and intent, so to direct and bend all the course of our actions, that by integritie of life wee may attaine to that perfection, which the Gospel teacheth vs, which according to the common phrase of the holy Scriptures is, to haue a pure simplicitie of heart cleane void of all dissimulation that we may walke holily and righteously before God, all the daies of our liues. Then let euery one of vs take this course, as neere as possibly we can, euery houre to better our liues, that wee may attaine to the prise of our saluation. And if it happen not vnto vs, as wee wish and desire, yet wee shall continually get something, if we liue better this day then we did

did the day before. Alwaies hauing a constant regard to the end whereunto wee must attaine, and not to deceiue our selues with a vaine flattering, pardoning, and bearing with our owne vices; but rather let vs continually strue to become better vntill we haue attained to that foueraigne goodnesse, which we are to pursue and search after, as long as wee liue heere on earth, to obtaine the same, when being dispoiled, and hauing put off the infirmities of the flesh, we shall be fully made participants of the onely and eternall good, in the Kingdome of heauen.

That there are seven principall vocations, wherein euery man is bound to shew the fruits of Christian Philosophie: whereof marriage is the first, and to know what common duties belong to a married man and a woman, as also the particular offices of a woman towards her husband, and of a man towards his wife. Chap. 13.

1. *Men are called to diuers vocations, and euery man is to follow the same uprightly.*

Hitherto in the particular discourses of our Christian Philosophy, we haue propounded and set downe generail rules, whereby euery one may be led and directed vnto a right course how to order his waies here on earth, withall shewing, wherein principally we ought to amend our liues. Now we must proceede further to particular vocations, specially to those that are of most account, which being truly ordered and obserued, make all the rest proceede well, for the good and profit of mankind. For by the holy Scriptures, we do not onely learne, that the distinction of estates and degrees are ordained by the prouidence of God, Gen. 4. 2. but also that in his holy word hee enioyneth and commandeth vs to obserue and follow the same. As the two first sons of Adam, the one was a husbandman, the other a sheepeheard. And the seruants of God alwaies exhorted the faithfull carefully to looke vnto their actions, euery one in their vocations, to be content therewith. To follow the same, & not inconsiderately to enter into, or seeke for any other. As God (saith Saint Paul) hath distributed to euery 1. Cor. 7. 17. 20. man as the Lord hath called euery one, so let him walke. And againe, let euery man abide in the same vocation, wherein he was called. Therefore it belongeth vnto vs to labour in our estates and lawfull manner of liuing, as a certen abiding assigned vnto vs by the diuine maiesty of God, and as a perpetuall rule whereunto we must bend and direct the ende and purpose of al our intents. That so we may enforce our selues euen to the last day, to become the same, which finally we shal be, If we follow the wil and commaundements of God, assuring our selues that there is no work done by vs, how little or base soeuer it is held & esteemed to be, which doth not as it were shine, and is most precious before the heauenly throne: if it be done in faith, and for the seruice of God, in that estate and condition whereunto he hath called vs.

2. *Seven principall vocations, whereof Marriage is the first, and the common ductie required and requisite to be obserued by them that are married.*

To goe on and to proceed with our discourse, wee must consider of seven principall vocations whereunto men are called heere on earth, which make euery well ordered estate and Common wealth, compleate and flourishing. That is the state of Marriage: of Fathers and Mothers, of Children, of Magistrates, of Subiects, of Pastors, or Ministers, and of the Congregation of the faithfull. Touching the first, wee know, that after God by his great power and goodnesse had created man, he presently gaue him a woman, to be his faithfull companion, and a gracious comfort vnto him during his life, and for the encreasing and continuing of humane kinde: wherein we are to consider that it is the first and commonest vocation of man, and honourable among all, That is it which wee learne of Moses

Gen. 2. 18.

Hebr. 4. 4.

Iohn 2. 1.

1. Cor. 7. 2.

Gen. 2. 18.

1. Cor. 7. 3. 4.

Math. 5. 28.

Prou. 29.

and the Apostles and holy Euangelists testifie, that our Lord Iesus Christ honoured marriage not onely with his owne presence, but also with his first miracle. Then as those which intend to liue in that holy vocation consecrated by God himselfe, ought to proceed holily therein, with pleasing prayers and vowes made vnto the Lord, so being entred thereinto, they are to vse the benefit of marriage, as a diuine institution, with all purity and honour: Thereby to ease the infirmity of the flesh, (as Saint *Paul* saith, and not to be prouoked to the lusts thereof, by intemperance. Now for a first and principall point of this vocation, man and woman must neuer forget that which God sayd, when he created *Eua*. (*It is not good that the man should be alone, I will make him an helpe meete for him*;) for by this sentence, all married couples haue a leasson and a certaine instruction touching the end of marriage, that they ought mutually to aide and helpe, and comfort one the other, with all good, amiable and willing desire. For first God saith, that company is profitable for man, and that marriage shall bee a great comfort and succour vnto him during his life. Then he appointeth the woman a rule to gouerne her selfe orderly in her vocation, to the end to teach her and the man also their duties. For whereas in our common translation we say (to assist or helpe him) the hebrew translation saith, (before him) with a distinction importing similitude or resemblance. Whereby we learne, that woman is as it were in the presence of man, that they may haue correspondence and conformity together, and be an aide and comfort one vnto another, (as Saint *Paul* a good interpreter of the diuine words aforesayd) saith. Let the husband giue to the wife due beneuolence, and likewise also the wife vnto the husband: adding, the wife hath not the power of her owne body, but the husband, and likewise also the husband hath not the power of his owne body, but the wife. Then their requisite common duties consist here in, that with a good accord, and agreement, they must liue and loue together, holily, amiable, and peaceably, nor onely in begetting of children, and bringing them vp, but also in the gouernment of their houses and families, and all things concerning the seruice of God, and the saluation of their owne soules. Consequently we must note, that chastity ought to be the inseparable band or knot of their coniunction, both of them being very wary and circumspect about all things, not to make any breach of faith, in marriage by adultery, and not that onely, but they must also with great and speciall care, shunne all things, which in any wife may tend or prouoke them vnto that iniquity, or that may procure any entrance, apparance, inticement, or occasion thereunto: for by the word adultery, is not onely vnderstood the actuall deede of lechery, but also the inticements, gestures, words, and vnchaste lookes of those that are prouoked thereunto; according to the sentence of our great Master & law giuer Iesus Christ: saying, but I say vnto you, that whosoever looketh vpon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. And withall they must also carefully preuent all matter of ialousie, which is a most dangerous disease, and hard to be cured, and yet easily fallen into, and by that meanes turne a good & happy marriage into a most miserable state and condition. For the other common duties required betweene man and wife, first in regard of their children, it consisteth in the bringing of them vp, (whereof hereafter we will speake more at large.)

Secondly, concerning the meanes how to nourish and provide for them, as also for their families; for therein belongeth a common care vnto them both, in such manner: neuer thelesse, that properly it is the husbands charge to get and gather wealth, and the womans to distribute and dispose thereof in her house. But in such sort, that as the woman according to her qualitie & habilitie ought to be an aid and assistance to her husband, in the getting of their goods, so shee must helpe him in the dispensation thereof: *For he that troubleth his owne house, (saith the Wise man) shall inherit the wind*. This order and policie consisteth herein, That the man must doe his owne worke, apply himselfe to his owne office, and follow his businesse according to his vocation, without any molestation therein to bee giuen him by the wife, as seeming to meddle therewith, or to controule him, vnlesse it be with great discretion and modestie: And likewise, that the husband should not but soberly and with good consideration looke into, and meddle with household affaires properly belonging to his wife. For as the husband is ialous of his authoritie and reputation, so the wife is much inclined to suspicion of being despised therein by her husband: And as the husband doth not easily nor willingly indure, that his partner should bee better aduised then himselfe, in that which belongeth to his charge: so the woman cannot abide, that her husband should despise, and esteeme her to bee vntit for the gouernment of his family, and seeke to meddle with the pettie businesse of the house.

These

These two points wel obserued by them both on either side, it will bee a great means to make their mariage peaceable, & cause them to liue commodiously together: As to the contrary an idle, slack, and slothful husband in his vocation, and a woman that is a carelesse improvident housewife, are two gulfs and large currants to vtter ruine. He that hath such a woman, throwes his labour into a sack that is full of holes: and a wise woman that hath a foole to her husband, drawes a cart without horses, heauily laden in a sandie way. But if there bee any remedy for a wise man, that falleth into such an euil, it is patience, with some moderate severity, and wise instruction, but specially earnest prayer vnto God to remedy the same: As the woman is to support, and kindly and modestly to exhort her husband, alwaies giuing him an amiable countenance, & intertainment, that so at the last by gracious meanes he may be brought to be carefull to follow his vocation, and to keepe at home. Wee must further note, that all the common duties betweene a married man and his wife, ought singularly to be grounded vpon the vnion of their marriage. For that God saith from the beginning, that they are one flesh, and Iesus Christ confirmeth the same in the Gospell. For so we must consider of the creation of *Eua*, made of one of mans ribs, whereby we are taught, that the wife is a part of her husband, and as it were the halfe. In such manner, that man in his wife, hath as it were a glasse to behold and contemplate himselfe; as the woman also ought to consider the like in her husband, seeing she is flesh of the flesh of man, blood of his blood, and bone of his bones, as if she were his owne body, or els an other himselfe. From this vnion should proceed their mutuall loue. For no man hateth his owne flesh, (saith Saint *Paul*) but nourisheth and cherisheth it, and therefore commandeth husbands to loue their wiues, and wiues to loue their husbands. Of which loue neuerthelesse, the foundation is there vnited, which maketh both of them to be one flesh, the man as the head, and the woman as his body, and so it followeth that their reciprocall loue ought to be firme and inuolable. But the mischief is, that it is not so in many marriages, but to the contrary, is grounded vpon beauty, riches, parentage, and other such like worldly and carnall considerations, which as they are subiect to change, alteration, losse, and many other discommodities: so their amity which like straw easily set on fire, waxeth weary, and vpon small occasion is soone quenched. And therefore the remembrance of two in one flesh, by the holy coniunction of marriage, ought specially to be continued betweene man and wife, that so they may obtaine and conferre betweene them that beneuolence which proceedeth thereof, and which is the mother and nourisher of peace and concord, which only maketh a happie and blessed family. For from want of this loue, strife, debate, disorders, and other such like afflictions, spring and haue their originall, which conuert and change the paradise of marriage to a very hell.

Genes. 2. 24.

Math. 19. 5 8.

Marke 10. 8.

Eph. 5. 25. 29.

Tit. 2. 5.

From the dissention of the husband and his wife (saith Saint *Augustine*) proceedeth the trouble of the house, and consequently the ruine thereof. They must therefore loue one another, to auoide all strife and debate, and specially before all things, haue a care thereof when they are newlie married. For as a vessell made of two pieces glued together easily breaketh at the first, but in tract of time waxeth stronger: so it is with a married couple, newly ioined together by the band of matrimony. Therefore it importeth them much, in the beginning to cut of all enmitie betweene them, whose wils should be one, their affections alike, and there two hearts conioined in one, as we haue formerly said. This loue, (the mother of peace) begetteth care & indeuor graciously & friendly to support and beare one with the other in all things, and so to practise that which *S. Paul* requireth, at the handes of all the faithfull, to be curteous, tenderhearted, and forgiuing one the other. As God for Christes sake freely forgau vs. And so thinking thereon, the husband should remember that hee hath married a daughter of *Eua*, sepleat with infirmities and corruptions; and the woman likewise, that shee hath not chosen an Angel to be her husband, but a childe of *Adam*, full of vice and corruption. And the wisest of them both must sanctifie the other, that they may bring vpon them and their children, the blessing of God, which hath called them in peace, alwayes beseeching him to conforme them vnto his diuine will, and with patience stay the time till their partners doe the like, that they may liue happily together. Therefore when the husband is inclined to bee angry, and the wife to bee froward, one of them should be wary to abstaine and giue no occasion. A bell (saith the Prouerbe) is an instrument of a great sound; but whosoever will not heare it, must not ring it: and if the one beginneth to bee angry, the other should either counterfet the deafe, not to heare, or the dumbe not to speake. As *Alphonso* king of Arragon said, That mariage would be peaceable

Eph. 4. 3 1.

1. Cor. 7. 14. 15.

and

Erasm. lib. 7.
Apophr.

and without dissention, If the husband were deafe, and the wife blind. Which is as much to say, that the woman should beare with many infirmities in her husband, as if shee saw them not, and a man should dissemble and wincke at his wifes angry speeches, as if he hard them not. And to be short, If on the one side, the woman ought to be subiect and obedient to her husband, as to her head, and therefore endure much at his hands, the husband for his part also ought to haue compassion on his wife, and to gouerne her with more lenity and curtesie, as being frailer, and by her naturall complexion weaker and subiecter to passion: And both of them must not so much respect that which they endure, each at the others hands, as that which they endure for their owne profit, for by that meanes they shall easily auoide all strife and contention. We must also note, that from this good agreement grounded vpon the vnion of two in one flesh, proceedeth a second common duty, neuer to seeke, nor once so much as to thinke vpon separation, according to the sentence pronounced by the Lord, saying. Let no man put asunder that which God hath coupled together, for as the coniunction is made by God, (saith Saint *Augustin*) so diuorcement proceedeth from the Diuel. For there is nothing but adultery only, that can separate them, in all other things they are bound to support and beare one with the other, that they may liue in peace. But specially aboue all other things, both the husband and the wife, must pray vnto God, to giue them grace to obtaine peace and reciprocall amity, and that they may be helpfull one vnto the other, for their saluations.

Math. 19. 6.
Aug in Iohn
tract. 9.
Matth. 5. 32.

These are two singular common duties, belonging both to the husband and to the wife, of the first whereof, who soeuer shall desire to taste the sweetnes of the fruits, which it produceth, ought to be most carefull daily while he liueth, to craue the same at the hands of the God of peace and concord. Otherwise, those that liue, contentiously, and carelesly, examining their owne consciences, may finde occasion to impute the reason of their miserable estate, to their owne negligence, of not imploying themselves in that duty of praying vnto God, to obtaine a peaceable life. For the second point, to helpe on the other touching their saluation. It consisteth in the practising of that which S. *Paul* teacheth vs. *Let those that haue wives be as though they had none*, which is as much to say, that they should in such manner enioy the benefit of marriage, that there may not happen any diuorce between the & God, that they bee not hindred nor withdrawne from doing any duty towards God, nor towards their neighbours, nor that any trouble or vexation proceeding from household affaires, should make them carelesse, or giue them any motion to thinke or conceiue any thing in their mindes, contrary to their vnion and profession of the children of God, but to persist and continue together to glorifie him, and to encourage eache the other, to doe good workes.

1. Cor. 7. 29.

3. Particular duties of the wife.

Touching the particular duties of the wife, first we must note, that as marriage (among other principall things) was ordained for the generation of children, the wife in that respect is particularly called, and subiected to the charge of bearing children, to the paines in bringing of them into the world, and to the trouble and care to giue them sucke, and to nourish them in their infancie. As the first mother of all liuing creatures by her transgression, was bound thereunto for all her posteritie, by the ordinance of God: therefore as this consideration ought to make & moue a woman to liue humbly, as bearing in her paines and travels a brand of sin: so the same condition also ought to comfort her, (which S. *Paul* saith) That the woman shall be saued through bearing of children: for such is the pleasure of God, that the same which is the cause of much discommoditie and trauell to a woman, should bee turned to her good and saluation: for in that manner peaceably obeying her vocation, shee serueth her Creator, who by his infinite wisdom and goodnesse, ordained her by that meanes to bee brought to life eternall: so shee continueth in faith, loue, and holinesse with modestie, (as Saint *Paul* addeth.) But we must note by this word, to beare children, is also vnderstood to nourish and giue them sucke. God hauing giuen two breasts to a woman, not to set them out brauely for a shewe, but therewith to helpe her husband, by nourishing for a time the children proceeding from their bodies, and therein seruing God. For which cause he hath by nature ordained, that the blood which nourisheth the child in the mothers wombe, should bee conuerted into milk, which mounteth vp into the breasts, hauing two small nipples, to giue that sweete drinke to the childe, to the which also God giueth

Gen. 3. 16.

1. Tim. 2. 15.

giueth the industry and vnderstanding to sucke. Which teacheth vs, that the woman which can, and doth not giue her child sucke, refusing to doe the office of a mother, sheweth great ingratitude towards God, refuseth to aide her husband, and in a manner abandoneth the fruit of her owne wombe. *Anna* the wife of *Elcana*, that nourished *Samuel* her sonne vntill such time as he was weaned, is vnto them a good example. And *Sara* *Abrahams* wife also, as *Moyles* noteth in these words, (Who would haue said to *Abraham*, that *Sara* should haue giuen children sucke.) Wherunto also we must adde, that which was said to *Christ*, (happy is the wombe that beare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked.) For as the first part of this sentence cannot but bee meant by the Virgin *Mary*, so like reason attributeth the rest to her, and from thence wee may draw, that shee gaue sucke to our Lord and Sauior *Iesus Christ*.

Touching the other duties of a wife, they are comprehended in this, to be subiect to her husband as to her head. It is the ordinance of God, (grounded as *Saint Paul* saith) vpon this that man was first created, that the woman, is of the man, and made by him, and that hauing bin deceived by the serpent, she seduced the man, This was the sentence pronounced by God vnto *Eua*, saying, Thy desire shal be subiect to thy husband, and he shal rule over thee. And the Apostle more plainly noteth this duty, saying: (Therefore as the Church is in subiection to *Christ*, euen so let the wiues be to their husbands in every thing.) For thereby he teacheth them, that as the Church intirely dependeth vpon the wisdom and will of *Iesus Christ* her Lord, and her spouse, so a woman should rule and gouerne herselfe in all things, by the wisdom and good pleasure of her husband; because he is her head, and she as his body, and that the conduction and guiding of the body, consisteth in the head and not in the body. For although there may be diuers women found, that are wiser then some men, (as the Scripture speaketh of *Abigail* and others:) and that not without good cause *Salomon* saith, A wise woman buildeth her house, & blessed is the man that hath a wise wife. Yet they must in such sort vse those graces giuen vnto them by God, that their husbands may thereby be honoured, and not dispised, neither by them nor by any others, in all their actions giuing their husbands that preheminence of superiority which of right belongeth vnto them. Vpon this discretion dependeth the obedience of the wife to her husband, as *S. Peter* noteth, by the example of *Sara*, who obeying *Abraham*, called him Lord. And *S. Paul* saith, Let the wife see that she feares her husband. For fearing to offend him, she will be carefull to yeeld obedience vnto him: for disobedience begetteth contempt: and contempt wrath & collar, as it appeareth in the history of *Hester*, from whence proceedeth great troubles in a family. But this obedience due vnto their husbands by them, must not passe the bounds of honor & holines (as *S. Paul* saith), *Wives submit your selues vnto your husbands, as it is comely in the Lord*. Lastly, the rest of the wiues duties are particular, as to keep at home in her house, to obserue and please the nature, inclination, and maners of her husband, which are not euil, to discouer vnto him her desires, and her secrets, to impart to him her paines and afflictions, & in all things to follow his counsell and aduice, and not to be addicted nor giuen to curiosnes in dresling of herselfe, nor in costly braue apparel, more then it pleaseth her husband. To conclude, piety and modesty are the precious ornaments of a woman, & cost not much to get them. And lastly, this sentence agreeth well with the subiect of our proposition, that those which are most curious to dresse and set out themselves for a brauery & shew to the world, are most negligent to adorne and decke their soules, with holines, as we noted before.

4. The particular duties of husbands.

Touching the particular duties of a Husband, first he must remember, that being created and ordained to be head ouer his wife, it is to guide and gouerne her with reason, wisdom, and lenitie, and not indiscreetly and roughly. For the creation of man, plainly and sufficiently teacheth vs, that all the parts in the head, as vnderstanding, iudgement, sight, hearing, and other gifts and graces of God; serue for the necessary and comfortable conduction and guiding of the body, and not to afflict it. For that is the true and naturall duty of the husband towards his wife, (as *Saint Paul* noteth) by the example of *Iesus Christ*, head of the Church, and Sauour of her body, from whence hee draweth this conclusion, *That husbands ought to loue their wiues, as their owne bodies*; for hee that loveth his wife, loveth himselfe: for (saith he) *no man euer hated his owne flesh*, but nourisheth it, and cherisheth it, euen as the Lord doeth the Church. An argument taken from nature it selfe, as if he should say,

It is a naturall thing for euery man to loue himselfe: And no man can loue himselfe, but he loueth his wife also. Therefore it is a thing against nature, when a man loueth not his wife. He proueth the minor of the argument thus, that marriage was ordained by God, to this end, that two should become one flesh, and to the end that this vinity might be esteemed more holy, he sheweth that it is compared to Christ and his Church. Then the duty of the husband is, so to loue his wife, that nothing should be neerer to his heart, then a louing care, to preserve and keepe her from all calamitie and miserie, and to finde the meanes to make her liue happily, and contentedly with him in the participation of all his goods and honours.

In this manner a wife and well aduised husband, will make a good harmony and accord, between his authority and loue, that so he may not abuse his authority, but rather vse both the one and the other, to the benefite and comfort of her, that is his faithfull partner. And from thence also will proceede, the effect of his duty to beare with his wifes infirmities, as also to forbear from dealing rigorously with her, whereof wee haue many good instructions in the holy Scriptures, specially in this where the Apostle saith: (*Husbands loue your wifes, and be not bitter vnto them, and dwell with them as men of knowledge, giuing honour to the woman, as to the weaker vessell, as they which are heires together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not corrupted.* For as the sickenes or weaknes of the body, prouoketh not the head to be angry therewith, to vexe it the more, but rather inciteth it to compassion and duty to succour and support it. So (if God hauing created the woman weaker and more subiect to frailty then man) hath ioyned her with him, and of two made one flesh, he did it not to the end, that beating her he should hurt her, but wisely to beare with her, and by that meanes peaceably to enioy that comfort and helpe which God by her giueth vnto him. Therefore hee should honour her, and graciously respect her, as she, who in her condition is a great comfort vnto him. As God himselfe hath pronounced, and whom he loued so much in Christ, that hauing beene redeemed with man, by his precious blood, shee is with him made heire of the kingdome of heauen. To this we must put the singular reason, which S. Peter addeth, of the humane and kind behauiour which man should shew to his wife, to the end saith he, that your prayers may not be interrupted. For God cannot be called vpon as they should, if their mindes be not peaceable and quiet, and holy prayers haue no place among debates & quarrels, yet this doth not argue, that a man neither can nor may tel, his wife of her infirmities and faults, for a correction vnto her, specially in things that displease God. But such telling & chiding should be lovingly rather to perswade then to force her, for with good words and moderate exhortations, (rather then by force) women are willinger moued to yeeld vnto their husbands. They must also be carefull by all the meanes and waies that they can, to remooue all blocks and stones, against the which women may chance to stumble, & take occasion of complaint, looking likewise into themselues, that they be not stained with the same faults and vices, which they blame in their wifes: but rather giue them good examples thereby to enduce and encourage them to follow their steps. As also that their reprehensions be done in secret, that the woman be not moued (with too great apprehension of her faults in company of others) which would easily prouoke her to reply, contradict, and stubbornely to contend with her husband.

For if it be an vnseemly thing in a man, to praise and commend his wife in company of other men, it is much more dangerous for him to reprove her openly. A learned Grecian willet husbands neither to flatter nor to chide their wifes in the the presence of strangers. And a Pagan Emperour said, That a wife husband which desireth to liue peaceably with his wife, ought to obserue three rules; that is, often to admonish her, seldome to reprove her, and neuer to beate her. An other speaking of the infirmities of women, saith, That the husband must take them away by faire meanes, or else beare with them patiently: and that he which can obserue the first point, shall thereby make the woman very commodious and fit for him, and that by the other, the man maketh himselfe better and more vertuous.

To conclude, the husband must consider, that as God made the woman, not of the head, to bee equall in authoritie with the man; so hee made her not of Adams foot, to be troden vpon and despised: But of one of his ribbes, to goe ioyntly with him, guided by reason. Whereby it appeareth, that the husband doeth not rule his wife, as the master doth his seruant, or a Lord his slaue, but as the Soule should gouerne the bodie, that is, with true loue, and holy affection, whereby hee is ioyned with her, in such manner, that all the

Col. 3. 19.
1. Pet. 3. 7.

Gen. 2. 18.

Cleobulus,
Marcus Aurelius.

dominion and commaundement which the husband hath ouer his wife, tendeth to this end, to procure ioy, profit, and contentment to his wife, in all honest and seemely things.

5. *The conclusion of this Chapter.*

For conclusion, let vs remember, that if the first blessing of God giuen to mariage taketh not the full force and effect thereof in this world so much corrupted, the reason is, that the order of nature established by God, hath bene subuerted by man; that if he had continued in his integritie, he would haue respected & loued his wife onely in God, as she also in him, wold haue bin a faithful companion, and both of them in such concord & sweet agreement (as also their posteritie) would haue continued, not onely in a holy, but also in a louing and peaceable societie. And that although Marriage hath bene corrupted by sinne, yet the goodnesse of God hath wrought so, that by his blessing they enioy many benefits, which daily encrease, as either of them are carefull, and take paines to doe their duties. And so, that it belongs to a wife louing her husband, and which delireth to doe her duetie to the Lord in her vocation, to studie and take care to obserue the duties afore said, that to her praise & commendation that may be said of her, which is written of Marriage, *Blessed is the man that hath a vertuous wife, for the number of his yeares shall bee doubled. A vertuous woman is a good portion, which shall bee giuen for a gift vnto such as feare the Lord.* Eccles. 26.1; 2.3. And for the husband, that as God hath shewed him singular grace and fauour, by making him an helpe like vnto himself, he ought alwaies to consider, how many waies his wife is an aid and comfort vnto him, the easilier to passe his life, that so the feeling of such a benefite, might induce him to giue thanks vnto the Lord, and make him disposed to vse it to his glorie, and for the consolation and saluation both of himselfe and his wife; constantly surmounting all difficulties and afflictions that happen in mariage, as not properly proceeding from that holy state of Matrimonie, but by accident, and by the corruption of the persons that are married. As also the husband must studie to restraine and correct his owne proper infirmities, and imperfections by amendment of life, and pray vnto God to giue the like grace vnto his wife: to the end that the neerer they approch to the diuine image of God, wherein they were first created, they may feele so much the more felicitie, and acknowledge how great and perfect the blisse of our first parents had bin, if they had continued in the same state of innocencie, Gene. 2.8. wherein God had placed them in terrestriall paradise.

The duties of Fathers and Mothers towards their Children, and of Children towards their Parents. Chap. 14.

1. *It is a good family, when all the parts and members thereof, are well and wisely gouerned.*

A wise Gracian sayde, that wee must not call a house a good house, because it is faire and sumptuously built, nor because it hath a great reuenue belonging vnto it, but it must be iudged in that respect, by the domesticall things and ornaments that are within it, that is the children, the wife, and the seruants: to whom the master of the house communicating and distributing part of that which he hath, they being wise and well conditioned, whether they dwell in a cellar, or vnder the shelter of a tree, it may bee tearmed a good and a happy house. In like sort, as from the head, the sinewes spring and haue their originall, and are the instruments of feeling and moouing, and that by them the braine sendeth the vitall spirits into all the parts of a mans body, without the which the members therof cannot vse nor exercise any natural faculty of feeling or moouing. So frō the father or master of the family, the other parts thereof ordinarily, receiue the custome of manners and conditions, specially when he is wise, well aduised, and vseth al the care, diligence, and industry that hee can, well and orderly to gouerne those whom God hath giuen him in charge to bring vp. Therefore, euery good gouernour, father or master of a family, ought to begin the right and true gouernment of his house from himselfe: shewing grauity, modesty, chastity, sobriety, peaceablenesse, piety, feare of God, and loue to his family, & by the effects of his duty, giuing good exāple to, & encouraging euery mēber therof, to labor, to

doe well. But specially, and before all, he must haue a great care of his children, for that on them dependeth the principall discharge of his duetie towards God, and his countrey, together with the honor, reputation, and settling of his house in time to come, that is, when he instructeth and bringeth vp his children well, vertuously and Christian like; wherein the wife also is obliged to her husband, that so shee may obtaine, and merite the worthy name of a mother.

2. *Discipline and instructions which fathers and mothers ought to give vnto their children.*

The first instruction of humane life is properly called discipline, which by litle and litle, and as it were by degrees moueth and stirreth vp the minds of children to piety & vertue; so that attaining to the age of discretion, they may bee able to know and doe that which the lawes of God and man commandeth. Which to effect, the first and surest meanes is, to imprint in the hearts of children, from their youthe vpwards, a loue, feare, and reuerence of their fathers and mothers, and therewith of God, teaching them to say the Lords prayer, which they must often repeat, as also the Creed, and the tenne Commandements of God. Thereby to frame and fashion them to know the Deitie, that waxing to riper yeares, they may by degrees comprehend the reason of that which they vse so often to recite: thereby to comfort them, and to receiue instruction for their saluations. And as the tongue is called the glory of man, because that by his speeche he is singularly discerned from bruite beasts: so it is requisite, that as soone as the child beginneth to speake, the tongue should be imploied to give glory vnto God, to call vpon him, and grounding it selfe vpon the principles of faith, to honour and serue him according to his will declared in his word. Then if the father and mother perceiue and see any vice whereunto their children are specially addicted, as to lying, chollor, melancholy, couetousnesse, pride, contempt of Father and Mother, promptnesse to fight, and such like corruptions, which naturally breede in all the posterity of *Adam*: they ought carefully in time to reprove and correct them for the same, as we vse to plucke vp weeds, before they are too deepe rooted, least they should grow vp among good herbes, and choake and spoile them. Wee see by experience, that when a woman swaddeleth her child, she hath a care to lay the legges, and other parts therof straight; and if it be giuen to vse the left hand, shee chides it, and bindes it vp, and otherwise restraineth it from the vse thereof, to teach it to vse the right hand. As also if it bee tongue tyed, she cuts the string, that it may not be hindred in the speeche: Then by greater reason parents must haue a speciall care and regard, that by their negligence or winckling at faults, their childrens soules may not be drawne awry, and that the interior vices thereof, may not encrease, but rather in the infancy begin to frame and fashion the spirit vnto vertue, remembring that which is commonly knowne to all men, which is, that when waxe is soft, you may the easilier set any marke or print vpon it, and when a bough being young and tender waxeth crooked, it may easily bee bowed and bent to make it straight. Fathers and mothers also ought to bee carefull, to learne their children to write and reade, it being a great helpe to passe their liues heere on earth, and a treasure much more worth vnto them, then great store of golde and silver: the principall intent whereof, ought to be to the end that they may reade, and reape profit by the holy word of God, and so comfort and instruct themselves, thereby to attaine a happy life. For which cause, they should vse them euery day to reade certaine chapters of the Bible, that so they may encline their affections to those diuine oracles, accustome themselves to the phrases of the holy Ghost, and by litle and litle learne the doctrine of life euerlasting.

Saint *Athanasius* to this purpose saith very well, (If thou wilt haue thy children to obey thee, acquaint them with the holy Scriptures, and it will be a great benefite vnto thee for them to reade and to heare the Word of God. For in it they learne, and are taught this Commandement, Honour thy Father and thy Mother. And a Pagan being asked, what things were best & fittest to teach children, sayd, You must learne them such things, as they haue neede and occasion to vse, when they are of elder yeeres. Then what toly is it, to teach and learne them vaine, light, and vnprofitable things, which when they attaine to riper yeeres, they either leaue or forgette; and not at all, or very little to instruct them in that, which they ought neuer to forsake, and which will make them liue when they are dead? Fathers & mothers ordinarily are carefull to teach their childre some kind of art, science or occupatiō, which they may vse & liue by whē they grow to mans estate, & therein they

Athanasius in ca.
Eph.
Plutarch in
Aptoh.

they doe well;) but as the soule is of greater worth, and dignitie then the body, so they are more bound to learne and instruct their children from their youtnes vppward, that which they are to practise all the dayes of their liues; that so they may yeeld vnto God that which belongeth vnto him, while they liue here on earth, and thereby be made heires of eternall life. *These words which I command thee this day (saith Moses) shalbe in thine heart, thou shalt teach them diligently vnto thy children, and shalt talke of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou risest up.* S. Paul commaundeth Christians to bring vp their children in instruction and information of the Lord. For if fathers and mothers, either for want of vnderstanding, or of will, take not occasion or leasure for themselves to teach their children that which concerneth their saluation, but vse to send them to Schole to learne liberall Arts and Sciences, and place them with such men as shall learne them that Occupation, which they would haue them to vse, that so they may haue a trade to liue by heere on earth, they can neuer excuse themselves, if their children be ignorant, or ill instructed in that which concerneth the glory of God, and the kingdome of heauen, for want of prouiding them good Teachers and Masters in that Science: and in trueth it concerneth them in this point to giue children good Masters, such as are wise, vertuous, and fearing God. For as the children partly follow the qualities of their parents or elders: so the vices of their Masters and Instructors are soone imprinted in their mindes. And therefore fathers ought to haue a great regard to keepe them from wicked and vicious company: for ordinarily wee see, that thereby they learne filthy dishonest speeches, and all kinde of corruptions: And for that an inclination to doe euill, is so much ingrafted in some children, that instruction by words is not sufficient for them; in that case they must proceed to chasten and correct them. God commaundeth it, and experience sheweth how necessary a thing it is, it being a notable and certaintestimony of true loue towards our children, and a desire that we haue of their good and saluation, when we take the paines to correct them.

Hee that spareth the rod, (saith Solomon) hateth his sonne: but hee that loueth him, chasteneth him betimes. Correct thy sonne, and hee will giue thee rest, and will giue pleasures to thy soule. Prou. 13.24. and 29.17.

It is true, that to those which are of a good nature, commendations when they doe well, and reproofe when they doe euill, are of greater efficacie and effect then blowes: for if praising incourageth them to vertue, chiding or reproofing restraineth them from vice. Likewise wee must not aske or require more of them, then their age permitteth, that thereby they bee not discouraged, and drawne to hate studie, and those honest exercises wherein they are imployed; it beeing requisite and conuenient to make and procure them to loue that which we desire they should learne and reape profite by. And therefore we must sometimes giue them leasure to play, and to recreate their mindes: for by moderate paines & trauel, they profit & wax skilful, but by ouer great labor they become dull and weary. Another dutie of fathers and mothers is, to bring vp their children peaceably with concord & amitie: for if discord and contention bee hurtfull in euery place, much more in a familie, there being nothing more perillous, nor easier to bring it to vtter ruine, then discord betweene brothers and sisters. And the auncient and true sentence verified, That by concord small things encrease, and by discord great things diminish and decay. Which is specially seene and found to take effect among children of one family.

Therefore, as neere as they can, they must loue, and vse them equally and alike, which is a great meanes to maintaine concord. Further, they must take great heed, that when children begin to grow to mans state, they haunt not such places, persons, nor exercises, whereby the wicked vice of fornication may seize vpon them. If betweene *Amon* and *Thamar*, 2. Sam. 13.

Dauids children, there happened a great inconuenience of iniquitie, how much more is it to bee feared, that by too much familiar conuersation betweene those that are not of kindred, or at least not so neere, they might commit the like offence? And againe, if the daughters of *Shilo* had not been permitted to go out to daunce, they had not been rauished by the *Beniamites*. Marriage is a remedie appointed by God, for auoiding of such vncleannesse: Iudg. 21.21.

Therefore, when a father and a mother haue honestly matched their childe, specially a daughter, by the happie band of Matrimonie to a husband, they haue discharged themselves of a great care. It belongeth to them to be diligent therein, lest their carelesseesse, difficultie, or choicenesse in foreseeing thereof, bee the cause of their childrens fault. And when they marrie them, let it bee in the Lord, (as Saint *Paul* saith) that is, not to giue them a husband, of whose pietie and Christian vertues, they haue not good testimonie, preferring those qualities before riches, and other worldly and carnall considerations. 1. Cor. 7.46.

For fathers and mothers ought to consider what inconueniences may arise by contracting matrimonie betweene persons of contrary Religion, or where one of the parties is more addicted to the world, then to that which belongeth to the kingdome of God. For it is to be feared, that the one would drawe and intice the other to doe euill, and to damne his soule, rather then the contrary. What troubles and contentions ordinarily rise by such alliances, so farre, that at the last they proceed to Diuorce, how small comfort and consolation is there betweene them; what little care mutually to pray to God in their family, and what negligence and hinderance to instruct their children in the feare and lawfull seruice of God? For if the fathers and mothers did duely set these things before their eyes, they would abhorre to thinke vpon such marriages. To make an end, we will adde two general points more to all the rest aforesaid: first, that they must bee examples and mirrors to their children of holinesse, and wisdom in all their words and works. Secondly, (and which is the principall) that they must pray earnestly euery day vnto God, that hee would bee pleased to guide them by his holy Spirit, in the government and instruction of their families, withall recommending their children vnto him, that hee may blesse their labours towards them. For by the first point, their instructions, exhortations, and corrections shalbe of greater efficacy, and authoritie: for to teach and instruct well, and to liue wickedly, is as much as to build an house with the one hand, and to pull it downe with the other. For experience sheweth, that men easily cast downe that which they set vp with languishing and paine. And the euill examples of fathers and mothers are like great cords to draw their children to follow them, which the Prophet *Ezechiel* sheweth, saying, *I haue brought thy way vpon thine head, (saith the Lord God) behold all that vse Proverbs, shall vse this Proverbs of thee, saying, As the mother is, so is the daughter.* Therefore it belongeth vnto those that will make their instructions of any valor, and effect, continually to approoue them by good life and honest conuersation. They must do like those that are guides, which shew the right waies and shallowes or foordes of riuers to those whom they leade and conduct safely on their journeyes. For by those meanes fathers and mothers shall bring their children to followe them, and to conforme themselves to their vertues, with them to bee made heires of saluation, and of eternall beatitude. By the second poynt, directing their prayers vnto the generall father both of them and their children, and from whom proceedeth all good graces and gifts, both temporall and spiritual, he will fill them with his blessings and graces, to profit in all things which shall bee necessary in their families, to the glory of that great God, and for the good and welfare of their posteritie.

Ezech. 16.
43. 44

3. Duties of children towards their fathers and mothers.

Touching the duties of children towards their fathers and mothers, we may consider of them as they are comprehended in the fift commandement of God, wherein it is sayd, *Honor thy Father and thy Mother:* a precept so much the more to bee marked, as it is often repeated and rehearsed in the holy Scriptures, and for that God hath specially added thereunto a promise of long life, vnto those that truly obserue it. For in truth, by this word (to honour) is signified, that loue, reuerence, respect, obedience, subiection, entertainment, or help and assistance in time of need, which children owe vnto their fathers & mothers: vpon which points all their other duties depend. Touching loue, it is cleerely confirmed by the sum of the second table of the law. *Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe:* wherein we must specially consider this, that fathers and mothers are not only neighbours to their children as other persons are, but neerer vnto them, in that they are the cause and subiect that they liue. Therefore it should be an extreame & most wicked ingratitude in children, not to loue their fathers and mothers, specially & before al others, seeing that next after God, they hold their being of them, together with a great number of continuall benefites, as also that the loue which they daily finde in them, notwithstanding the trauels, paines, and cares which they procure vnto their parents, bindes them by all reason, reciprocally to loue them: although it be a very difficult thing (if not altogether impossible) that children can so much loue their fathers and mothers as they loue them. As the prouerbe saith, that loue descendeth, rather then ascendeth. But this is cerraine, (as an ancient father saith, that if you take away the beames of the sunne, it will shine no more, the currant of a fountaine it will dry vp, a branch of a tree and it will wither, a member from a body and it will rotte, so take away the loue of children from their fathers and mothers, and they

they will cease to be their children, to become brethren and companions vnto those, to whom Iesus Christ said, you are children of the Diuell. This loue ought specially to shew it selfe in the care, desire, and affections which children ought to haue, to ministeriõy and contentment vnto those that begot them, that is, by liuing vertuously, according to their Discipline, and taking care to giue them no cause of sorrow and griefe by doing euill. Therefore *Solomon* admonisheth them, saying, *A wise sonne maketh a glad father, but a foolish sonne is a heauinesse to his mother, and a foolish sonne is a griefe vnto his father, and a heauinesse vnto her that bare him.* Againe, this loue ought to be accompanied, with reuerence and respect, as the name of father, proper vnto God (as Iesus Christ said) bindeth children thereunto. For in that, those that brought them into the world are called fathers, they beare towards them the title and image of God. As the example of *Salomon* sheweth, who vnderstanding that *Bathsheba* his mother came to speak with him, notwithstanding, his regall estate, role vp to meete with her, to doe reuerence vnto her, and set her downe on his right hand. Which duty we must not only shew exteriorly, but also in heart, in all our affections and works, to honor and esteeme of our fathers and mothers, & neuer to despise them, no not in their infirmities, nor yet suffer the to be despised of others, without shewing griefe and displeasure for the same. From thence also proceedeth the subiection and obedience which we acknowledge to be due vnto them, (as *Saint Paul* sayth,) Children obey your fathers and mothers in the Lord, for this is right, Honor thy father and mother which is the first Commandement with promise, that it may be wel with thee, and that thou maist liue long on earth. *Saint Luke* noteth, that Iesus Christ was subiect to his mother, and to *Ioseph* his reputed father. And *Saint Paul* sayth, that although Iesus Christ was in forme of God, and thought it no robbery to be equall with God, yet he made himselfe of no reputation, and tooke on him the forme of a seruant, and was obedient vnto God his Father even to the death of the crosse. Wherefore we ought to be resoluẽd, that in this obedience due to fathers and mothers, there is nothing that is troublesome or difficult, and that there is no greatnes nor excellencie of estate, which children should not spare to lay downe and leaue, to doe their duty vnto those that begat them, nor any kind of abiection or oproby no nor death, wherein they should feare to fall to serue them. But rather to endure also whatsoeuer, then to offend them, by disobedience and contempt.

Prou. 10. 1. &
17. 25.
Math. 23. 9.
1. Kings. 2. 19

Eph. 6. 1. 2. 3.

Luk. 2. 51.

Phil. 2. 6, 7, 8.

Children (saith the Apostle) obey your parents in all things, (adding for a reason) for that is well pleasing vnto the Lord. Whereby hee taketh away all replies that may be made against the same. And accordingly *Moses* saith, You shall feare euery one his mother and his father: for whosoever loueth them, feareth to offend them by despising their authoritie and commaundements. It is true, that this obedience and subiection ought to be holy, and in the Lord, (as *Saint Paul* saith,) for otherwise this Apostolical rule is altogether and alwayes inuolable, (that it is a iust thing before God, to obey him rather then men.)

Acts 4. 19.

But this restraineth not children from not obeying their commaundements, which are contrary to the glory of God, nor hindreth them not from continuing to loue, honour and respect their fathers and mothers, whatsoeuer they be, wicked or heretikes: for as the law of nature, (which is inuolable) is not annihilated by the vices of men, (because they cease not still to be men:) so wicked and peruerse fathers and mothers continually and for ever retaine and hold their right ouer their children, to be honored and respected while they are fathers: and also to commaund, and to be obeyed: so it be not in any thing which is forbidden by the Father of all men. Lastly, it is the duetie of children, to comfort their fathers and mothers in their afflictions, to supply their wants, and to ayde and helpe them in all things that they haue need of. Wherein they shall but pay a part of their debts, being thereunto most firmly bound by the benefites which they haue first receiued from them that brought them into the world. To this duetie, *S. Paul* expressly bindeth them, saying, *If any widowes haue children, or nephewes, let them learne first to shew godlinesse towards their owne house, and to recompence their kindred.* As their fathers and mothers, and ancestors; for that is an honest thing and acceptable before God. Further, in this point whereof wee speake, we must make no smal account of the promise which God addeth to the commaundement, to honor father & mother, which is, *That thy dayes may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.* For herein it is clearly shewed, how much God esteemeth & respecteth the honor & obedience that childre giue to their fathers & mothers. It is true, that God spake properly to the Israelites of the land which he had promised to giue the for an inheritance, & which should be vnto them as a witnes of his goodnes & loue toward the. It being as much as if he

1. Tim. 5. 4.

should haue said vnto them, to the end that living long in that land, you shall in tract of time, by experience feele and finde the benefits of my graces and fauours towards you. But from thence we gather this thing more, that now seeing all the earth is blessed vnto the faithfull, the promise to liue long therein, is a particular blessing of God vnto vs. First, because wee cannot liue long time, without being participants of diuers great benefits receiued from God by his diuine prouidence, in regard of this terrestriall life: and secondly, because it is a better meanes for good and honest men, to imploy themselues the longer time to serue him, for whose glory they were borne, and wherein they ought to thinke themselues happy. For to the contrary it happeneth oftentimes, that God taketh his best seruants, and most obedient children soone out of the world. But in this, and all other the like points, where God promiseth vs terrestriall benefits, we must vnderstand his promise with this condition, that is, so farre forth as it shall bee expedient for our spirituall good and saluation: For if that were not so, there were nothing but miserie in long life, and in all the greatest benefits that wee enioy in this world.

4. Conclusion of this Chapter.

For a summarie conclusion of this Chapter, let vs obserue, that as Saint *Paul* calleth the family of *Philemon*, *The Church*, and that also of *Priscilla and Aquila*: so all fathers and mothers, are bound in such manner to gouerne their children and seruants, that their houses may be as little Churches: From whence (according to *Davids* protestation) all vices and all manner of corruptions should be banished, and driven away, that their dwelling may be holy, and God therein praised, serued, worshipped, and called vpon, morning, and euening, and at meale times, and euery hoare in the day. For families so gouerned, shall finde and feele the truth of the promises of God, and that he will be in the middle of them, as in his Temple, to blesse them with the graces which hee vncessantly powreth downe vpon his elect, and all the faithfull. And it belongeth vnto children (as *Ecclesiastes* saith) to heare their fathers iudgements, that they may be safe: for the Lord will haue the father honoured of the children, and hath confirmed the authoritie of the mother ouer the children. Hee that feareth God, honoureth his parents, and doth honour to his parents, as to his Lords, that hee may haue Gods blessing, and that his blessing may abide with him for euer. For the blessing of the father, establisheth the house of the children: and the mothers curse rooteth out the foundation. And if a Pagan did acknowledge, that there is no prayer which God more willingly heareth, then that of a Father made vnto him for his children, by great reason, those that are Christians, ought to feare the curse of their fathers and mothers, for their offences, and to seeke the meanes (by honouring them) rather to be blessed by their praiers: For without doubt such blessings shall be ratified in heauen, as those which *Isaac* gaue to his sonne *Iacob* esidently declare.

Philem. 2.
Rom. 6. 5.

Ecc. 3. 2, &c.

Plato in lib.
de Legibus.

Gen. 27. 28.

The duties of Magistrates towards their subiects, and of subiects towards their Magistrates: of Pastors or Ministers towards their flocks, and of their flocks towards them. Chap. 15.

1. The duties of Kings, Princes, and Magistrates.

WE must heere say something of the duties of Kings, Princes, Magistrates, and others, which Saint *Paul* calleth superiour powers. And of that duetie also, which their subiects owe vnto them. And by the same means (to accomplishe our first treatie of Christian Phylosophie,) give a taste of the duties of Pastors, or Ministers towards their Churches, and of their Congregations towards them. For (as wee said before) our intent is not fully and at large to speake of these excellent things; for then wee should make a great volume thereof, but onely of as much as shall suffice, to performe that which in the beginning wee promised; that is, of the true meanes to attaine to a happie life in every vocation. Touching the first point, all Magistrates desiring duely and truly to fulfill the duties belonging to their charge, ought to remember that God hath called and placed them in that authoritie, not for their owne particular profit and honour, but to the end that they should serue

Rom. 13. 1.

serue him, by procuring the good and benefite of his people, of whom hee giueth them the gouernement. That is it which the Apostle meaneth, saying, That the Prince is the Minister of God, for the good of all men; which hee confirmeth in an other place more particularly, declaring, that the end of the vocation of kings, and of all those that are in authoritie, is, that wee may leade a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlinesse and honestie. These are three notable points wherein consisteth the whole summe of the duetie of their charge; for that pietie comprehendeth Religion, and the seruice of God, peace and tranquillitie, the fruits of Iustice and Iudgement: and by honestie is vnderstood, modestie of manners, and all vertues requisite to liue ciuilly and vprightly.

Rom. 13. 4.
1. Tim. 2. 2.

This Booke of the Lawe (saith God to the Prince of his people) *(Shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night,* that thou maiest obserue and do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy waies prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe. So the duetie of all Magistrates is, to bee well instructed in the trueth and will of God, to liue accordingly, and to cause all their subiects to doe the like: that so they may prosper in this world, and enioy the happie estate of life eternall. Which is so singular and speciall a poynt, that all the parts, graces and perfections, which the great politions, both Philosophers, and Christians could ever desire to bee in a compleate Prince, may be comprehended in this duetie onely: for from it proceedeth integritie of religion, and the beneuolence or good will of the people, which are two firme pillars of euery well established estate and Common wealth. For to the same wee may referre the three principall offices and actions required in a King, that is, to rule and gouerne by good Lawes and examples, to nourish his people, and iudge them by wisdom, providence, and iustice, and to keepe and defend his countrey and subiects, by valour, care, and vigilancie. And that also is the meaning of those, that in a Prince, require holinesse in time of peace, force and magnanimitie in warre; and in both of them wisdom and prudence, that hee may specially remember, that he beareth the Image of God, in regard of his office, (as Magistrates in the Scripture are oftentimes called Gods) that hee may not say or doe any thing against the diuine Maiestie, and that hee may vse iustice and clemency, following the example of God, infinitely iust and benigne: Which hee should be especially moued vnto, by this sentence of the Prophet, *That he must die like other men*, in thinking that hee is called to his charge, as well to praise God, as to command others.

Ioshua 1. 8.

And in *Iulius Pollux*, euery man may see, (by the titles and points which he desireth to be in a prince,) diuers notable instructions to teach them to frame themselves to the same duties. Who would haue him to be the father of the people, milde, gracious, wise, iust, courteous, magnanimous, a dispiser of mony, a commander of himselfe, surmounting all passions, and vices, vling good reason and iudgement, sober, religious, louing his subiects, constant, no deceiver, holding his word, ready to doe good, slow to reuenge, a lover of the vertuous, desirous of peace, valiant in warre, an example of good maners, a maker of good lawes, and an obseruer of the same.

Ibid. 7.

But Saint *Augustine* proceedeth further in this matter, saying: The iustice of the king is, not to oppresse any man by power, to iudge iustly without exception between man & man, to be a protector of strangers, orphans, & widdows, an impeacher of thefts, a punisher of adultery, no aduancer of vicious men, no intertainer of quarelling and licentious fellows, an exterminator of wicked persons, vigilant to put murderers & periured persons to death, a maintainer of Churches, a nourisher of the poore, a planter of vpright and honest men in publike offices, one that chuseth ancient, sober, and wise counsellors, no harkener to diuiners, magicians, and euil spirits, not chollerike, a defender of his countrey against enemies with magnanimity and iustice, putting his whole trust in God, not proud in prosperity, patient in aduersity, an vpholder and maintainer of the Catholike faith, no fauourer of wickednes in his children, imploying certain howers in the day to pray vnto God, & one that eateth not but when necessity requireth, (according to the saying of *Ecclesiastes*) woe be to thee, oh land, when the gouernors eate early in the morning. These things (saith this good father) giue prosperity to this life, and leade the prince to a better kingdome, that is, heavenly and eternall. A perfect table of the duty and office of magistrates, who among other things may thereby learne, that their authority shall much encrease, and be of great effect, when their power is accompanied with many graces and vertues, more then are in their subiects, thereby to serue vnto them for examples in all things that are conuenient for the children and seruants of God: Wherin they ought to be carefull, that they do not permit nor suffer them

Aug. lib. de 12
abus. gra. 9.

selues, which may any way be tolerable in others, much more ought they not to dispen-
 with themselves therein, by any meanes. As we may note by diuers testimonies and exam-
 ples, that (God euen in the greatest personages) punished certaine faults, which in outward
 apparence were very small, as of *Moses* and *Aaron*, who because they did not strike the
 Rocke, that the water might come forth, with such an assurance of the power of God, as
 in that case was requisite, they were bard from entring into the Land of Canaan: of *Da-
 uid* for numbring his people, for the which 70. thousand of them died of the plague:
 and of *Ezechias* for shewing his treasure to the Ambassadors of the King of Babylon, for
 the which he lost his riches, and his people were led into Captiuitie.

Numb. 20. 7.
 11. 12.
 2. Sam. 24. 1.
 14. 15.
 Eia. 34. 2. 6.

1 King. 3. 9.

Wee must further note, that as it is the duty of Magistrates to give good examples to
 their Subiects: so they should persevere and continue therein, because their state is slippe-
 rie. For as trees that grow in high places, are more subiect to stormes and beating of the
 winde, and consequently in greater danger to be blowne downe, then others that stand
 lower: So Kings and Princes raised to high degrees aboue their Subiects, are puissantlier
 assailed, either by the diuell, which knowes the great importance of their fall; or else by
 Cicophants, and euill counsellors through the feeling of their owne greatnesse (prouoked
 thereunto by the corruptions, concupiscences, and vices which are naturall to all flesh)
 which makes them inclined to all kinde of lasciuiousnesse; and therefore they ought to
 know, and often meditate thereon, that there is nothing more difficult then wisely to go-
 uerne and raigne ouer others, that they may daily pray vnto God, for that wisdom
 and perseuerance which is necessarie for them, in their duties, by his diuine blessing
 as *Salomon* did.

2. The duties of Subiects towards their Magistrates.

Concerning the duties of the common people, and Subiects towards their Princes and
 Magistrates, it is certaine, that as in the fift precept of the Law, God commandeth vs to
 honour our Fathers: vnderstanding by that name of Fathers, all Superiours that haue
 any charge or command ouer others, and consequently Magistrates: So the word to Honor
 containeth in it all offices and duties whereunto inferiour persons and subiects are bound
 in respect of their Princes and Gouvernours: Which Saint *Peter* confirmeth saying, *Honor
 the King*: by the which he teacheth vs; all that which the Scripture commandeth tou-
 ching the Loue, Reuerence, Subiection, Obedience, and aide which wee are bound to shew
 and giue to our Superiours; as also, that wee ought to pray for them, that God might
 blesse and prosper them.

1 Peter 2. 17.

For the first point, if wee are bound to loue our neighbours as our selues; specially,
 because of the Image of the Deitie, which all the posteritie of *Adam* beare, how much
 more then Kings and Princes, which are as it were, our Fathers, and that beare a particu-
 lar Image of God, in that they are his Lieutenants to rule and gouerne his people. *I haue
 said you are Gods, and children of the most high*, (saith *Danid*) speaking of Magistrates. Then
 wee are bound to this duetie, to loue, as also to reuerence them with heart, affection, words
 and workes: otherwise it is a despising of God in them, because there is no power but of
 God, and the powers that be, are ordeined of God, (as the Apostle saith) and thereupon maketh
 this most true and certaine conclusion, *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the or-
 dinance of God, and they that resist, shall receiue to themselves condemnation.*

Psalm. 82. 6.

Rom. 13. 1, 2.

1 Pet. 2. 13.
 Rom. 13. 5.

And from thence we are also taught, what subiection and obedience we ought to yeeld
 vnto our Princes, according to the exhortation of *S. Peter*, saying, *Therefore submit your
 selues vnto all maner of ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be vnto the kings
 as vnto the superior, &c.*

1 Pet. 2. 18.

And to that end Saint *Paul* saith, that we must be subiect to the Magistrates, not because
 of wrath onely, but for conscience sake. Whereby we learne, that although we may scape
 punishment of the prince, for disobeying him, yet that we must not refuse to obey his com-
 mandements, alwaies remembring, that God is offended therein, because wee disobey those
 whom he hath placed to be superiours ouer vs hereon earth. And which is more, as *S. Peter*
 admonisheth seruants to be subiect vnto their masters, with all feare, not onely to the good
 and curteous, but also to the froward. So subiects are bound to obey their Magistrates,
 though they be infidels, wicked, and Idolaters, as they were that ruled in the Apostles time:
 And whom they commaunded Christians to obey, for as Christian Religion doth not
 overthrow

ouerthrow the order of politicke government, to the iniquity and wickednesse of Princes, doth not in any sort deprive them of their right and authoritie of commanding, neither yet exempteth Subiects from their dutie of obedience, nor simplie as vnto men; but as to God, whose image and authoritie they beare. It is true, that God doth not thereby lose any part of his owne authority, nor doth dispence with vs, from obeying him, in obeying the Magistrate. For seeing that they haue no authoritie nor power, but onely that which is given them from aboue (as Iesus Christ saith) it is not conuenient that to obey their commandements, wee should not do the commandements of God, for that without authority from him, they haue no power to command. And seeing that it is for the loue of God, (as Saint Peter saith) that wee owe subiection vnto them, wee must not obey them, to the preiudice of that loue, which is the fountaine of good workes, as the Apostles constantly shewed, and maintained before the Governours of the Iewes, saying vnto them. *Judge you whether it bee right in the sight of God, to obey you rather then God.* John 19. 11. Acts 4. 19.

Again, all Subiects are bound in time of neede to aide and assist their Magistrates, as well with their bodies, as with their goods: with their bodies, by bearing armes vnder the authoritie and commandement of their Princes, to aide and helpe him in the execution of his office, as also to defend him from all outrages and villanies: And with their goods, to the ende, that the Magistrate which emploiet his time and labour, for the good and benefite of the Common wealth, should haue such reuenues as are fit and necessarie for his estate and dignitie, and as it were in manner of a remuneration and salarie for his paines taking therein. As also that hee may bee furnished with money to defray the charges and expences necessarie for the conseruation and intertainement of the Monarchie and Common wealth, committed to his charge. To that end, Kings and Princes are authorised by God, to impose and take tribute, tallages, subsidies, costomes and impositions of their Subiects, and the Subiects are bound to pay it, and to furnish them therewith: which the Apostle teacheth: as also Christ himselfe commandeth it, and confirmeth the same by an example, in paying tribute due vnto *Cesar*. Rem. 13. 8. Math. 22.

Lastly, hearken what Saint Paul speaketh of another dutie belonging vnto subiects, saying, *I exhort therefore, that first of all, Supplication, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of thanks, bee made for all men:* For Kings, and for all that are in authoritie, that wee may leade a quiet and peaceable life, in all godlinesse and honellie. And in truth, this charge of Magistrates (touching publike tranquillitie and holinesse) euidently sheweth, how much wee are bound vnto that dutie, to pray vnto God for them, that they may bee ledde and strengthened by his Spirit, with all necessarie grace to effect the dutie and ende of their vocation. As in truth also, in those prayers and spirituall exercises, consisteth the best and most profitable seruice, that Princes are to expect and desire of their good Subiects, according to the example of *Dauid*, who being a King, according to Gods owne heart, and abundantly endued with his graces, neuertheless, knowing what neede hee had of the prayers of the people, to that effect, made that notable prayer for them to vse, which wee finde in the 20. Psalm.

3. Duties of Pastors or Ministers toward their flockes.

Now let vs say something of the duties of pastors or ministers, we may reduce them all to the speciall head and end of their vocations, and to that which is requisite to attaine thereunto. That is, to saue the soules of the faithfull, redeemed by the precious blood of Iesus Christ, as Saint Paul saith to his Disciple, for although that God onely is the Saviour, it pleaseth him neuertheless, to vse the ministry of men for the accomplishing of their saluation, in such manner, that the Apostle for that consideration, calleth ministers of the Gospell, coadiutors, and fellow labourers with God. Whereunto also we must referre, that which he saith els where, that he therefore gaue some to be Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Euangelists, and some Pastors and teachers, for the repairing of the Saints, and for the worke of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ. From whence wee learne, that for the accomplishing of the end of their vocation, their first and singular duty is, to preach the word of God, which Saint Paul for that cause calleth, the power of God vnto saluation, to euery one that beleueth. And in another place, to the like end, earnestly recommendeth the same duty to *Timothy*, and in him to all the pastors and ministers of the Church;

Church. And as all professions and arts are known by the workemen that vse the same: as a Taylor by cutting out and sowing of apparell, a shoemaker by making of shoes, A phisition because he imployeth his time and study, to heale and cure those that are diseased, and so of others. So a Bishop, Pastor, or a Minister is knowne, by preaching and pronouncing the word of God, and that by the same he comforteth the hearts of the afflicted, exhorteth the slacke and negligent, strengtheneth the feeble, and encourageth those that are cast downe by affliction, and such as are strayed from the truth, which hee doth not lightly, & as it were for order sake, but carefully, diligently, and constantly. As the Apostle protesteth of him- selfe, that both night & day for the space of three yeares together, he ceased not with teares to admonish every one. It is the office also of a Pastour or Preacher to minnister the Sacraments vnto the people, and to celebrate the same faithfully, to the glory of God, and the edification of the Church: as likewise he is bound to haue such a care of his flocke, as well generally as particularly, that hee must visite them in their sicknesse, miseries, and anguishes, to strengthen them in faith, and patience, providing as neere as he can, that they may be aided and succored in their necessities and wants. And for that no man is able of himself to execute so great and weighty a charge. And that the graces, gifts, and labors of those that are most able therein, are vnprofitable and vnfruitfull without the speciall blessing of God, every faithfull minister ought to employ his mind oftentimes, with an ardent and singular zeale to pray vnto God, that he wil endow him with his spirit, and daily encrease his graces in him for the accomplishing of his vocation.

Acts. 20. 31.

Ephes. 6. 19.

Saint Paul so excellent an Apostle, and a chosen vessell to preach the glory of God to the Gentiles, was not content continually to pray vnto God, but also recommended himselfe to the prayers of the faithfull, to the end that utterance might bee giuen vnto him, and that hee might open his mouth boldly, to publish the secret of the Gospell, and to speake as he should.

1 Cor. 3. 6.

Againe, a Minister ought by praier to beseech God that hee would blesse his labour, that it might take effect and force among his flocke, and that generally and particularly, hee would bee pleased to keepe and preserue them all, and encrease his graces in the vniuersall Church. And to that ende, the Apostle saith, *That hee had planted, and Apollo watered, but that it is God which giueth the encrease.* And wee see in all his Epistles, what diligence and zeale hee sheweth to recommend the assemblies of the faithfull, and diuers particular persons vnto the Lord. Which are as many notable considerations for ministers to thinke vpon, that they may spend their time carefully to pray vnto the Lord, as also that it is the principall meanes to nourish and encrease pietie, a good conscience, ardent zeale, charitie, diligence, and fidelity in them. All which are qualities wherewith the true Ministers of Christ, and of his Church, ought to seale and confirme their doctrine, that by conuersation and conformity of life according to their doctrine, they may bee good examples, and an edification to their flockes. As Saint Paul saith to Timothee, *Vnto them that beleuee, bee an example in word, in conuersation, in lone, in spirit, in faith, and in purenesse.* As hee addeth also vnto Titus, and as Iesus Christ saith vnto his Apostles,

1 Tim. 4. 12.

Titus 2. 7.

Matth. 5. 14.

You are the lightes of the world, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good workes and glorifie your father which is in heauen. For as when it is night, we cause one to goe before vs with a light to shew vs the way: so in the darkenesse of the soule, wherein wee are borne, the liues and behauiours of our Pastors, and spirituall Fathers, ought to serue for burning torches to conduct and guide vs in the way of saluation and eternall life. Which they ought specially to practise, wholly abandoning those vices which are condemned and forbidden by the word of God; specially, Auarice, and Ambition, for which cause Saint Paul saith, *That a Bishop must bee vnpromisable, the husband of one wife, watching, temperate, modest, sober, apt to teach, not giuen to wine, no striker, not giuen to filthy lucre, but gentle, no fighter, nor couetous.* Which Saint Peter confirmeth also. And to take away all occasions for a Minister to become ambitious, by presumption and desire of glory: The Apostle saith thus, *For who separateth thee? And what hast thou, that thou hast not receiued? If thou hast receiued it, why reioicest thou as though thou hadst not receiued it?* Whereby the Apostle teacheth Ministers to know, that God communicateth his graces vnto them, not to puffe them vp in pride, but to the ende, that in their modestie and humilitie, hee onely may by them bee exalted and glorified: for the good and saluation of those, whom he hath committed to their charge.

1 Tim. 3. 3.

1 Pet. 5. 2.

1 Cor. 4. 7.

4. Duties of Christian people to their Pastors.

Touching the duties of Christian people towards their Pastors, seeing they are also understood by the word *Father*, in the first Commandment of the Law of God: It followeth, that in the word *Honor*, is also comprehended all the duties of the faithful towards them: that is, Love, reverence, subiection, obedience, and assistance in time of neede: For the first, If wee ought to love all men; and namely, our enemies: by greater reason wee ought to love those whom God vseth and imployeth to beget vs in Christ; that wee may be his children, and heires of his kingdome of heauen. It is said of the *Galatians*, that they bare so great an affection to Saint *Paul*, that hauing receiued him as an Angell of God, yea as Iesus Christ, they would willingly, (if need had beene) haue pild out their eyes, to haue given them vnto him. A true signe of a singular love, because that is more, then for a man to giue his goods, or his life for an other. This cordiall love cannot chuse but beget a certaine respect towards Ministers: In consideration of the honorable charge whereunto they are called by God, being made Stewards of the secrets and misteries of eternall saluation, Gods Ambassadors for Iesus Christ, bringing the message, and glad tidings of our reconciliation, coadiutors and fellow-laborers with God for our eternall good, and ministers of the new alliance in spirit and life eternall. For all these titles which the holy Scriptures giue to Pastors and Ministers of the Church, evidently shew, what reuerence and respect Christian people, ought to yeeld vnto them, and that no man ought to despise them, without despising Christ in them, (as he himselfe teacheth) and so become too vnthankful for the benefits, which God by them offereth vnto all the faithful. But specially we must love & respect them, when they imploy themselves faithfully in their charge as by the titles aforesaid they are admonished, & bound therunto. From thence also proceedeth the subiection & obedience which is due vnto them, as the Apostle commandeth the *Hebrews*, saying, *Obeie them that haue the oversight of you, & submit your selues* (adding this reason) *That they watch for your soules, as they that must giue account, that they may doe it with ioy, and not with griefe.* Which subiection and obedience consisteth specially in three points: the first, carefully to heare the word preached, to communicate the Sacraments, and to bee assistant at publike prayers; the second, to bring forth fruites, and shew forth the effects of those holy exercises; and thirdly, modestly and humbly to receiue their instructions, reprehensions, and admonitions. Lastly, there is an aiding and assisting due to Pastors, and Ministers, as well with our meanes, (that they may haue a convenient intertainment and allowance for their maintenance) as with our prayers vnto God, that hee will bee pleased to preserve and blesse them. To the first point, marke what *S. Paul* saith, *Who goeth a warfare any time at his owne costs & charges? Or who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke?* Againe, *Let him that is taught in the word, make him that hath taught him partaker of all his goods.* To prooue the second point, in almost all the Epistles which the Apostle writeth (Although he was endued abundantly with the gifts of the holy Ghost,) he exhorteth the particular Churches, incessantly to pray vnto God for him. And seeing that Christ commandeth vs, to pray the Lord of the harvest to raise vp laborers, or workemen therein, it followeth, that when he hath giuen vs those that are good, we ought to giue him thanks for them and continue our vows and prayers vnto him, to desire him that he will bee pleased to preserve and keepe them, for the aduancement of his glory, and our edification.

5. Conclusion of this Chapter.

For conclusion of that which wee said before, seeing that all Superior power commeth from God, and likewise the distinction of the order and degrees thereof: Let euery man haue a care to looke vnto his vocation, to walke therein as the Lord hath appointed him. Let Magistrates that are desirous to amend their liues, examine themselves, touching the points of their duties herein specified; that so correcting and amending their owne fautes, they may imploy their minds more and more to gouerne their subiects holily and vprightly: that God may bee glorified, and they and their Subiects attaine euermore happines. Let those that are borne to obey, love and reuerence their Superiors, yeelding voluntary subiection vnto them, and imploy both their bodie and goods to aide and serue them, being assured that doing so, and praying vnto God for them they shall liue happily vnder their

their conduction. Let Pastors and Ministers often reade and meditate that which Saint Paul writeth to the Bishops or Ministers of *Ephesus*, and generally all his Epistles, from him, and his writings, to take and draw a patterne of all that which is requisite for the vocation of a faithfull Minister of the Church of God, remembering the promise of the holy Ghost, That euerie one shall receive his wages according to his labour, and that those which turne many to righteousness shall shine as the starres for euer and euer. Let all the faithfull acknowledge how precious those spirituall benefits are, which wee receive by the Ministrie of our Pastors, and that for sowing such rich treasures in our soules: It is a small matter that they reape our carnall riches. And lastly, in consideration thereof and of the most honourable and holy charge which God hath giuen vnto them for vs, we must loue them with an vp-right heart, and in all respects obey them, and haue a care of them, specially in our prayers, that the Lord both of them and vs, may preserve and fill them with the graces of his holy Spirit, for his glory, and the aduancement of the saluation of the Church.

That by seuen causes and diuine reasons, a true Christian Philosopher should be induced to embrace all the meanes of a happy life, set downe in this Philosophie, specially by that which hath bene said, by our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, that the kingdome of heauen is at hand. Chap. 16.

1. *Seuen principall causes and reasons more then sufficient to make a man forsake, and amend all his follies and corruptions.*

NOW we come to the end and intent of the first part of our Christian Philosophie, touching the meanes of a happy life, wherein if wee haue not proceeded so well as wee desire, we haue at the least done as well as wee could, by the measure of the diuine graces, which God hath bestowed vpon vs. But before wee passe to the second part & prooue of this Academicall Theologie, as we began generally to frame the actions of the soule to the loue of pietie, & righteousness, grounding vpon this foundation of the words of Iesus Christ, *Amend your liues*, and shewed that we ought specially and principally to practise this commandment of the Lord, in regard of seuen pernicious follies whereunto we are naturally enclined, thereby to leaue and forsake them, limiting and bounding our other discourses, with the number of seuen. In like manner, to moue and stirre vp our mindes with greater zeale to embrace the admonition of our Saviour, and to liue holily and vp-rightly. Wee will herein set downe seuen principall causes, and diuine reasons, by the which all Christians in generall, and euery one of them in his particular vocation ought to be touched by the Spirit of God in their hearts, and also feele and confesse themselves to be specially bound to a true and perfect amendment of their liues, and to bring forth the fruits of repentance. For as wee haue already said, If the number of seuen, commonly signifying perfection, is sufficient in our discourse to shew, that man is altogether ignorant and a foole, vntill such time, as becomming wise and vnderstanding, hee leaueth his follies. So the like number of reasons taken out of the holy Scriptures, concerning the same subiect, and matter of amendment of life, shall suffice to induce (euery man that is worthy of the name of a Christian Philosopher) vnto the same.

2. *The first cause of amendment of life is the authoritie of Iesus Christ.*

For a first cause to moue vs to amendment of life, we haue the authority of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, who commandeth vs to doe it. For the onely commandment of him, being the Son of the eternall God, saying, *Amend your liues*, ought to leade and induce vs to yeeld ready and voluntary obedience vnto him. And the names and titles which he hath, sufficiently declare and shew his authority vnto vs. First, it is the Sonne of God, (who in the preface of the law, receiued by *Moses*, exercising the office of a Prophet, a King, and a conductor of the elect people of the Iewes) that spake, saying, I am the eternall Lord,

thy

thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. From whence wee may draw a double reason of his authoritie, which bindeth vs to obey him. First, from the name of eternall, which in the Hebrew tongne is called *Iehoua*, which signifieth, Essence, or He that is, as in him, and by him onely we are, we liue, and have our mooring. And as the Apostle witnesseth; *That all things were created in Christ, or by him, and that they also consist by him.* The second reason is, in that he addeth thereunto, *Thy God*, to signifie to the Children of Israel, that they were his peculiar people, redeemed by him, and therefore dedicated and consecrated to his diuine Maiesie, as mention is there presently made, of their deliverance out of the Land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage; for a certaine testimony of the love of God towards his people, and of a resurrection and reestablishment of a free and a happy life. Whereby wee learne the two fold and double right, belonging vnto the Lord, commanding vs this day to amend our liues, as our Creator and Redeemer, and that therefore it should bee a monstrous double ingratitude, not to obey him, who declaring his will vnto vs, in the first object letteth vs plainly see, that we cannot subsist, neither corporally nor spiritually, neither in this life, nor in the life to come, without his power and grace. Which teacheth vs how we must reape profit and instruction from this, that since the Law of *Moses*, wee haue had the accomplishment of the same, and of all the shadowes and figures thereof, in Iesus Christ our Saviour manifested in the flesh, hauing beene deliuered from the power of darkenesse, and in him obtained redemption through his blood. That is, forgiveness of sinnes: and therefore wee acknowledge and confesse him in the Creed, to be our Lord. And Saint Paul calleth him *The onely Prince, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.* And therefore King of all the world, in such manner neuerthelesse, that hee is also and specially King of his Church, as *Dauid* saith, *That he which dwelleth in the heauens, hath set his King upon Zion his holy mountaine.* And therefore wee conclide for the first cause of amendment of our liues, that all those names and titles of *Iehoua*, Creator, Redeemer, Saviour, Lord, and King, which he beareth, that enioineth and chargeth vs to conuert and turne vnto him, being considered as they ought to be; shew vnto vs, what authority he hath to command vs, which is most sacred and inuiolable, whereby we are most firmly bound vnto him, as his creatures, children, subiects, and seruants.

Exod. 20. 2.
Deut. 5. 6.
Psal 81. 10.
Exod. 3. 14.
Acts 17. 28.
Col. 1. 16. 17.

Col. 1. 13. 14.
1. Tim. 6. 15.
Psal. 2. 3, 6.

3. *The second reason of amendment, is, the name of Holy attributed to Christ.*

The Prophet *Esay* saith, that he saw the Lord sitting upon his Throane, with many Seraphins, about it, crying one vnto the other, *Holy, Holy, Holy: is the Lord of Hosts, the whole world is full of his glory, which is said of Iesus Christ, as S. Iohn witnesseth, reciting, in an other place, That in a vision which appeared vnto him, he saw foure beastes, which cried night and day, saying Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty, which was, and which is, and which is to come.* Which title repeated threentimes, among other things teacheth vs, that Christ God & man is soueraignely, and infinitely iust, good, mercifull, wise, puissant and true. Yea and so excellently and perfectly, that in his diuine and such like properties he is most holy, by no means participating therein with his creatures. For if there be any goodnes, righteousness, wisdom, or truth in man, he hath it not of himselfe but from God. And yet he hath but certaine drops, and sparkes thereof, which are accidentall, and v unexpected graces or qualities, (as they say in schooles) in such maner, that without them, he ceaseth not still to be a man. But Iesus Christ hath all those properties of himselfe: in him they are perfect and infinite, and they are his proper essence: in such sort, that to deny his righteousness, wisdom, power, mercy, and goodnes, it is to deny God. So by good right Christ is called Holy, holy, holy, and therefore it is no maruell, if this, and that which proceedeth thereof, surpasseth mans vnderstanding. For it exceedeth the capacity of Angels. As *Esay* sheweth by his vision, saying: That the Seraphins covered their faces with their two wings, as being not able to behold the splendure of his holinesse. Now the more it is incomprehensible, so much the more it admonisheth vs of our dutie, to humble and subiect our selues, vnder the obedience of his commandements, by amendment of our liues. For it is written, *Bee yee holy as I am holy, and as hee which hath called you is holy, be you also holy in all your conuersation.* And againe, *We are elected by the providence of God, in sanctification of the Spirit, to obedience, and to be sprinkled with the blood of Iesus Christ.*

Esay 6. 3.
Leuit. 11. 44.
1. Peter 1. 16.
& 14. 2.

4. *The third cause to mooue vs to amendment of life, is the title of Emanuel given to Iesus Christ.*

Esay 7. 14.
Matth. 1. 23.
Iohn 17. 20.

Leuit. 11. 44.
& 19. 2. and
20. 7.
1. Cor. 6. 14.
Ier. 22. 23.
Psal. 33. 13.
Heb. 4. 13.

Christ holy, and most holy, is also called *Emanuel*, which is as much to say, as God with vs, by which title is signified and expressed, the manner and meanes whereby God communicateth himselfe vnto vs, not onely receiuing vs into grace, but also ioyning himselfe vnto vs in Iesus Christ, by that meanes making vs one with him, as Christ also prayed vnto his Father. Therefore this name of Emanuel, admonisheth vs of two things which ought to mooue vs to amendement of our liues. First, as there is nothing more contrary to the holines of Iesus Christ, then impietie, vnrightheousnes, malice, iniquity, auarice, ambition, lechery, and other such vices and corruptions: So there is nothing that should more forcibly stirre vs vp, and correct in vs, our vncleannes, and so reforme all the impiety of our actions, and manner of liuing, then the remembrance of the name of *Emanuel*; that is to say, God with vs, who by his secret vertue, being conioined and vnited vnto vs, so often crieth out in the holy Scriptures by his word, and in our soules by his spirit, *Be ye holy; for I am holy*: which is, as if he should daily make himselfe to be heard in our consciences, saying, that we cannot pronounce this title or name of *Emanuel*, vnlesse we separate our selues from all filthines and corruptions, because they cannot bee ioined with the holinesse of the Lord. Therefore Saint *Paul* earnestly exhorteth vs, to this durie of puritie, and all the doctrine of the Gospell tendeth to that ende, that we may both say, and retaine God with vs. For the second point, the same name of Christ teacheth vs, that wee haue God in euery place with vs, and consequently, that hee seeth all our thoughts, wils, words, and actions, as all things are naked, bare, and open vnto his eies: for the Deity is all in all, That is, all with vs, in vs, and neere vnto vs. Our darkenes and obscurity, are light to him, all is cleare and present before his face, as well past, as future things. Then let vs earnestly thinke vpon, and detest the ordinary manner of the life of the wicked, which dare presume to thinke, say, and doe thole things in the sight of the eternall God, which they would bee ashamed of before men.

5. *The fourth cause or reason to mooue vs to amendment of life, is meditating vpon the fine other names and titles attributed to Christ.*

Esay 9. 5.

The titles of Admirable, Counsellor, the mighty God, the Everlasting Father, and the Prince of peace, are attributed to Iesus Christ, by *Esay*, which ought to induce vs to amend our liues, by louing God, fearing to offend him, and by taking pleasure to yeeld obedience vnto him. For whereas the Lord is called Admirable, it is to assure vs, that in his wisdom, power, and goodnes, he surmounteth and surpasseth all whatsoeuer man can comprehend, or conceiue of the wisdom, force, blessings, and benefits of God, wherewith it pleaseth him to endowe his elect. The title of Counsellor, sheweth that Christ is filled with all vnderstanding, & knowledge, to giue vs true & faithfull counsell, in all our necessities and tribulations specially in that, which concerneth that holy seruice, which is agreeable & pleasing to the Lord, and the hope of our saluation. He is called the mighty God, to make vs certain and assured, that his force and greatnes is infinite, to execute and accomplish al whatsoeuer he wil, whether it be in defending, and saving vs from the ambushes and forces of our enemies; in punishing those that resist against him; or in communicating his gifts & graces vnto those that obey him as his children and seruants. He is called Prince, because he is the author and fountaine of all prosperity and felicity, both present and to come, properly signified by the name of peace. Lastly, he is called Everlasting Father, thereby to teach vs, That Iesus Christ is the beginning and the foundation of the Church, continuing it for euer, preserving it on earth, by continuall protection, and conducting it vnto heauen, to giue it eternall ioy and permanent glory in the everlasting world.

6. *The fift reason to mooue vs to amendment of life, is two other names of our Saviour, Iesus and Christ.*

Matth. 1. 21.

The Angel of God sent to *Ioseph*, when the holy Virgin was conceived, told him, that she should beare a Son, & he should be called *Iesus*, adding thereunto for a reason of that name, that

That he should save his people from their sinnes. And to the same end it was said vnto the Shepherds, *This day is borne vnto you a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.* Now as it is, the same Iesus which commandeth vs to amend our liues; so the consideration of those two names, ought specially to moue vs to yeeld that obedience vnto him. For first, the name of Iesus, which is a Saviour, admonisheth vs, that *By nature wee are condemned, and that there is no saluation for vs, but in Christ onely.* As Saint Peter also saith, *For which cause, wee are bounde to acknowledge that wee are not our owne, but his that saved vs from eternall damnation:* And consequently, *That wee must renounce and forsake all our owne righteousnessse, not to liue to our selues, nor according to our owne wisdom, and willes, but according to the good will and pleasure of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ.* That so forsaking our naturall corruptions, and living in Christ, being regenerated and renewed by his holy Spirit, wee may amend our liues. Touching the Title of Christ, (a Greeke name) in the Hebrewe tongue, it signifieth, the name of *Messias*, which is as much as if wee should say, *Anointed*, by which vnction is vnderstood the fulnesse of the holy Ghost, which the Lord receiued. As Saint Luke noteth, *Who was filled therewith, That we (as Saint Iohn saith) might be participants of his fulnesse.* And that the vnction which hee hath given vs, by the same spirit, may dwell in vs, and we in him. Saint Paul calling vs, *The Temple of God*, (addeth for a reason) *because the holy Ghost dwelleth in vs.* And the name of Christ also, drawne from Christ, and proper to his Disciples, confirmeth the same: *For (saith the Apostle) those that haue not the spirit of Christ, are not in him.* And as wee cannot say, that in such a place there is a true and a naturall fire, if heate and light proceede not from it, so the holy Ghost cannot be in vs, if we neither feele nor shew forth the effects that belong to the holines thereof. Therefore this name of Christ, teaching vs that we are participants of the vnction of his spirit, ought to be a notable and strong reason to inforce vs to amend our liues. Which if we doe not, it is in vaine for vs to say we are Christians, or to vaunt and boast, that Christ is our Saviour, and that his spirit dwelleth in vs.

Luke 2. 11.

Acts 4. 12.
1 Cor. 6. 19.

Acts 10. 38.

Iohn 1. 16.

1 Iohn 2. 27.

1 Cor. 3. 16.

7. *The sixth reason to moue vs to amend our liues, is that wee are strangers and pilgrims in this life.*

The holy Scripture oftentimes calleth vs strangers, pilgrims, and travellers, (not as *Abraham*, speaking to the Canaanites) said, *I am a stranger and a forreiner among you:* nor as it may happen to diuers men, which leaue their native Countries to dwell in other places, but specially in regard of the kingdome of heauen, our true and eternall countrey. And if we be citizens of heauen, (as *S. Paul* teacheth vs) we are strangers heere on earth. Now our spiritual birth proceedeth from our heavenly Father, and we receiue the seale thereof in the Church, which is the kingdom of God. His dwelling is in heauen, where our eldest brother Iesus Christ is, and all our brethren and sisters also in him. Our immortall riches, and inheritance not contaminated nor corruptible, are kept & preferred in the land of the liuing, that are happy for euer. Then our countrey is there, and in regard thereof we are rightly called strangers, pilgrims, and travellers in this mortall and transitory world: which ought to incourage & moue vs fro hence to lift vp our thoughts, minds, & vnderstandings to our celestial habitation, that so beholding God with the eies of faith, and the glory of Christ, together with the excellency of our inheritance, we may all the daies of our liues reioice with the Angels, and the soules of the Saints, already ascended vp into heauen, and with them by a holy & spirituall communion, continually without ceasing praise the Lord. As *S. Paul* saith, *That we which beleue in Iesus Christ, are come to mount Sion, to the City of the liuing God, the Celestial Ierusalem, and to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the assembly of the first borne, which are written in heauen, And to God the iudge of all, and to the Spirits of iust and perfect men, and to Iesus the Mediator of the new Testament.* Wherefore, hauing ascended so high, and hauing our conuersation in heauen, as Citizens of the heavenly kingdome: wee must no more looke downe vpon the earth, to make any account thereof, much lesse of the vanities (which the fooles of the world) therein admire, and looke after; But rather continually meditate and remember, that here we are but strangers, pilgrims, and travellers, that so we may be perswaded to amend our liues, renouncing and forsaking the world, and the flesh, and preparing our selues by faith, hope, and good workes, to goe to take possession of our celestial inheritance, at the time ordeyned and appointed by God.

Heb. 11. 12.

Gen. 23. 4.

Ephes. 2. 9.

1 Pet. 1. 4.

Heb. 12. 22.

Apoc. 1. 3.

8. *The seventh reason, to perswade vs to amendment of life is, because the kingdome of heauen, or of God, is at hand.*

Matth. 4. 17. Lastly, and for the seventh reason to perswade vs, to amend our liues; the reason is added by Iesus Christ himselfe, to his first exhortation, that is, *For the kingdome of heauen, or of God, is at hand.* To vnderstand it better, wee must note three significations of this kingdome. First, by the same is meant, the happy state and incomprehensible felicitie which we shall enioy after the resurrection: as when the Lord said, *Many shall come from the East, and from the West, and sit downe with Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob, in the Kingdome of heauen.* In which manner of speaking, there is an allusion to a table in a banquet, as if Christ said, *They shall enioy eternall life, with the holy Patriarches.* Secondly, the Kingdome of heauen signifieth, the regenerated man, which consisteth in a true knowledge of God, by faith and mortification of the old man *Adam*, and newnes of life: as when Christ saith, *The kingdome of God is in you,* And the Apostle, *The kingdome of God is not meat nor drinke, but righte-ousnesse, and peace, and ioy in the holy Ghost.* Thirdly, the Kingdome of heauen oftentimes signifieth, the holy Ministerie, and preaching of the Gospell: as when Saint Paul speaking of certaine faithfull seruants of God, saith, *These onely are my workesfellowes vnto the Kingdome of heauen.* As the Lord said, *That he that is the least in the kingdome of heauen, is greater then Iohn Baptist.* Whereunto also we may adde, that which he teacheth in the Similitude or Parable of the same kingdome, as the seede cast into diuers kindes of grounds, to signifie, (that the holy Ministerie doth not produce fruit in all those that heare the Word.) *To a Treasure hid in the field, and to a Merchant that seeketh for good pearles,* to shew how much wee ought to esteeme of the preaching of the Word of GOD. All these significati- ons ought to moue vs, to amend our liues. For first, when by the kingdome of hea- uen is meant, the happie state, and the vnspeakeable and eternall beatitude which wee hope for and expect in the world to come, it aduertiseth vs, that our condition is farre different from that of the brute beastes, which when they die, consume to nothing: But when men die, all is not dead with them, for those which beleue in Iesus Christ, shall bee better, and enioy a life full of glory, peace, ioy, and in- comprehensible felicitie without end. And to the contrarie, they that shall be hardened in their incredulitie, and in wickednesse, shall bee tormented in the fire of the wrath of God eternally. As *Daniel* saith, *That many of them that sleepe in the dust of the earth, shall awake, some to euertasting life, and some to shame and perpetuall contempt.* As the Lord also con- firmeth the same in the Gospell.

Then to vnderstand the true meaning of this reason, *For the kingdome of heauen is at hand:* we must vndoubtedly beleue (as it is an article of our faith) that Christ shal come to iudge the quick and the dead, some to eternall life, in all happines with God: and the blessed spi- rits, others to eternal death and condemnation with the diuel and his angels. It is the foun- dation or ground of the Apostles argument to exhort men to repent and amend their liues, saying, and the time of this ignorance God regarded not, but now he admonisheth all men euery where to repent, because he hath ordained a day in the which he wil iudge the world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath appointed, wherof he hath given an assurance to all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. How in righteousness? because (as hee saith in another place) we must also appeare before the iudgement seat of Christ, that every man may receiue the things that are done in his body, according to that he hath done whe- ther it be good or euill, And that God will reward euery man according to his workes, that is to them which through patience in well doing seeke glory and honor, and immortality, life euertasting, but to them that are contentious and discobey the truth, and obey vnrighteousnes, shal be indignation and wrath. Secondly, when by the kingdome of heauen hee vnderstandeth the state, wherein the children of God are established in this life, by faith in Iesus Christ, it ought to inflame our hearts, with a right & true desire of amendment of life. This kingdome (saith *S. Paul*) consisteth in righteousness, peace & ioy in the H. Ghost. By righteousness he vnderstands the singular benefit which we obtaine by this, that Christ by his death hauing satisfied & appeased the wrath of God for our sins, & so paid al our debts, he hath given & imputed vnto vs his perfect obedience, that so we might be iustified before the iudgment seat of God, a benefit which is the most assured foundation of our saluation, & ther- fore

fore incomprehensible in regard of the greatnes and excellency thereof. By peace, the Apostle vnderstandeth that peace which is with God, and in our consciences, whereof hee had said before, that being iustified by faith, we haue peace towards God, through our Lord Iesus Christ. And by the ioy which he saith of the holy Ghost, he vnderstandeth that full and perfect ioy which the Lord hath promised vs, and which shal neuer be taken away from vs. So the remembrance of the kingdome, which Christ saith is within vs, and which consisteth in righteousness, peace, and ioy, ought to moue and make vs to abhorre all sinne and iniquity. If we will not change this righteousness into damnable vnrighteousnes, peace into war and trouble of conscience, and ioy into weeping & gnashing of teeth. Thirdly whereas the kingdome of heaven signifieth the holy ministry, it teacheth vs diuers notable reasons, which bind vs to amend our liues. As in this, where our Lord sayd, speaking to his Apostles, and in them to all faithfull Pastors and Ministers of the word. He that heareth you, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth mee, & he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me. And S. Paul witnesseth to the *Thessalonians*, that they had received the word which he preached vnto them, not as the word of men, but (as it is indeed) the word of God. And as Iesus Christ saith, that whosoever shall not receiue you, nor heare you, when you depart thence, Shake of the dust that is vnder your feet, for a witnes vnto them, Verily I say vnto you, it shall be easier for Sodom and Gomorrha at the day of iudgement then for them. Now if we thinke vpon the fire that fell from heauen, which burnt and consumed those townes, and others were adioyning vnto them, with all the men and women both young and old, and also their cattle, and after that turned the place where those townes stood into a stinking and an infectious lake or poole, eight dutch mile in greatnes, (as many men note) with other testimonies of the wrath of God rehearsed in the Scriptures, what is he, that is able to refraine from quaking for feare, if in his conscience he knowes that hee hath despised God, speaking vnto him, by the mouth of his seruants, and faithfull Ministers.

Again, In this holy ministrie wee haue another reason to moue vs to amendment of life, in this, That Christ hauing breathed vpon his Disciples gave them the holy Ghost, with power both to them, and all faithfull Pastors, by the preaching of his word, to retaine the sinnes of the incredulous, and to remitte the sinnes of the faithfull, who conuerting, truly confesse and beleue him to be the Sonne of God. And as the administration of the Sacraments is a part of this ministrie, so they ought to moue and persuade vs to amendment of life. Holy baptism is the seale of the aliance made by God, specially comprehending two graces; that is, remission of sinnes, and our regeneration or spirituall renewing. For charity and the Spirit of Christ, being as it were the soule of the new man reformed to the Image of God, in that sacred washing: from thence forward hee ought not to haue any motion in thought, word, or worke; but that which proceedeth from the same spirit dwelling in him; according to the measure of Grace that is giuen him from above. And the holy Sacrament of the Eucharistie, is the nourishment of our soules, to a spirituall and eternall life, by the communion of the body and bloud of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ: For from thence there ought to follow and proceed a life compleate with thoughts, affections, words, and works, like vnto that sacred food, that is holy, and spirituall, putting vs in mind, that as the celebration of that most diuine misterie, is the Table of the children of God, and the members of the Church of Christ. So the participation thereof, is a manner of solemne protestation made by vs, that we are of the number of his children, and members of the holy Church, and that wee separate our selues from prophane and vicious people, to liue holily, righteously, and religiously.

Further also, publike Praiers are apart of the holy ministrie, and euery faithfull Christian ought to accompany the mouth of the Minister (with their vnderstandings, willes, and hearts) when hee pronounceth them: as if all the Church spake to God by him. The summe and effect of that which we demand and craue of God in those praiers, is, that the Lord by his spirit would worke in vs, that which he requireth to be done by vs, that wee may obey & please him; and consequently that he wil giue vs the grace to repent & amend our liues. In such manner that this request made to God, sufficiently admonisheth vs of our duties in that point. Lastly, there is the excercise of Ecclesiasticall discipline, which is a dependance of the holy ministrie, the principall intent whereof is, that euery member of the Church, should walke in the feare of God, and that if hee turneth backe to stray from it, he should be brought into the way of Saluation by amendment of life.

Thus you see how the Ministry signified by the kingdome of heaven, and considered in all his principall parts, ought to moue vs with great affection to amend our liues. Againe, we are to marke an other notable thing in this, that by the kingdome of heaven, or of God, is signified the felicitie of his children in heaven, and his kingdome in them, and also the holy Ministerie of the Gospell, or of the Church. For this title of the kingdome of heaven, common to those three different estates, sufficiently sheweth, that notwithstanding there is betweene them a great band of coniunction and vnitie, and such, that when wee are in this world of the kingdome of God, that is, in the Church, and vsing the holy Ministerie, wee are in the infallible way to heaven. Likewise, if the kingdome of God bee in vs, by his Spirit of Regeneration, wee are certaine to enter into the celestially kingdome that is aboue. In such manner, that heere on earth wee haue as it were two degrees or steppes to mount vpon it, and two gates which wee must passe through, to goe into it. For whosoever desireth to bee assured in his conscience, whether hee bee one of the number of the children of God, and heires of the kingdome of glorie, hee ought to seeke for the knowledge and certaintie thereof in himselfe, because that if hee bee a member of the Church, enioying the holy Ministry, men may well hold and account him to bee the childe of God belonging to his kingdome. And if hee hath attained to the second degree, feeling the kingdome of heaven in his heart, let him bee assured, that God holdeth him for one of his elect, and that he shall enter into his inheritance of eternall glorie. Now if there bee nothing more happy, then to enioy the kingdome of God in heaven, by the like reason there is nothing to be more desired, then to enter both into the first, and second gate of that kingdome.

Math. 6. 33.

This therefore is a most liuely reason, to induce vs to practise that which Iesus Christ commaundeth vs, *That first wee should seeke the kingdome of God, and the righteousnesse thereof*, and consequently, that wee should repent and amend our liues. For if the apprehension of the kingdome of glory which is in heaven, ought to raiue vs with an ardent zeale and desire to attaine thereunto, and if wee cannot obtaine it, vnlesse the kingdome of God be in vs, that is, if wee haue not that faith which bringeth forth good works, and amendment of life. And also if the kingdome of heaven cannot bee in vs, vnlesse wee bee members of the Church, which is the holy ministerie of Christ. It followeth, that there is nothing which wee ought more earnestly to desire, nor carefullier to seeke for, then the kingdome of heaven, that is, to bee participant in the Church of the holy Ministerie, and by the exercise and vse thereof, to establish the kingdome of God in vs, thereby at the last to enter into the possession of the eternall kingdome of God with the blessed. Now wee must consider of the last part of the sentence pronounced by Christ, saying, *That the kingdome of heaven is at hand*: which may bee referred to the three degrees whereof wee haue spoken, that is, to the kingdome of glory, which wee hope for in heaven, to the renewing and restoring of man, and to the preaching of the Gospell. And so the kingdome of heaven being considered in these three points, did truly approach and draw neere to man, at the coming of our Lord Iesus Christ.

Gen. 3. 24.

Touching the first, we know that Adam and Eve by their transgression were driven out of the garden of Eden, or Paradise, and that God placed and set Cherubins on the east side of the garden, with a flaming sword, which turned euery way, to keepe the way of the tree of life. Now God hauing thereby shewed, that man was driven out and banished from heaven, and from life eternall: at the building of the Tabernacle, and after that of the Temple in Ierusalem, gaue vnto the people of Israel, a certen figure of the entrie into heaven, by the Messias to come. Who being come, and by his death hauing opened the way to heaven, and by his resurrection, when he mounted vpon into heaven God and man, the kingdome of heaven did also thereby draw neere vnto vs.

Heb. 2. 14.
Rom. 6. 6.

Secondly, when by the misterie of our redemption, he destroyed and overcame him that had the power of death, that is the Diuell, and crucified our old man, to raise vs vpon to newnes of life, thereby destroying the kingdome of Sathan, hee brought the kingdome of heaven neere vnto vs. For it was not so neere to our fathers the Patriarches, and other faithful Iewes. They had the promise made to Adam, that the seed of the woman should bruiſe the serpents heade, but the accomplishing thereof was seene in Iesus Christ, when by his death he destroyed the Diuell and the power of hell. As the Israelites also had the law and the sacrifices for workes of righteousnes, and assured gages of life and saluation. But the Gospel

Gospell and grace was brought vnto vs by Christ: by accomplishing of all righteousness, that so we might be made new creatures, to worship God in spirit and in truth, and by taking good heed to the things that had bene sayde vnto vs, that wee should not fall from it.

Thirdly, we haue the preaching of the word of saluation, which drew neere to vs cleerely and effectually, at the coming of our redeemer. For by the holy ministerie of the Gospell, cleare and certaine knowledge was giuen to the Church, of the person of Iesus Christ, how he was conceived by the holy Ghost, and borne of the Virgin *Mary*, & therefore very God, and very man. As also of his offices, hauing in all fullnes receiued spirituall unction to be our high Priest, King & Prophet. Consequently of his passion, death, resurrection and ascension into heauen, and so of the certainty of our iustification and saluation by the meere grace of God. Let vs adde, that the kingdome of heauen is neere vnto vs, and euery day approacheth neerer vnto vs, in a twofold manner. First, for that euery day, the separation which is to be made of our soules from our bodies, that they may ascend vp to heauen with Iesus Christ, draweth neerer.

Iohn. 4. 12.
Heb. 2. 1.

Secondly, because we daily attend and expect the day of the Lord: when hee shall come to Iudge the quicke and the dead. Which should so much the more moue vs to a true amendment of our liues, knowing well that no vncleane thing, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or lies, shall enter into the supercelestiall Citie, and that wee must alwaies be ready and prepared, because the Sonne of man will come at an houre when we thinke not on it. And if the remembrance and representation of the Kingdome of heauen, so neere vnto vs, doth not ardently moue our hearts, to attaine thereunto, and by desiring it, to amend our liues, to walke in the way that leadeth vs to that felicitie, it is a certaine testimony, that wee esteeme ourselues to bee simple brute beasts, hauing no hope of happinesse after death. As also on the other side, If the apprehension of the fire which neuer shall be quenched, of wormes which gnaw continually, of fearefull perpetuall darkenesse, of weeping and gnashing of teeth without ende, by the feeling of the terrible wrath of the liuing God, doth not moue our hearts with feare to offend him, and by offending him, that hee will cast vs headlong into the gulfe and bottomlesse pit of eternall condemnation, it is an euident signe that we are Atheists or Saduceans, neither beleeuing the resurrection of the body, the immortalitie of the soule, heauen, nor hell.

Math. 24. 44.

9. Conclusion of this Chapter.

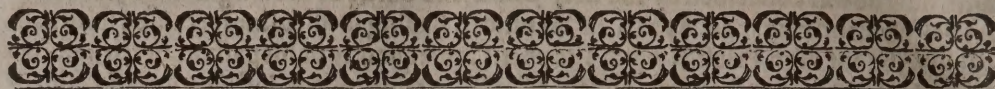
For conclusion of so many causes and reasons, for the which euery Christian, which is the childe of God, ought carefully to embrace the meanes which his word teacheth vs to amend our liues and so to make them most happy: Let vs remember that wee are borne, and purchased seruants to our Lord Iesus Christ: Borne, because he is our Creator, purchased, because hee hath redeemed vs, to bee more particularly vnto him. Therefore it should bee a double Sacriledge and profanation of that, which for two speciall reasons ought to be dedicated and consecrated to his seruice: If we obey not the commandement which he giueth vs with a double authority, to turne vnto him by true repentance. That the names and titles giuen to this Sauour of the world, as Holy, Emanuel, Admirable, Counsellor, most puissant God, Prince of peace, Eternall Father, Iesus and Christ, ought to be as many goades vnto vs to pricke vs forward vnto that amendment which hee requireth at our hands, as also that in this life we are strangers, pilgrims, and travellers. And specially the reason which the Lord addeth to his exhortation, *That the kingdome of heauen is at hand*. And that it belongeth vnto vs, in time to prepare our selues, that is presently in a manner to bee in his kingdome, while wee liue here on earth, that wee may bee ready to enter into heauen, there to take full possession of the eternall glorie, which is certaine and assured to all those, who beeing ledde by the holy Ghost, forsake and renounce all the workes of the flesh, to liue according to the fruites of the same Spirit. Let vs remember the counsell of Christ, *That if the master of the house knewe at what watch of the night the thiefe would come, hee would watch to keepe his house from being broken*: Adding, *That happy shall that seruant bee, whom the Master shall finde busie when hee cometh*. That is it which our Sauour sheweth vs by a similitude of tenne Virgins, whereof five were wise, and five foolish, and that because the foolish had no oyle in their lampes, they were shut out of the bride chamber,

Gal. 5. 13.

Math. 25. 1.

Apoc. 19. 6.
Mat. 23. 12. 13

and the wife went in. This day of the Lord approacheth, to accomplish his kingdome, and the mysticall Banket of him and his Spouse the Church. Therefore let vs get good store of holy oyle, and let vs put on our wedding garments, lest the Master of the Feast should cast vs out into vtter darknes; but rather finding vs to be clothed with a true knowledge of God, and of faith, charitie, holinesse, and all other good works, he may lead vs into the place of glory, there to liue happily for euer.



THE SECOND PART OF CHRISTIAN PHYLOSOPHIE.

Of the true and onely meanes to attaine to a happie life.

That man being a true Christian Phylosopher, ought to exercise and comfort himselfe in seuen principall things: whereof the first is meditation of the life to come, and to bee well assured of eternall and celestially felicitie, premised to the children of God. Chap. I.

1. *Humane life is to bee esteemed of by the faithfull, although it bee full of miseries, and that a man may comfort himselfe therein, by seuen singular and speciall things.*

Plinie:
Hiracletus.
Timon.
The Scythians,



Those Philosophers which iudged, that our soueraigne good here on earth is neuer to be borne, and that the next great benefite after that, is to die quickly, and following that opinion. The Scythians vsed to weepe, when their children were borne, and to the contrary reioyced when any of their friends and parents died, and making a great and solemne feast, were of opinion that they did well, as they thought in their humane sence and vnderstanding: Although they profited nothing thereby. For seeing they were infidels, voide of the light and knowledge of God, and of true religion, they could see nothing but pouerty, misery and horror in terrestriall life. And because they wanted the true doctrine of faith, they did not see, how that which is neither happy, nor of it selfe to be desired, turneth into saluation to the faithfull. And therefore the ende of their iudgement was despaire. But wee, being the children and seruants of God, instructed by his word, although wee know well, that this life is full of misery; neuerthelesse, by good right wee hold it to be one of the blessings of God, which are to bee esteemed of, specially herein, that to the faithfull it is a testimonie of the goodnesse of God towards them, beeing wholly ordained to bee a meanes of their saluation: For thereby it pleaseth him, before the full reuelation vnto vs of the inheritance of immortall glory, in things of lesse moment, to declare himselfe to bee our Father, that is, in the blessings and benefits which wee daily receiue at his hands: In such manner, that here we begin to taste the sweetnesse of his benignitie, in this, that hee preserueth vs in this world, and giueth vs all things necessarie to maintaine our liues; that so our hope and desire may be incited to expect the full reuelation of his loue towards vs, by the which hee hath called vs, to be heires of his kingdome. Therefore this should be our intent and speciall purpose, touching this transitorie & mortall life, that beholding the calamities and miseries wherewith it is replenished, we should bee fully resolved, and better prepared, to exercise and comfort our selues in seuen principall things. Which are, Meditation of the life to come: knowledge of the meanes which assure vs to be the children of God: to know how

how to apply the markes of this adoption vnto our selues: To haue a full confidence thereof, though it be but weake in vs, to confirme and assure our selues therein: To make vse of afflictions, constantly to perseuere to the end in our vocation: and to proceede and goe on in our course of life, here on earth in holy prayers.

2. *Meditation of life eternall, is the first comfort of a Christian, the felicitie whereof is incomprehensible.*

That we may begin the second part of our Christian Phylosophie, with the first of the seven singular things aforesaid, (which is the meditation of the life to come) let vs heare what *Esay* saith, who presenting a most earnest prayer vnto God for the Church, setteth downe the benefits which she had receiued by the goodnesse of God in her deliuerances, saying, *When thou didst terrible things, which we looked not for, thou camest down, and the mountanes melted at thy presence: for since the beginning of the world, they haue not heard, nor understood with the eare, neither hath the eye seene another God beside thee, which doeth so to him that waiteth for him.* And the Apostle Saint *Paul*, expounding these wordes to bee spoken of terrestriall blessings, makes them agree with that proposition which hee made to the Corinthians of spirituall doctrine, and the promises of life eternall, reuealed vnto him by the holy Ghost, saying, *The things which eye hath not seene, neither eare hath heard, neither came into mans heart, are those which God hath prepared for them that loue him.* This argument wee must draw from the Minor to the Maior, thus: That if mans capacitie cannot reach to the measure of the terrestriall benefits, which God bestoweth vpon his children and seruants here on earth; much lesse can mans humane vnderstanding attaine to that height, to bee able to comprehend the wisdom of the eternall God; touching the institution of Christianitie, and the felicitie of the life to come, which is reserved in heaven for the faithfull.

And to that end Saint *Augustine* aduertiseth vs, in the meditation of future beatitude, to passe and mount vp beyond all that whatsoever may bee vnderstood and apprehended by vs, and not to stay at the profunditie and excellencie of that which wee imagine, but to say to our selues: Yet this is not it; for if it were the same, it would not enter into our hearts and thoughts. As in another place also this great Doctour confesseth, That hee knew not what the state and the rest of the blessed shall be, that he had not learned it by his corporal senses, and that if hee should say that hee had seene it, by the spirit and vnderstanding, all that is too little in man to conceiue it, in regard of the greatnesse and excellencie of the sight of God, which is promised vnto vs in eternall life, with that peace, which the Apostle saith, passeth all mans vnderstanding. Therefore, if there bee any good, beautie, sweetnes, glorie, delight, ioy, and pleasure; if there bee any thing desirabile, profitable, compleat and perfect, which mans vnderstanding may comprehend, his heart thinke, or his will desire, whereby to enioy an entire and certaine contentment. To bee short, if there bee any subject appertaining to soueraigne good, and true beatitude; our great and most good God, will bee all that in his elect, at the day of the Lord in the resurrection. For (as *S. Iohn* saith) Then there shall bee a new heaven, and a new earth; for the celestially Ierusalem, wherof the most puissant God shall bee the Temple, and the Lambe Iesus Christ the eternall Sonne: and his seruants shall serue him, and see his face, and his name shall bee in their foreheads, to reigne with him in perpetuall and inuolable light for ever and ever. Then this felicitie of our soules glorified, and of our bodies made incorruptible and spiritual, as that glorious body of Christ, to be there where he is, in soueraigne blisse and beatitude, cannot bee comprehended by vs, touching the greatnesse and perfection thereof, while wee liue here in our terrestriall and corruptible bodies, where wee know God but in part, and obscurely. Therefore wee must enter into that house prepared for vs by the eternall God, where hee will fully replenish vs with his light, to know his glory, shewing himselfe vnto vs, and such as in himselfe hee is.

3. *The greatnesse and perpetuities of the goodnesse, which is to bee expected in life eternall.*

Neuertheles, seeing that *S. Paul* addeth to the text aforesaid, that God by his spirit, which searcheth all things, hath reuealed vnto vs those things that were not seene, nor heard, nor euer entred into the heart of man: and that in another place hee prayeth to the Lord, to illuminate

Eph. 8, 11,

illuminate the eyes of the vnderstanding of the faithfull *Ephesians*, that they might knowe what the hope is of their calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance is in the Saints. We should be too much vnthankfull towards God, yea enemies of our owne good and comfort, if we should not take paines, or should refuse to vnderstand & to know, that which it pleaseth him to declare vnto vs in his word touching such secrets. For let vs not thinke, elsewhere to finde any thing which draweth neerer to the satisfaction or contentment of that meditation. Then let vs first note, that the felicity of Christians is oftentimes signified vnto vs, in the holy Scriptures, by the promise of life eternall, and that with great reason. For in our blessednes two points specially may, and ought to be considered: That is, the greatnes and excellency of the good which we shall receiue, and the long continuance and firmenes thereof, which are both noted by these two words, *Life eternall*. The one shewing the infinit & immouable continuance of celestial felicity, the other the heighth and perfection of the same, for God is life, and hath it in himselfe, which was from the beginning in Christ, to the which end, the Scripture often speaketh: saying, *The eternall lieth, or the Lord lieth*: who by his great power incessantly distilleth into the masse of humane flesh the same breath of life, which he breathed in the face of our first father *Adam*, when he was made a liuing soule. Againe, he giueth to his elect the grace to bee new borne or regenerated, that is of water and of the spirit, that beleeuing in the name of Iesus Christ, they may haue life eternall. As it is written, That the first man *Adam* was made a liuing soule, and that as in *Adam* all died, so in Christ all shall be made alieue. Blessed be God saith Saint *Peter*, who according to his abundant grace hath begotten vs againe vnto a liuely hope, by the resurrection of Iesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance immortall, and vndefiled, and that withereth not, reserved in heauen for vs: wherein yee reioyce with ioy vnspeakeable, and glorious, receiuing the end of your faith, even the saluation of your soules. And in truth, it is the glory of God, which ought to be the end and purpose of all our desires. But as of his great mercy, hee hath made his glory appeare vnto vs, so it hath pleased him, that the thing whereunto we aspire, and the reward promised to his Church, should bee life eternall.

4. Three principall degrees of blessed and eternall life.

Vpon this generall doctrine of the felicities of Christians aforesaid, we are specially to consider, three principal degrees of a blessed, happy, & eternal life, which wholly concerne man, (Body and Soule.) The first, touching the soule, consisteth in the reconciliation of man with God, by faith in Iesus Christ, who being our *Emanuel*, is the cause that God is with vs: For as we consider two kindes of life, the one corporal, which consisteth in the conjunction of the body and the soule; the other spirituall, which consisteth in the vnion of man with God. So beeing reconciled, and vnited with our Creatour, by Christ, we are established in the life of the soule, from which the sinne of *Adam*, (wherein we are borne) made vs decline and fall.

Eph. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

And therefore Saint *Paul* saith, that at such time as wee were dead in trespasses and sinnes, and by nature children of wrath, God, which is rich in mercy, quickened vs together in Christ, by whose grace wee are saued. If we be of the number of those whom it is written, The hower shall come, and now is, that the dead shall heare the voice of the Sonne of God, and they that heare it shall liue.

Col. 2. 13.
Ioh. 5. 25.
Rom. 5. 1.
14. 17.

From thence wee haue that peace towards God, through our Lord Iesus Christ, wherof the Apostle speaketh, and which all true faithfull Christians feele; for that the assurance of their reconciliation in Christ, is a benefit which raviseth their soules with vnspeakeable ioy, in this that they know themselves, by grace to bee drawn from the darkenesse of this world, to the light of the kingdome of heauen, and from the paths of death, to the way of life. In regard of the body, by this first degree of life, they feele the fruits thereof in miseries and afflictions, in which their naturall condition holdeth them while they liue in this world. For they are not onely mitigated and made light vnto them, by the interior feeling of the spirituall graces aforesaid, but the faithfull also therby find matter to reioyce in their corporall afflictions, because they are vnto them, as many testimonies of the goodnesse of God towards them, wherof they receiue the benefit and blessing to come, in celestial glory. To this wee must apply that which Saint *Paul* saith: *That all things worke together for the*

Rom. 8. 27. 28

best, unto them that loue God, predestinated to bee made conformable to the image of his Sonne, and whose bodies are wholly mortified by Iesus Christ, that of corruptible bodies, they may rise incorruptible, spiritual and glorious bodies to reigne with Christ, as they suffered with him. 1. Cor. 4

The second degree of a happie and eternall life, is to bee considered in the separation of the soule and the bodie, which improperly is called Death, in respect of the faithfull: for although their bodies lie and rot in the earth, neuertheless, being then deliuered and freed from all corporall diseases, as hunger, thirst, colde, heate, and a thousand other torments, which naturally are as many kindes of death, to the frailtie of the flesh, they goe to rest in their beds (as *Esay* saith,) and resting from their labours and trauels, are made blessed (saith Saint *Iohn*.) And seeing Christ himselfe witnesseth, that the body sleepeth when the soule leaueth it; it followeth, that it is not dead, but liuing, and as if bee should resemble a man, who being diseased, falleth asleepe, and so feeleth no paine. Againe, the resting of the body in the graue, is according to the will of God, who hath ordained that men shall once die in that manner, to whose glory all the faithfull liue and die, and before him their death is precious. From thence wee conclude, that such rest cannot properly bee called death, but rather a kinde of better life: for then the soule entred into the possession of the second degree of life; for being separated from the body, it is carried by the Angels into *Abrabams* bosome, in Paradise, with Iesus Christ, exempted from ignorance, incredulitie, distrust, concupiscence, ambition, enuie, feare, and whereby it is besieged and assaulted, all the time that it dwelleth in her terrestriall habitation: And to the contrary, by changing of her dwelling, is fully sanctified, victorious, and assured against the deuill, the world, the flesh, and hell: her capitall enemies, by the most streight coniunction and vnion which shee hath with her Creator, attending the accomplishing of her glory at the day of the resurrection of all flesh.

Then the third degree of a happy and blessed life shall appeare, when our bodies being raised out of their sleepe, by the sound of the trumpet of the Angel of God, at the glorious coming of Iesus Christ, shall rise in incorruption, glory, and power, transformed and made conformable and like to the glorious body of our Lord Iesus Christ. For then our soules being reunit with our bodies, they shall together bee caught vp in the cloudes into the ayre, before the great Iudge of the liuing and the dead, and after lifted vp aboue the heauens into the celestiaall house of God their Father. And then the life of our soules shall bee accomplished, when wee shall bee wholly where Christ is, and with him, as members of his glorious body vnited vnto him, and by him to God, the fountaine of life, by that meanes enjoying the communion of all his goodnesse and benefits, and of the incorruptible inheritance that cannot bee defiled, nor withered, which is reserved in heauen for them that haue washed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the Lambe. To conclude, wee shall there bee like to the Angels, and our bodies shall shine like the Sunne. How much more then our Soules?

5. Singular and speciall considerations of Beatitude, and Life eternall.

But specially Saint *Paul* eleuateth our minde into a most high contemplation of the felicitie of life eternall, which we are to enjoy after the resurrection, when he saith, *That then Iesus Christ shall deliuer up the kingdome to God the Father, that he may bee all in all:* For thereby we learne, that we shall be wholly brought to God, as Christ is one with him, because all those whom the Father had given to the Sonne, before the foundation of the world, to be redeemed, (according to his eternall counsell and decree,) by the blood of Iesus Christ, and to be members of his Church, by the power of the holy Ghost, in the latter day shall be fully made happy and blessed for ever. For then Christ worke for the saluation of man shall be accomplished, and all his offices shall cease: in such manner neuertheless, that the fruits and spirituall benefits which the Church receiued thereby, shall for ever haue their full effect in the elect, because that God, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, one only God shall be all things in Iesus Christ, God and Man: and by him in vs, as his members, Christ being made King, Father, life, and eternall glory in vs. Then that which is written shall be accomplished, that every faithful seruant, shall enter into his masters ioy. Vpon which point Saint *Augustine* teacheth vs a most holy and a celestiaall meditation, who after he had shewed

how

how all goodnesse resideth and dwelleth in God, as beeing onely and meere good, and in whom all that which wee loue and desire is to bee found: the fruition whereof procurerh such ioy and delight, as cannot bee comprehended: hee goeth on in this manner, and saith: Oh poore humane heart, exercised in miserie, and in a manner ouerwhelmed therewith, what ioy wouldest thou haue, if thou haddest the full fruition of the aboundance of that soueraigne goodnesse, aske thy soule, whether thou shouldest bee capable of so great blessednesse? Againe, if any other man, whom thou shouldst loue as wel as thy selfe, should enioy the same, and the like felicitie with thee, would not the contentment of thine owne happinesse bee redoubled in respect of thy good friendes, and for his sake, and for his ioy, wouldest thou not bee as glad as for thine owne? And if two or three, or a great number of thy most louing and well affected friendes enioyed the same blessednesse with thee, it is certaine that thou wouldest feelee as much ioy and gladnesse in thy heart for them, as for thine owne.

Then what wouldest thou doe in that perfect Charitie, wherewith in heauen wee shall loue all the Angels, and all the elect that are fully made blessed? It is certaine, that if euery one of vs in particular shall not bee capable of his owne proper ioy, because it shall bee so great, what shall wee bee in regard of all the ioyes of the perfect beatitude of all the children of God? Thus much this good Father saith. But let vs think and meditate with our selues, how much this our delight shall bee encreased and augmented, to behold the glory of the Sonne of God, (in whom we were elected, iustified, and sanctified) in heauen, to enioy the same beatitude? When wee, I say, shall see him face to face, vnited in one person with the Deitie, and shining with an infinite brightnesse with the Father, and the holy Ghost, one onely God in Maiestie eternall.

And let vs further remember, that this perfect contemplation, which will make vs know God as hee is, will also make vs to loue him as hee is, that is, incomprehensible, and therefore infinite. For, if as wee loue a man, wee reioyce at his good, it will come to passe, that louing God which is in heauen, without comparison more then our selues, or then all the Angels, and the blessed soules together, wee shall infinitely feelee more ioy for the glory of God, then for our owne felicitie, and that of all the elect; for then wee shall loue him with all our hearts, with all our soules, and with all our strengths, in such manner, that wee shall not be capable of the perfection of this loue to the infinitie, nor consequently sufficient to comprehend the fulnesse of the ioy which shall bee in vs. Therefore let vs say, that seeing the compleate, yea and more then compleate felicitie which wee shall enioy in the life eternall, cannot bee comprehended by vs; it resteth, that being filled with our owne ioy, and with that Ocean of gladnesse which shall spread it selfe in our hearts, in regard of the blessednesse of the Angels, and of all the faithfull, we shal enter into, and be as it were swallowed vp in the gulfes of ioy, proceeding from this, that wee shall see God reigning as hee is, in Maiestie and glorie.

6. *Diuers degrees of Blessednesse, which are without ende, and most assured to the faithfull.*

There resteth yet three points more, which are of singular consolation, in this matter whereof we entreat. The first is, that although euery one of vs ought to vnderstand, that as diuers vessels cast into the Sea, are so full of water, that they can hold no more: so when the Sea of diuinitie shalbe powred into vs to life eternal, all and euery one of vs shal be filled in such maner with goodnes and glory, that we cannot wish for, or possesse more. Neuerthelesse, this is most true, that as God distributing his blessings in the world to his faithfull seruants, in diuers maner, maketh the beames of his graces shine more abundantly vpon some, then vpon others, vnequally, so in heauen, where he will crowne his owne gifts, the measure of the glory shall not be alike. For that which Saint Paul saith of himselfe to the Thessalonians, that they are his ioy, his hope; and his crowne of glory, in the presence of our Lord Iesus Christ, at the day of his comming doth not generally concerne all the elect: nor that likewise, that the Lord said to his Apostles, that they should sit vpon twelve thrones, and iudge the twelue tribes of Israel. But the Apostle knowing that God glorifieth his Saints in heauen, as in measure he hath enriched them hereon earth, with spirituall giftes, assured himselfe that he should receiue a speciall crowne according to his labors in the Lord, (as in another place, in proper tearmes he witnesseth.) And as Christ to set forth the Apostolicall

1 Thes. 2. 19.

20.

Math. 19. 20.

1 Cor. 3. 8.

Apostolicall dignitie, aduertised his disciples, That the fruites of their labours should attend them in heaven, and thereupon promiset them, and in them all the faithfull, a particular reward, and an hundred fold more, then they had lost, or left for his sake. Then let vs say, That as Iesus Christ by the varietie of the graces of his holy Spirit, which hee distributeth heere in this world, beginneth the glory of his mysticall body, in the elect of God his Father, and amplifieth it by degrees, so hee will perfect the same in heaven; but alwayes in such manner, that the degrees of glorie beeing distinguished, according to the diuers vocations of men, and as they shall haue trauelled and suffered in the worke of the Lord. As *S. Augustine* saith, One shall in such manner haue a gift of Beatitude lesse then another, and yet hauing it, he would not desire a greater.

Matth. 19. 29

Aug. 22. de
Ciuil. Dei.
cap. 30.

The second point is, that if it were so, that our felicitie were to endure as many yeares as there are droppes of water in the Sea, or graines of sand in the earth; yet it should not bee a compleat, and perfect beatitude. For although the continuance thereof would seeme infinite vnto vs, yet one day it would haue an ende; because the droppes of water, and the graines of sand are numbred before the Lord. But the felicitie which wee expect, shall neuer haue end: for it is eternall life, because wee shall bee vnited to Christ, the fountaine of life. For as the spring thereof which is God, hath no beginning; so it will infuse it selfe into vs eternally by Christ. Therefore we shall there haue an infinite beatitude, and perfect ioy, which shall neuer be taken away from vs.

For the third and last poynt, wee ought to knowe, that this life eternall is promised and assured to all the children of GOD; because (as the Scripture teacheth vs) they are heires of their Father, and coheires with Christ; that they are blessed of God, to receiue the Kingdome prepared for them from the beginning of the world: that they are saued and called by an holy calling, and grace giuen them through Iesus Christ, before all eternitie: That they haue the promise of life and immortalitie, by beleeuing the Gospel; that they are members of Iesus Christ, which is the Way, the Trueth, and the Life, by whom they must come to God, according to the election of him that calleth, that his purpose might remaine firmly in all spirituall blessings, vpon those that beleue in Iesus Christ, (as it is written) *Who soeuer beleueneth in him, hath life euerlasting.* And as Saint Paul saith, *That beeing iustified by his grace, wee shall bee made heires according to the hope of eternall life.*

Iohn 16. 23.

Rom. 8. 17.

Math. 3. 34.

2. Tim. 2. 9. 10

Iohn 14. 6.

Rom. 9. 11. 12

Ephe. 1. 3. 15.

Iohn 3. 15.

Titus 3. 7.

7. The conclusion of this Chapter.

Let vs conclude from the ground of so many sacred testimonies, and diuine reasons, that a man beeing a true Christian Phylosopher, before all things ought to exercise and comfort himselfe in these notable meditations of the life to come, and of the eternall and incomprehensible felicitie which is certainly and infallibly promised to all the children of God. Who by that meanes, are truly and onely happie, and so much the happier in this life, that by the degrees of the blessednesse which Christ hath placed in his Church, by the power of his Spirit, they may further apprehend the excellencie of the glory, and the greatnesse of the ioy, which they shall haue in the kingdome of heaven. For then when their bodies shall rise incorruptible, and bee reunited to their soules fully sanctified, they shall bee intire men, eleuated into the palace of the eternall GOD their Father, there to beholde his face, infinitely much brighter then the Sunne in all his resplendant light, and there enioy the fruits of the prayer of Christ: for those that had been giuen vnto him by God, to be with him, and so conioyned to him, that the Deitie, one onely God, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, shall bee all in them, who thereby beeing replenished and filled with true peace, perfect charitie, all vnderstanding and knowledge, eternall holinesse, onely and perpetuall ioy, incessantly shall sing the Canticle of Ioy and Praise *Halle-luiach*, All saluation, glorie, honour and power belongeth to the Lord our God.

Apoc. 19. 2.

*The true and onely meanes whereby a Christian (by the second consolation)
may know, that hee is the childe of God, thereby to bee made
happie for euer. Chapter 2.*

1 *The good and benefit that a Christian hath to know and feele in his
conscience, that he is the child of God.*

IF wee knew how to reape profit by that little which hath already bin spoken, touching the principall effect of this our second part of *Christian Phylosophy*, wee would easily draw this Christian conclusion or maxime from thence, that there is no greater ioy, no such contentment in this temporall life, nor any thing surer, nor so necessary, happily and contentedly to passe all the difficulties thereof. Then to know and feele, that we are of the number of those that are the children of God. For this foundation beeing once surely settled in our hearts, we shall alwayes be perswaded, that whatsoever happeneth vnto vs in this world, (bee it neuer so hard and difficult to flesh and blood) is a blessing of God the Father which is in heauen, sent vnto vs, and consequently a meanes, ayd, and way ordained by his prouidence, either to conduct vs in the way of life eternall, or to augment our glory in the same, seeing it is manifest (as you haue heard) that every one shall receiue a reward therein according to the industry that hee hath vsed, through the spirit of God, to attaine thereunto. From whence we learne, alwayes, and in all things to submit our selues to the diuine disposition of God, and at all times, in prosperity or aduersitie, in the day time, or in the night, to haue a speciall regard, and a vigilant eye on God, and to set our whole hearts and cogitations vpon him, that so hee being neuer out of the intire sight of our mindes, wee may bee sure of a good guide to conduct and leade vs, happily through the straights and craggie passages of this life, and of a certaine aid to ouercome and vanquish all the hinderances and worldly impeachments of our saluation.

2. *An exterior meanes given vnto vs by God to know his children.*

It is true, that it is proper to God onely to know who are his, and whom he elected, and chose to be the same, before the foundation of the world was laid. And yet for one of our most singular comforts, hee hath given vs two principall meanes, whereby he teacheth vs to know who are his children, and whom it hath pleased him to chuse and adopt to be his: to be made participants of his glory. The one exterior, by visible markes to man; the other interior, by the testimonies which hee that is elect of God, feeleth in his soule and conscience. Touching the exterior meanes which maketh vs know, and to be assured that we are the children of God, it consisteth herein, that we are members of the Church of our Lord Iesus Christ. For therefore in the Scriptures it is often called *The Kingdome of heauen*, because God withdrawing his Church from the power of the Diuel, the Prince of this world, by his Spirit raigneth in all those, that are members of the spouse of our Lord Iesus Christ his Son, more and more sanctifying and gouerning them by the Scepter of his Word, and by that meanes bringeth them to life eternall. In such manner that the Church is as it were the Suburbs, or the gate to enter therein. For which cause also it is called the *House of God*, that we may euidently know, that all those that dwell therein, by good right are called and reputed the seruants and children of God. As in the same respect, when in the Simbole of the Creed wee haue protested to belecue the holy Catholike Church, wee adde thereunto, The communion of Saints, The remission of sinnes, The resurrection of the dead, and the life euermore. For all these things assure vs, that they which are of the House of God, and members of the Church, are participants of all those treasures and benefits specified in the Creed: and consequently are children of God, and heires of his kingdome. Againe, to the same end, in the Church wee find three markes or signes which are ioined thereunto. The first, that wee learne by that which Iesus Christ saith, *My sheepe heare my voice, and follow me*: that is a testimony to be the children of God, to shew our selues carefull to heare the Word, and to walke according to the same. The second, we observe in Baptisme, whereof the Scripture saith, that it is a certaine gage that the sins of those which receiue it, are washt away by the blood of Christ, that they are ingrafted and incorporated in his death, and resurrection, and that they are regenerated and clothed with our Sauiour

1. Tim. 2. 19.

Ephes. 1. 4.

2. Thes. 2. 13.

Mat. 24. 31. 33

& 44. 47.

Iohn 16. 11.

Luc. 17. 21.

1. Tim. 3. 13.

Heb. 3. 6.

Ephes. 3. 19.

Iohn 10. 27.

Acts 2. 16.

Rom. 6. 4.

11. 3. 5.

Sauour Iesus Christ. For from thence it followeth, as *S. Paul* concludeth, That they are children of God. As likewise the same assurance of our adoption is given vs in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. For the bread & the wine being consecrated in that sacred mystery, to be the communion of the body and blood of Iesus Christ (as the Apostle saith:) it followeth, that in the same banquet, the members of the Church receive spirituall and heavenly food, and life for their soules, and consequently, that as children of God, they shal receiue a happy and permanent life for ever. According to the promise made by the Lord, *That he which eateth his flesh, and drinketh his blood, hath life eternall.* The third consisteth in that which *Saint Luke* witnesseth of all faithfull Christians, that they call vpon the name of the Lord: as to the contrary it is said of fooles and workers of iniquitie, That they call not vpon God: which inuocation the holy Ghost noteth to bee of so great consequence, that by the same hee often signifieth and comprehendeth all things which belong to the seruice of God, and which concerne the puritie of the exercise of Religion. As when hee saith, *That Abraham built an Altar to the Lord, and called vpon his name.* An that when God shall doe wonderfull things in heauen aboue, and signes in the earth belowe; blood and fire, and vapors of smoke, who soeuer shall call vpon the name of the Lord, shall bee saued. Then when the members of the Church assemble together, and lift vp their prayers to God, saying as hee hath taught them, *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.* in that manner calling him Father, they may bee well assured, that hee acknowledgeth them to bee his children, and that hee will make them feeble the fruites of their lippes, exhausting their prayers, as it is promised them by Christs owne mouth. So it appeareth by that which is said, how euery member of the Church, may and ought to assure themselves, to bee the children of God, by exterior and visible markes to men, and likewise to acknowledge all other Christians living in the same communion with them, to bee their brethren, and children of the same Father: leauing hypocrites and reprobates to the iudgement of God.

3. Interior meanes to assure vs to bee the children of God.

Touching interior meanes, which giue an assurance to a true Christian, to be the child of God, it is certaine, that as it is requisite to open the eyes of the blind, and the eares of the deafe man, to make them see the brightnes of the light, and to heare the voice of him that speaketh: so we, being by nature corrupted, blind & deafe, touching things which belong to God, the holy Ghost must open the eyes and the eares of our vnderstandings & thoughts, that so we may comprehend & satisfie our soules with that which is interiorly reuealed touching our adoptiō. For it is a great misery to be called childrē of the living God, as it pleaseth him to be merciful to vs. Therefore it is his spirit which induceth & sealeth in our harts this reuelation to make vs assured thereof, which he doth by begetting faith in vs, which is as it were the hand wherewith we apprehend this secret of our calling in Christ. And therefore the effects not only of the H. Ghost, *making vs to be new born, & regenerated to see the kingdō of God in vs:* but also faith which purifieth our hearts and iustificeth vs, are the principal & most assured signes to make vs know, and to assure our consciences, that God hath chosen vs, according to his heauenly providence, in sanctification of the Spirit, to make vs heires of the inheritance of the kingdome of heauen. Therefore *S. Paul* saith, that the holy Ghost witnesseth to our spirits, that we are childrē of God, in such manner that hauing receiued the spirit of adoptiō, we cry with assurance *Abba father,* which *S. Iohn* also teacheth vs, saying, *We know that God dwelleth in vs by the spirit which he hath giuen vs.* Again, by this we know that we dwell in him, & he in vs: that he hath giuen vs his spirit. And *S. Paul* by the peace of conscience which we feele in our soules before God, by the free remission of our finnes in the blood of Christ, sheweth & proueth, that we are iustified by faith, & so made the children of God. By Christ, saith he, through faith, we haue access to his grace, wherein we stand: & a litle after, our hope maketh vs not ashamed, because the loue of God is spreade abroad in our hearts, by the holy Ghost, which is giuen vnto vs. Wherein to confirme vs the more, hee saith in another place, After wee haue beleued, wee are sealed with the holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance. To which purpose we haue a notable point of doctrine taught vs, by *Saint Barnard*, saying, We are certaine and assured of the power of God to saue vs, but what shall wee say touching his will? what is he that knoweth whether he hath deferred loue or hatred? what is he that hath knowne the iudgement of the Lord? or who

Barn. ferm.
4. in dedic.
Templi.

Iohn 4. 19.

Luk. 7. 47.

Rom. 3. 9, 11,
12, & 17.

Mat. 12. 33.

1 Ioh. 4. 7. 9.
17, & c.

hath beene his counsellor? In this respect faith must helpe vs, wee must hearken vnto the truth, to the end that the same which is hidden from vs in the fathers secret wiledome, may be reuealed vnto vs by the holy Ghost, and the same spirit bearing witnes in our hearts perswadeth vs that we are the children of God, to the glory of eternall life. From these effects as well of the holy Ghost, as of faith, which is the worke thereof, proceedeth the other, which serueth vs more and more to assure vs of our adoption, that is, that we loue God and our neighbour for the loue of him: From whence also followeth a hatred of euill, and an affection to yeeld obedience vnto God: For if it be so, that the reason why we loue him, proceedeth from this, that hee first loued vs, (as S. Iohn saith,) It followeth that the loue which we bare vnto him, is a testimony that he loueth vs. As Christ by the signes of loue which the sinneful woman shewed vnto him proueth & affirmeth, that God loued her much and had forgiven her many offences, adding thereunto, that he to whom lesse grace is shewed, loveth not so much. So the light of the Moone, is a certaine argument, that the Sonne shineth vpon it, for otherwise it hath no light. And in summer, the heate which wee feelee vpon the stones, about noone time, is a signe that the sonne shineth vpon them, and heateth them with his beames. Now by nature, and our first generation, since the fall of Adam, we are nothing but darkenes, cold and subiect to the dominion of sinne: There is not one that searcheth after God, that doth good, or that knoweth the way of peace. Then to the contrary. If we walke in the loue and feare of God, addicting our hearts to his seruice, cheerefully imploying our selues in the workes of charity, that alteration and change in vs, is a certaine testimony of our regeneration, and that the Son of Eternall light and of all righteousness, shineth vpon our soules and inflameth them in the loue of him, by his heavenly power, and consequently that we are children of God. The tree (saith Christ) is knowne by his fruits. Then, when we bring forth the workes of righteousness, of holines and of Christian charity, wee are trees planted by the holy Ghost in the sacred vergiers of God, and as it were a part of the foundation of the inheritance, which we shall enioy Eternally in heauen. To this we must adde, that which Saint Iohn saith, that Charity proceedeth from God, and euery one that loveth, is borne of God, and knoweth God, heerein was that loue of God made manifest among vs, because he sent that his onely begotten Son into this world, that we might liue through him, and that we should haue boldnesse in the day of iudgement, for as he is, so are we in this world, as a certaine scale of our adoption.

4. The conclusion of this Chapter.

Therefore wee conclude, that as the heate and brightnesse of a cole, is a signe that there is fire in it, and as the motions and actions of the body, are certaine testimonies that it liueth, and that the soule is within it: so the loue of God and of our neighbours, the peace and quietnesse of our consciences before his diuine Maiestie, whom wee adore, feeling our selues iustified by faith in Iesus Christ our Redeemer, the changing of life, which touching the flesh consisteth in that which concerneth the fruites of the Spirit regenerated, which moueth and inciteth a man to an affection to walke in the feare and obedience of God, according to his word: all these things I say, ioyned with the feeling which the holy Ghost giueth vnto our hearts, accomplish the interior meanes, which with all certaintie and assurance teach vs to know that we are the children of God, and so to bee happy for ever. And even as the exterior meanes to giue vs the same assurance, consisteth in this, that we should be members of the Church of Christ, let vs heare and follow his voice, communicating the holy Sacraments ordained by him, and calling vpon God all the dayes of our liues, in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, and as he hath taught vs.

What meanes Christians haue, for a third consolation, to apply the workes of their adoption in Iesus Christ, to assure themselves thereof, and consequently of their salvation. Chap. 3.

1. Two kinds of temptations, which shake and weaken the constancie of man, to assure himselfe to be the childe of God.

THe meanes already declared before, are certain & infallible, to assure all true Christians, that God hath adopted the to himself in Iesus Christ, to be of the number of his children
and

and heires of eternall life, and so to settle their mindes with great comfort and confidence of living happily for ever. But there are two sorts of temptations, which before all others, are a meanes to shake this confidence. The one, which proceedeth from our selues, either for want of well applying in our hearts and minds the exterior testimonies which God presenteth and giueth vnto vs of our adoption, to be members of his Church, for by a feeling of the want (as we thinke) of interior and spirituall marks, by reason of the small quantitie and weaknesse which is in vs of those diuine graces. The other temptation proceedeth from another cause, and specially consisteth in common and long afflictions, which ordinarily assaile vs in this life. Now as there is nothing of greater importance then the saluation of our soules; so there is nothing which more grieuously troubleth and afflicteth weak consciences, desirous of life eternall, then doubting and fearing not to be children of God, and of the number of the blessed. For from thence proceedeth sadnesse and anguish of mind, which none can comprehend, but those onely, that haue had experience thereof.

2 *True and assured meanes to comfort the faithfull against the distrust of their indignitie, merite, and ignorance, in the secrets of election and saluation.*

To aid our infirmities concerning that which toucheth the first kinde of temptation aforesaid, it is singularly and specially to be noted, for one of our consolations that many fall into this distresse, because they pretend with themselves, to resolute of their owne saluation, by an examination whether they are worthy to bee the children of God. Now as no man is nor can bee worthy their doubts and distrusts easily make them fall into despaire. But there are others, which content themselves in their curiosities, onely to comprehend, whether they bee of the number of those that are elected and predestinated, whose names are written in the booke of life. Whereof Saint *Iohn* speaketh, thinking they cannot otherwise assure themselves, that God loueth and holdeth them for his children, if presently they haue not perfect vnderstanding of the great misterie of Gods secret and eternal counsell. And yet it consisteth not in the profound examination of worth and merites, nor yet in the high and curious searching into the predestination of the Saints, that wee must seeke for the assurance of our adoption. But onely in the holy doctrine of the Gospell, which in proper tearmes reuealeth vnto vs the markes of our vocation, regeneration, iustification, and sanctification, whereof wee haue spoken before, and whereby wee are assured to attaine to eternall happinesse. Saint *Paul* comprehendeth them in these degrees, *Rom. 8. 28.* saying, *For those whom God knewe before, hee also predestinated to bee made like to the Image of his Sonne, that hee might bee the first borne among many brethren: And those whom hee predestinated, them also hee called, them also hee iustified, and whom hee iustified, them hee also glorified.* For every one will confesse, that they who in the counsell and eternall decree of God, are elected and predestinated to bee made like vnto Christ, representing in them the image of him which maketh them fit for celestially glorie, are children of God.

*Apoc. 3. 5.
and 28. 21.*

Now those that are baptized in the Church, and illuminated with the knowledge of the Gospell, beleene their sinnes are washed and made cleane by the blood of the Lambe; by the full satisfaction made by Christ to the iustice of God; and ioyfully beare their crosse; to follow Christ, and to be made conformable to him, as the holy Spirit endoweth them with grace, are called and iustified at last to bee glorified in the kingdome of heauen, as the whole Scriptures witnesse with the Apostle Saint *Paul*.

From thence it followeth, that they are children of God, and that so certainly, that the great Doctour of the Gentiles, opposing the will and power of God against all impeachments, addeth, *What shall wee then say to these things? If God bee on our side, who can bee against vs?* As also to the same ende in another place hee maketh this conclusion, saying: For if by the offence of one (that is *Adam*) death reigned through one, much more shall they which receive that abundance of grace, and gift of that righteousness, reigne in life through one, that is Iesus Christ. Therefore let vs note, that in this reuelation of the counsell of God, touching our adoption, these two things are specially to be considered that is; that there is perfect and intire saluation in one Iesus Christ; and that the meanes to obtaine this saluation, is to beleue in him. And then when this truth is pronounced and made knowne vnto vs, God reuealeth two points more. The first, that hee will make vs participants of this saluation of his Sonne.

*1. Pet. 1. 24.
Heb. 9. 14.
Matth. 16. 24.
Rom 8. 30.
and 5. 17.*

*Acts 4. 12.
Iohn 20. 31.
and 3. 36.*

The second, that it is his pleasure, that we shal consent vnto, and beleue the testimonie which is giuen vnto vs by his word, that we are of the number of his children, that we may bee saued. And to that end S. Iohn saith, *He that beleueneth in the Sonne of God, hath the witnesse in himselfe: hee that beleueneth not God, hath made him a lier, and this is the record, to wit, that God hath giuen vs eternall life, and this life is in his Sonne.* That is it also which wee learne by these wordes of the Apostle, *That God being willing more abundantly to shew vnto the heires of promise, the stablenesse of his counsell, bound himselfe by an oath, that by two immutable things, wherein it is impossible that God should lie, wee might haue consolation, which haue our refuge to lay hold vpon the hope which is set before vs: which hope we haue as an ancre of the soule, both sure and steadfast, and it entreth into that which is within the vaile, whither the forerunner is for vs entred, euen Iesus Christ.* Wherevnto we must also referre this text of the Scripture: *That faith is by hearing; and hearing by the word of God.* That we must beleue the Gospell, and in the name of Iesus Christ, and that to haue faith, to beleue in the Gospell, and in the name of Iesus Christ, is not onely to beleue, that in him there is redemption, and life eternall for all the faithfull, (for the Diuell beleueth so much) but it is to beleue that this saluation is in Iesus Christ, for euery one of vs particularly, and to say with *Esay*, *For vnto vs a child is borne, and vnto vs a sonne is giuen, according to that which the angel told the shepheards, vnto you this day is borne a sauiour, which is Christ the Lord.*

Againe, it is to beleue, that the will of God is, that we shall be his children, and heires of his kingdome, and that he will haue vs constantly to beleue it. These foundations thus laid, are so many true & sure means, for vs to apply to our selues the markes of our adoption in Iesus Christ, with all assurance of his paternall loue towards vs. For why should wee doubt, and trouble our peace of conscience, to wander and stray from the truth, through Philosophy, and vaine deceite: through the traditions of men, according to the rudiments of the world, touching the inquisition of our owne righteousness, and worthines? wee are bound to obey, and to content our selues with that which is written, *Whosoever beleueth in him shall not perish but haue euerlasting life.* Then it is no presumption steadfastly to beleue it, but obedience to God and most pleasing to his maiesty; yea an honor which he requireth at our hands, faithfully to beleue his testimony, and thereby confirme it to bee true, as Saint *Iohn* saith. *It is true, that Christ in the Scriptures saith not I will saue this, or that particular man, naming them by their names: For if that were so, then we might haue cause to doubt of our saluation, thinking that the Lord did not speake of vs, but of others whose names were like ours. But when we heare him say, that hee came into the world, to saue sinners, either we must deny the name of a sinner, or confesse that he speaketh of vs, & that he took vpon him our flesh, suffered, died, and rose againe, to obtaine life eternall for vs. Therefore let vs boldly make this conclusion & say, Iesus Christ is come, he hath been crucified, he descended into hell, he triumphed ouer sinne, death, and the diuell, to redeeme & saue sinners, I confesse and acknowledge my name to be among them, (for I am a sinner) therefore he came to saue me. Againe, when he saith, Come vnto me all you, that are weary and laden, and I will ease you, we ought well to note these words: (All you) and euery faithful Christian should thereupon conclude, that it is to him that Christ speaketh, and promisseth this ease, if he be one of them which is laden and feeleth the burthen of his sinnes.*

Touching the great secret of the counsell of God, concerning Election and Predestination, it is so farre in this point, from giuing vs matter to bee doubtfull of the assurance of our adoption, that to the contrary there is nothing whatsoever that should more steadfastly confirme vs therein. The holy Scripture evidently witnesseth in diuers places, that God hath elected and chosen some of the children of *Adam* to saluation and eternall life, and hath not made the rest partakers of that benefit: and that this election is grounded vpon the onely goodnes and mercy of the Lord towards them, whose names are written in the booke of life. If we cannot vnderstand, and neuertheles desire to comprehend the causes and reasons of the points of this doctrine of the holy Ghost, let vs not stray out of the way in our curious inquisitions in such manner as that wee should seeme to controule or call in question the euident testimonies which God giueth vs in his word, concerning his iudgements. For seeing that in God, there is wisdom, goodnesse, mercy, righteousness, power, and perfect & infinit truth, and that his essence is nothing but wisdom, goodnes, & righteousness, which infinitely surpasseth all the capacity, and vnderstanding of man, it followeth that all our wisdom consisteth herein; that we beleue, although wee comprehend it not, that the wil of God is the rule of all righteousness. This is a certen principle of Christian

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Religion, & wherein there is a true sanctificatiō of the name of God: as to the contrary, it is an euident signe of impiety, a kind of sacrilege, and a dangerous presumption in vs, to seek to satisfie our owne naturall reason by the examination of the works of God; in the profundity whereof he wil haue man to humble himselfe, feeling his owne ignorance. For the cause may well be secret and hidden from vs, but yet not vniust.

Therefore, how much more the iudgements of God, Creator of all things, are obscure; so much the more wee must receiue them with great humilitie and reuerence. Hee that goes about to controule them, shal (as the Wise man saith) be ouerwhelmed or confounded with the glory thereof. And wee know that Saint *Paul* taken vp into the third heauen, and there hauing heard things which cannot bee spoken, knew well how farre hee ought to presume to reueale the mysteries of the wisdome, and prouidence of God. Every man may see how resolute he is in this doctrine of Election, and how constant he sheweth himselfe to oppose the onely will, wisdome, power, and glory of God, against all the inquisitions and replies of men. Then let vs content ourselues, to beleue that which the Lord witnesseth in his word, and let vs attribute to his wisdome and infinit power, to know and doe that which wee cannot comprehend, humbly adoring his iudgements: and for the rest, let vs beleue the testimonie and markes which the holy Ghost giueth vs touching the elect, and the meanes which wee haue to apply the same to our selues, as we said before.

3. The conclusion of this Chapter.

For conclusion, wee learne, that the Gospel which is preached vnto vs in the Church, containeth the reuelation, and many certaine warrants of our adoption, specially the Sacraments which confirme vs therein. For they are (saith Saint *Augustine*) as a visible word, representing the grace of the message of saluation: But besides that, they are communicated vnto vs, and wee receiue them. Therefore also they serue as it were to put vs in reall possession of our vocation, and to giue vs full assurance of eternall life. The Minister of the Church doing his duetie to preach the Gospel, pronounceth to all Christians, the grace contained in them: But in Baptisme it is directed to euery one of vs particularly, to assure vs of the remission of our sins, and of this, that by putting on Christ by that sacred washing, wee are made children of God. As also in the communion of the Eucharist, the Minister telling vs from Christs owne mouth, *That the flesh of Christ is meate indeede, and his bloud very drinke, and that whosoever eateth that flesh, and drinketh that bloud, dwelleth in Christ, to liue for ever.* It is more and more to confirme euery one of vs in the faith of our saluation, and to assure vs that the Lord giueth vs his body wholly, with all good things, that we should bee vnited to him, and so with him bee made children of our Father which is in heauen, and heires of his glory.

Thus wee see the true and onely meanes, how to apply the markes of the children of God, vnto our selues, to assure vs of that blessednesse to come. But before all things, let vs specially consider this, and comfort our selues therein, which is, that faith whereby wee apprehend all these great benefits of the Lord, is a gift of his grace, and proceedeth from the operation of the power of his spirit: (as the Apostle saith) For this is it which wee must acknowledge in the temptations which moue a difficulty in vs to beleue the exterior and interior testimonies of the will of God towards vs, touching our adoption. And further, we must know that it is requisite and necessarie, that that great Master, and our good Father should worke in our hearts, by his spirit, therein to beget, intertaine, and strengthen this faith. The which grace also is assured to all that are elect, as it is written, that all those in the primitiue Church, that were ordained to eternall life, beleued it, and to that end our duty is to pray to God for the gift of the holy Spirit, in the name of Iesus Christ, and to persevere constantly in this prayer, with full assurance grounded vpon his promise, that he will giue it vnto vs, and that so, accompanying the vertue and efficacy thereof with the abundant testimonies of his prouidence and loue towards vs, hee will cause vs certainly to apply them to our selues, to liue peaceably and contentedly here on earth, and after this life happily in heauen.

That Christians for their fourth consolation, ought and may bee assured and certaine to bee the children of God, although the markes of their adoption bee weake and feeble in them.

Chapter 4.

1. *Not to feeble in vs, the peace and ioy of true faith, is a testimony of humane infirmities, but not that wee are without faith.*

Rom. 4. 2. 5.

THe feeling that we haue of the want, or (properlyerto tearme it,) of the weakenes of the interior & spirituall marks of our adoption, is oftentimes the cause of great trouble and disquietnesse in our consciences, and hindereth many men from applying the testimonies of the grace of God to the peace of their soules, apprehending that by incredulitie, they doe not fall from the hope of saluation. Therefore it is necessarie, that for one of our consolations, and to remaine firme in the hope of the glory of God, which confoundeth not: Wee should first vnderstand, that there is great difference betweene incredulity and weakenesse of faith, which (as wee haue already noted) is the worke of the holy Ghost in vs, and whereby wee apprehend the assurance of our vocation. For an incredulous man, or an Infidel taketh no care for his saluation, or otherwise, reiecting the sauing grace, which is onely in Iesus Christ: or neglecting it, seeketh else wherefor some other thing to procure peace and contentment to his soule.

Rom. 14. 17.

Gal. 5. 22.

Ioh. 3. 36.

Heb. 1. 1. 1.

Rom. 8. 23.

Psal. 22. 1.

Math. 27. 46.

But a faithfull Christian, earnestly desireth to be saued, and knoweth that hee cannot be saued but in Christ, and therefore seeketh his blisse onely in him, and alwaies feeleth an affection in his heart to augment this assurance, which is that there is reconciliation for him by Iesus Christ the onely mediator betweene God and man, although hee doth not thoroughly feele the peace and spirituall ioy of such grace, so cleerely in his soule, as faith requireth and by degrees in the end begetteth in him. For it is not written, that hee which feeleth, but he that beleueth, hath life eternall, and as faith is of things spirituall and inuisible, so the vnderstanding of the nature thereof and of the fruits and effects that follow it, consists more in consenting, (proceeding from a peaceable spirit,) to that which the word of God teacheth vs, then in a full apprehension and perfect knowledge of so excellent a gift. Which we see in the complaint made by *Danid*, & that which Iesus Christ after him made, saying, *My God, my God why hast thou forsaken me.* For there we heare the testimony of faith, in these words, *My God, my God*, but in that which followeth it appeareth how much this faith was altered, & distract from the entire apprehension & lively feeling, of that perfect ioy whereunto the holy Ghost by degrees leadeth the elect. For when the Prophet saith, that he is abandoned and forsaken of God, it seemeth to be the complaint of a man in dispaire. And in truth, when a man feelles no comfort in God, it is not for him to brag or boast of faith. Here we haue two notable points of doctrine, which although in apparence may be iudged to be contrary one vnto the other, yet they daily enter together into the heart of the faithfull, When they are troubled with the interior combat of the spirit against the flesh, in the middle of their most feruent, and hot burning cares, anguishes, and sorrowes, on the one side discovering their humane infirmity, and on the other side yeelding a testimony of their faith. Which in this maner, may wel be so little, and so weake in our hearts, that it produceth not the spirituall fruits that are truly & lively felt by vs. But if those that finde and feele themselves to be in that estate, desire to haue that right feeling, and aske it of God by praier: that their desire & praier sheweth, that the holy Ghost is in the, & that they haue faith. For those are true fruits of their regeneration, by that spirit (as Saint *Paul* saith) which helpeth our infirmities, and maketh request for vs with sighs, which cannot be expressed, when we know not what to pray as we ought, such holy affections being motions of the holy Ghost in vs, are witnesses of our faith, how little and weake soeuer we feele it, and by consequent that we are the children of God.

Rom. 8. 27. 6.

2. The feares and distrusts of the elect deprive them not of true faith.

Wee must also vnderstand, that the faith of the elect ceaseth not to bee true faith, although they feele doubts, feares, and distrusts in themselves. For if they take not a pleasure in such corruptions, to entertaine and maintaine them, but are grieved thereat, and seeke to withstand them, with a desire to encrease as much as they can in the assurance of their saluation in Iesus Christ. It is another euident combat betweene the spirit and the flesh, betweene faith and distrust, and betweene the will and the deede (as Saint Paul saith) *Rom. 7. 18. 24* and where faith hath residents, and is sealed in the hearts of the children of God, although it be assailed, by all those stormes and assaults of sinne, wherewith they are still encompassed. Therefore also, in seeking to surmount such imperfections, while they hope for the diuine *Rom. 8. 24. 37* promises which they see not, they patiently attend, saith the Apostle, vntill such time as they become conquerors in all things through him that loueth them. If we consider the course of *Dauids* life. There is no mirror of faith (in all the whole Scriptures) more notable, nor more euident to be seene, then in him: and yet neuer any faithfull Christian was more assailed with feares and doubts then hee. What complaints did hee make: saying, *Will the Lord absent himselfe for euer? And will hee shew no more fauour? Is his mercy cleane gone for euer? Doth his promise faile for euer more? Hath God forgotten to bee mercifull? Hath hee sent vp his tender mercies in displeasures?* *Psal 77. 7, 8, 9, &c.* And for conclusion, hee vseth speeches like a man in dispaire, saying, *And I said this is my death.* And yet he was not viterly void of faith, otherwise hee would not haue begunne the Psalm thus, *My voice came to God when I cried, in the day of my tribulation I sought the Lord, and ceased not in the night, my soule refused comfort, I did thinke vpon God, and was troubled, I praied, and my spirit was full of anguish.* Whereby we learne, that euen then, when the vehemency of his sorrowes and anguishes, and the infirmities of his flesh, constrained him to sigh, mourne, and so bitterly to complaine: faith made him to remember his error, and to correct his fault, in such manner that he directed his praiers to God, and assuredly called him his Lord, in whom hee hoped for succour. Wherein he obserued a good method, opposing his hope in God against his troubles, and by a holy inuocation moderated the greatnesse of his anguishes, which afterward hee bewailed. For when the afflictions of our flesh beginne to mooue vs, and that wee cannot easily restraîne them, but to the contrarie are by them led out of the bounds of reason, it is conuenient for vs at the first to repress and keepe them downe. So *Dauid* making Faith a Rampier against murmuring, bridled his senses that they might not exceed measure, in such sort that all the complaints which hee made in that Psalm, are but shewes of this grieffe, and dispaire, which assailed the hope hee had in God, and of the combat which he sustained against such temptations.

The Apostles also are noted in the Gospel to haue had a weake and obscure faith touching their vnderstandings, before the resurrection of Iesus Christ, and yet much weaker in heart, when the Lord was apprehended by the Iewes, and they forsooke him, one of them viterly denying him. Yet wee say not, that they were without faith in that their so great weakenesse, no more then when they were in the Ship in a great tempest, they cried vnto Christ, saying, *Save vs wee perish,* and hee called them not Infidels, nor vnfaithfull, but men of little faith, and fearefull: and hearing them granted their desire. As it is written, *A brused Reede shall he not breake, and the smoking flaxe shall he not quench.* But rather supporting the weake, hee will giue them grace to encrease the gifts of the spirit: and to waxe stronger and stronger in faith (saith the Apostle) as in the person of his Apostles, hee hath taught vs to pray vnto God, that hee will be pleased to encrease faith in vs. The wisdom of the most perfect Christian is still more and more to profit and encrease in knowledge of holinesse and righteoutnesse. Knowing that in all spirituall blessings there is but a beginning, and an imperfection in the forwardest and most compleat Christians here in this life. But the perfection whereunto we must aspire, and the accomplishing of our vocation cannot be perfect, till wee enter into heaven. In the meantime, to turne vs out of the way, and so shake and weaken our hope, the Diuell casteth his fire darts in our faces, which wee must repulse, and seeke to quench vpon the shield of Faith, (as Saint Paul saith) with the liuing water of the holy Ghost, that they enter not into our hearts. For what assaults and combats soeuer the Diuels maketh against vs, so long as he possesseth not the heart, where faith is seated, he is driven out, in such manner, that the

Matth. 17. 23

Luke 9. 45.

Math. 26. 31.

& 14. 27. &

50. 26, 70.

Math. 8. 25.

Isaie 42. 3.

Math. 12. 20.

Röm. 1. 17.

Luke 17. 5.

Ephes. 6. 16.

Iohn 4. 10.

doubts, distrusts, feares, and all other temptations which assaile, and enter into the faculties of the soule, can not hurt vs. They may well trouble vs, or hurt vs, but not with an incurable wound.

3. *A considerable distinction betwene the two principall effects of faith, alwaies powerfull to assure vs of our adoption.*

Wee must know how to distinguish these two effects or fruits of faith, That is, quietnesse and peace of conscience before God, and sanctification, which consisteth in newnes of life: For as the first, is a most cleare and euident testimony, of the efficacy and effect of the holy Ghost, dwelling, and working in vs; so the second, which giueth vs an affection to walke holily and righteously here on earth, sheweth, that faith is in our hearts, it being the fountaine and spring of good workes. Then, if one of these two fruits seemes to languish and become weake, the other sufficeth to assure vs that wee are of the number of the faithfull, and consequently, children of God. For as fire, which naturally subsisteth of two effects (that is, flame and heate) although the flame goeth out, yet by the heate thereof, wee are perswaded, that it is naturall fire, and not painted. So when the feeling of peace of conscience wanteth in vs, and neuerthelesse, the affection to the workes of the spirit (as loue towards God, and a desire to liue according to his commandements) are yet resting in the soule: That fruit of faith, is a certaine testimony to euery Christian, that faith is in his heart, though in small measure, and very weake. For, if we haue but a sparke of true faith, we are children of God, because Faith is of such force, that how little soeuer it be, yet it apprehendeth and layeth hold on Christ Iesus to saluation. And to speake truly, when every one of vs shall looke well into his owne conscience, it will euidently appeare, that there is very fewe or none that haue a great measure of faith, that the number of those that haue a meane faith, are very few, and that there are many that haue but a very small measure thereof. But God supporteth our infirmities, distributing so much of that celestiall gift vnto vs, as hee seeth to bee expedient for his glory, and our saluation. For to speake properly, it is Christ which saueth vs, and not our faith; but onely in that it is the instrument, and as it were the hand, whereby wee lay hold vpon, and receive the grace of redemption, which is brought to vs from heauen. For Faith how little soeuer it be in the elect, apprehendeth and receiveth Christ the Saviour of the world, wholly and not halfe, as a childe taketh and holdeth a whole apple with his litle hand, although it bee not so strong and firme as a mans hand. Wherefore, as hee that is in a darke obscure Tower, seeth not the light of the Sunne but at a little hole, may as well assure himselfe that the Sunne shineth vpon his Tower, as hee that sees it out of an open window: so although that by the cloudes of distrust, or some other infirmity, wee are hindred from feeling the Sonne of righteousnesse, shine brightly, and forcibly vpon our soules: neuerthelesse, if therein wee haue the testimony of some small beame thereof, it is sufficient to assure vs, that the light of life shineth vpon vs, to free vs from the darkenesse of death; and therefore that we are the children of God, and heires of the Kingdome of heauen. But as that ought greatly to comfort vs in the weakenesse of our faith: so it should be a sharpe spur to thrust and put vs forward, and to force vs to encrease therein, that so much the cleerelyer and liuelier we may obtaine the peace and ioy of the holy Ghost in our consciences, whereby we may boldlier resist against all temptations, and more and more glorifie our Lord God.

4. *Inclination to sinne, ought not to make the faithfull fall from, or to doubt of the certaintie of the promises of God touching saluation.*

Many men take occasion to doubt of their adoption, when they consider the quality of this point, that faith cannot be without good workes: for feeling themselves to be great sinners, they are of opinion that they are not the children of God. And to say truth, it is a lamentable thing, that there is no more zeale in vs of the glory of God: no more seruent loue towards our neighbors, nor no better amendment of life. But if we haue begun to hate and fly from sinne, if we feele a disliking of our infirmities and corruptions, if hauing offended God, we are sorry and grieved for it; if we desire and indeuor our selues to offend him no more; if we shunne the occasions, if we seeke and labour to walke in the commandements of

of God, according to our vocations, and if wee pray vnto God to giue vs grace so to doe: let vs certainly beleue, that all those good desires and affections, which cannot proceede but from the holy Ghost, are as many testimonies and assurances vnto vs, that he dwelleth in vs, and by consequent, that we are children of God, as Saint *Paul* teacheth vs, *Rom. 8. 5. & c.* where he maketh a comparison betweene those that liue according to the spirit of God, and those that liue after the lusts of the flesh. For as we are the posterity of *Adam*, and so naturally enclined to all vices and corruptions, it followeth, that it is a signe and token in vs of regeneration, and so to be of the family of Christ, when we dislike of our own infirmities, and struing as much as we can against them, seeke to please God. We know that he commaundeth vs to loue him with all our hearts, with all our soules, and with all our strengthes, but as we cannot know him here in this world, but in a part, and obscurely, so we loue him in part and that very little, the perfection thereof is referued to bee performed in heaven: that whereunto we can attaine here on earth, is that as well in truth as in humility, we acknowledge how imperfect we are in the duties of holines and charity which God requireth at our hands, to whom it pleaseth him, so to accomplish his mercy in pardoning vs, his power in sustaining and vpholding vs, and his promise in sauing vs. The holinesse, loue towards God, and the obedience which wee owe vnto him, are oftentimes signified in the holy Scriptures, by the feare of his name, which *Dauid* calleth the beginning of wisdom, Therefore whosoever feeleth such loue and reuerence in himselfe towards God, that he feareth to offend him, is one of the number of his children. And we haue this feare in vs, when we are carefull to fly the occasions and inticements which moue vs vnto sinne, when we take a pleasure in the commandements of God, and that having offended him by ignorance, vnawares, or by any other humane infirmity, we feele a displeasure & disliking the same in our hearts, with a resolution by Gods grace to sinne no more. Therefore Saint *Iohn* saith, whosoever is borne of God, sinneth not, that is to say, that although they haue certaine vices and imperfections in them, neuertheless, sinne raigneth not in them, neither doe they willingly addiect their mindes to doe euill, but to the contrary, feele that combate in their soules, which Saint *Paul* representeth vnto vs in his owne person, disallowing and disliking that which they doe, because it is not that which they would doe, wherein neuertheless, they haue no occasion to excuse themselves, but rather to sigh, and cry out, on the one side with the same Apostle and to say, *Oh wretched man that I am who shall deliuer me from the body of this death?* and on the other side, to feele the comfort which he addeth thereunto saying, I thanke God through Iesus Christ our Lord, and for what? because saith he, that although in my flesh, in that inferiour part of my nature, and in the reliques of corruption, I serue the law of sinne, there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Iesus, which in their mindes, that is, in that part thereof which is regenerated, serue the law of God, and so walke not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

Let vs therefore know, that when we feele any doubt in our selues of our adoption, for want of yeelding that obedience vnto God, which he requireth at our hands. The Diuell is hard by vs, to shake and make vs wauer in faith, perswading vs, that we must be saued by our workes, or at the least partly, and thereby make our selues companions of the immaculate lambe, which taketh away the sinnes of the world. To which temptation let vs make answer and say, that we know well, that there is nothing of our owne well doing, that can subliste, to iustifie vs before God, that our good deedes extend not vnto him, and that wee are most great and grieuous sinners. But on the other side, that the Gospell teacheth vs, That Christ came into the world to saue sinners, & that there is no saluation but in him, & that seeing we feele the affections of the spirit in our selues, we are of the spirit, and absolved from the day of wrath, which the reprobate shal feele, that taking pleasure in our spirits or in the inward man, in the obedience of God, he accepteth vs in his Sonne Iesus Christ to be holy and righteous, receiuing of vs that desire to walke in his wayes, for a seruice agreeable and pleasing vnto him: and to be short, that he accepteth his workes in vs, and pardoneth ours. If we perseuere in this manner, to oppose and withstand the temptations of the Diuell, and to meditate vpon so many notable doctrines of the holy Scriptures, therein fortifying our selues by ardent and zealous praier vnto God, they are so many certaine testimonies to assure vs that we are the children of God. It is true, that msny of the elect, oftentimes finde themselves, not to be onely luke warme, but also cold as ice, in the effects and fruits of their regeneration, And that there is none so holy and well aduised, which doth not slide, stumble and goe astray, and sometimes takes a great fall: but such defaults and falles

Math. 23. 37.
1. Cor. 13. 4. 12.

Psal. 111. 10.

Psal. 112. 1.

1 Ioh. 3. 9.

Rom. 7. 15.

Ibid. 25 & 8. 1

Psal. 16. 2.

1 Tim. 1. 15.

Math. 9. 13.

1 Thess. 5. 9.

Acts 4. 12.

Rom. 8. 5, and

7. 22.

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are not to death in the faithfull, but rather serue them for most profitable admonitions to make them know their owne weakenes, and to be more humble, fearefull, and better aduised, and to stirre them with more holy zeale and ardency to follow the works of the spirit.

Math. 26. 74. And so their faults turne to good, and are profitable instructions for them. *Saint Peter* denyed Iesus Christ three times, cursing himselfe, yet we will not therefore affirme, that then the grace of the spirit of God, had withdrawne it selfe from him, nor that he had no faith: but to the contrary, Christ hauing prayed vnto God, that it should not faile in his Disciple, and hauing without doubt beene heard, it continued in that Apostle, yet weak, and strongly assailed, but not beaten downe, nor dead.

Psal. 51. 11. *David* hauing committed adultery and murther, acknowledged and confessed his sinnes, and besought God by prayer not to take his holy spirit from him: then he had not lost it, but it was in him, (like a fire couered ouer with ashes,) and did not then shew his diuine vertue, to withhold the Prophet from sinne. It is most true, that the gifts and calling of God, are without repentance. But let vs remember, that the great and grosse faults of those two excellent seruants of God, ought to be considered by vs, not onely to the end that vnderstanding that they were not forsaken nor abandoned by the spirit of God, wee should not enter into dispaire in our infirmities: but to serue vs for true mirrors of humane fragility, thereby to make vs know and acknowledge, that when we sinne not in such manner, it is by the power and Spirit of God which preserueth vs from it, and also to aduertise vs, continually to stand vpon our gard, that we may be releued, when we haue sinned, afterward firmly to resolute with our selues, to walke in holinesse and righteousnesse all the dayes of our liues. That is it which we must expect from God which worketh in vs, both the will and the deed, according to his good pleasure. Therefore let vs be carefull euery day to pray vn-

Rom. 11. 29. to him, for the gift of his holy Spirit, & the encrease of faith, and grace to liue obediently vnto him. And if we feele not the fruits therof so soone as we would or desire, let vs not there-
Phil. 2. 13. fore thinke or be perswaded, that he will not blesse vs in all things as his children: for often times *David* complained and said, I am weary with crying, my throate is dry, mine eies faile, while I waite for my God. And againe, Oh my God I cry by day, but thou hearest not, and by night but haue no audience. But behold how he witnesseth, that hauing persevered to cry incessantly to God, he obtained the fruits of his requests. I waited patiently for the Lord (saith he) and he inclined vnto me, and heard my cry. Iesus Christ himselfe exhorteth vs to the same duty, by the similitude or example of the widdow importuning the iudgeto doe her iustice, and at the last by her importunity obtained it. Heare (saide hee) what this vnrighteous iudge saith, yet because this widdow troubleth mee, I will doe her right. And will not God which is our Father, and our Savior, (Iust, and louing righteousnesse,) heare the prayer of his children if they call vpon him night and day? for here wee must specially consider, that seeing we aske him the holy Spirit, which Christ promised vnto vs, wee desire that which belongeth vnto vs, by his promise, and therefore God will giue it vs.

Psal. 69. 3.

Psal. 22. 2.

Psal. 40. 1.

Luk. 18. 8 & c.

Psal. 11. 7.

Luk. 12. 13.

And likewise, seeing we aske him encrease of faith, and grace to serue and obey him; we aske that which he enioineth vs to haue, and which dependeth on him, in such sort, that they cannot be separated from his Spirit. Therefore wee neither can, nor must doubt, that when we aske that which is according to his will, that wee shall not be heard. But we must giue him this honour, to referre our selues to his wisdom, touching the time when wee shall feele, and fully receiue the fruits of our prayers; instantly, allowed, yea, before wee aske: as also touching the manner and forme how wee shall be aided and releued in our weakenesse. If Iesus Christ had healed the Cananite womans daughter, when shee first besought him to doe it, her faith had not beene so great, nor so much extolled in the Church, even to the worlds end. And *Saint Paul* hauing praied vnto God diuers times, that hee would deliuer him from the messenger of Satan, which buffeted him: hee did more for him, (as hee himselfe confesseth) causing his diuine power to persist in the infirmity of his seruant, who protesteth, as enioying the fruits of his prayers (although it was in other sort then hee demanded) that from thence forward hee would reioice in his infirmities; and that although he was weake of himselfe, hee was strong in God. Whereby wee are admonished, that in all the assaults which wee sustaine in this world, whether they be made by the Diuell, or by our owne flesh, wee must not be discouraged, when God doth not satisfie our requests, in such manner, or so soone as wee desire them; but content our selues, that wee haue his grace (as hee said to *Saint Paul*) that is, that God doth

1. Iohn 5. 14. 15.

Matth. 15. 22.

2. Cor. 12. 7.

Ibid. 9.

not

not forsake vs, and that hee alwaies knoweth his time to prouide that which is necessarie for vs. For to conclude, it sheweth that hee alwaies heareth and granteth our requests, when he guideth our hearts by his spirit, and sustaineth vs by his diuine consolation, that we may not lose, nor fall from hope and patience.

5. Conclusion of this Chapter.

Let vs conclude vpon all those propositions, that seeing God (by the interior testimony of his spirit, and by the other marks aforesaid,) hath made vs feeble, that we are of the number of his children, There is no temptation, weaknes, nor feblenes of faith, that can make vs fall from the firm hope of our adoption, & calling in Iesus Christ. For as houses that are built & set vpon foundations of hard stone, withstand inundations of waters, overflowings of rivers and stormes and tempests of windes, and stand firmly, without taking any hurt: So mens soules which are once grounded vpon the rocke of the promises of God, and are made fast to the feare of his name. by the ciment of his celestially loue, courageously resist against all temptations, and euill incounters of defiance, without any great hurt, and therefore also we must beleue, that being of the number of the elect, called by our heavenly father to saluation, according to his eternall counsell, we can neuer perish, for such is the reuelation of the spirit of truth, in all the sacred oracles of the Scriptures. And therefore the fruits and effects of the Spirit, with all the graces depending thereon, necessary for our saluation, can not lose so much of their strength in our infirmities, that they are not alwaies of so sufficient force, to make vs liue happily, and in the end, to bring vs to the fruition of his celestially glory.

The first consolation is, that a Christian Philosopher, ought to make use of the afflictions and miseries of humane life: thereby to perswade himselfe to be the childe of God, by the excellent fruits which they produce. Chapter 5.

1. Common and ordinarie complaints made by men, touching the miseries of their liues

WE said before, that the second kind of temptation, which shaketh the assurance that wee ought to haue of our adoption, consisteth in the common and long afflictions and miseries, which ordinarily accompany vs in this life, and to speake true, who can calculate the number, or reckon the diuersities thereof? Some complaine of diseases, pouertie, reproches, slanders, hatred, contempt, losse of friends, increasing of enemies, and of diuers other kindes of disgraces, and discontentments which trouble and annoy man, and most commonly the vprightest men. Others complaine of losse of their goods, and their estates. Others are grieved to be driuen out of their native Countries, or that they are persecuted in other manner, and that by their neere friends and alies, they are brought into great calamitie and trouble of minde. But the worst is, we haue a great number (and of those specially, which take one them the name of faithfull Christians fearing God) who in their troubles, say and affirme, that they haue seen and found nothing all their liues, but signes of the diuine wrath of God towards them, instead of the testimony of his loue, and conuenient blessings to his children. Therefore we must strengthen and fortifie our selues with necessarie rampiers and defences against such assaults of our flesh, wherein Satan hath a great part.

2. God is the author of tribulation, which are foreshewed and promised by the Scriptures to his Children.

Then let vs first vnderstand, that in truth such complaints, and wrong conclusions proceede from great ignorance and weakenesse. For if wee knew well, that GOD is the author, and the cause of the tribulations which man endureth; and specially, that he hath at all times prepared and sent them for the profit of his children, instead of being moued and troubled at them, because our flesh iudgeth them to be harsh, wee should be more confirmed in the assurance of our adoption, and future happinesse. In the beginning of our discourse we heard, how God our Lord and Creator, is the first, soveraigne, and vniuersal cause of all things, in such maner, as they receiue all their essence of his Deity, and that without it,

they should all in an instant be reduced and brought to nothing, and that so their essence, since they receiued the same, and all their gouernment and condition, dependeth vpon his eternall will, which conducteth and directeth his workes to their end. In such sort that as the essence, the life, and the moouing of humane bodies vpon earth, depend vpon the soule, which is within them, and without it they can neither mooue nor liue: so God is life, and as the soule of all creatures, and that without him they are nothing, neither can effect any thing, if he doth not aide them, nor vse them as instruments, to do that which it pleaseth him to effect. Wherein we haue a most notable and profitable consideration, to behold God in all his creatures, to walke continually before him, and as it were from his hand to receiue all the successe, and diuers events, good or euill, which wee see every day happen and fall out in the world. From whence also we learne a most excellent consequence that he is the author and the first & principall cause of all the paynes and tribulations, that we endure. For it is he, who to correct and to force man to amendment of life, vseth his creatures, and all sorts of scourges when and where it pleaseth him, to the end that from that, which of it selfe is euill, he may draw a greater benefit. Therefore *Esay* speaketh in the person of God, saying, I am the Lord, and there is none other, I forme the light, & create darkenesse, I make peace and create euill. I the Lord doe all these things. Who, (sayth the Prophet in another place,) gaue *Jacob* for a spoyle, and *Israel* to the robbers, did not the Lord, because wee haue sinned against him? For they would not walke in his waies, neither bee obedient vnto his lawes? The Lord also speaketh by *Jeremy*, saying of the Iewes, Behold I will bring a plague vpon them, which they shall not bee able to scape, and though they cry vnto mee, I will not heare them. And in *Amos*, hee saith thus, Shall there bee euill in a city, and the Lord hath not done it? Wee reade also in *Ecclesiastes*, that prosperitie and aduersitie, life and death, pouerty and riches come of the Lord. Yet it is very true, that if our first parents had not sinned, wee should not haue found so many, so diuers and so strange kindes of calamities, as wee dayly see in the world, nor so many difficulties in our proceedings in this course of life, but the way therein would bee plaine, straight, and very easie, without mountaines, turnings, windings, mud or durt. We should neede no medicines, because we should not be subiect to any infirmities. But because that in *Adam* & *Eua* we haue all offended, and that all of vs are hurt and sicke, our wounds and diseases can not bee healed, but by bitter medicines and purgations. Vpon this subiect then wee must first note, that if God had promised to vse his children in this world, delicately, and to send them riches, honors, and great estates, exempted from common troubles, and humane miseries, wee should haue great occasion to doubt whether we were his children, if to the contrary, pouerty & base condition together with a multitude of troubles, crosses, & anguishes, should happen vnto vs. But seeing it is so, that besides the comon necessity of all men, subiect to the burthē of the punishment of sin, either temporall, or eternal, the H. Ghost hath often & cleerly foreshewed vnto vs, that the childre of God, are ordained & appointed to be afflicted, and to suffer persecution. That they weepe and mourne, while the world reioyceth. That they are elected, that for doing well, they should suffer wrong. That they shall be hated of all men, for the name of Iesus Christ, banished, and put to death by those, that wil thinke they do God good seruice. Then seeing these things happen to our selues, or to our brethren, or remembering that they hapned to those that were before vs. Following the steps which the Lord Iesus Christ, and his Apostles traced, they ought to be vnto vs as many signes and euident testimonies of our adoption and vocation. And to comfort our selues with these diuine sentences. That the Disciple is not aboue his Master, nor the seruant aboue his Lord. That it is enough for the Disciple to be as his Master. That to follow Christ, we must denie our selues, and beare our Crosse patiently. And lastly, That through many afflictions, wee must enter into the kingdome of heauen.

1 Thes. 3. 2.

2. Tit. 3. 12.

Iohn 16. 20.

1. Pet. 2. 20, 21

Matth. 10. 22.

Iohn 16. 2.

Ioh. 10. 24, 25

Matth. 16. 24

Actis 14. 22.

3. The example of Iesus Christs passion, is a meanes to strengthen vs in our tribulations, and to perswade vs that wee are children of God, and that we must constantly endure persecution.

Secondly, to confirme vs in the said doctrine of the holy Scriptures, this ought to serue vs which wee learne throughout the whole Ecclesiasticall histories, that all whatsoever the

the holy Ghost foreshewed, touching the condition of the children of God, is by experience found to be true in all ages: For it hath alwayes beene seene, that the most excellent servants of God, were most afflicted, as the Apostle notably reciteth, shewing the conjunction of faith, and patience in the ancient faithfull fathers, who were tried with all manner of afflictions; and whom he opposeth against Christians, as an example for them to follow. But specially he exhorteth them, to cast their eyes vpon Iesus Christ the Anthonr, and perfecter of faith, who being righteous, suffered the ignominious death of the crosse: dispising all dishonour and disgrace on earth, & now is set on the right hand of the throane of God his Father. As in truth the example of him onely may and ought to serue vs for all, seeing that specially wee must bee made conformable to his Image, (as Saint Paul saith,) and because hee is the first borne among many brethren. This Prince of glory entring into the world, (created and maintained by him,) found no honourable place to rest in, but was borne in a stable, and layde in a manger. Not long after the king of that country, sought for him to put him to death, which was the cause that he was carried out of his countrey, by the blessed Virgin Mary, to liue poorely like a stranger in Egypt, Being returned into Iudæa, hee liued till hee was thirty yeeres old, in a vile and abiect estate of a Carpenter. When hee began to exercise his charge of a Prophet, a King, and Priest, or Lawgiuer to the Church: After hee had fasted forty dayes, and forty nights, he was hungry, and had nothing in the desert to eate: there he was assailed and tempted by the Diuell with three powerfull assaults rehearsed in the Scriptures. Preaching the kingdom of God, hee liued of the maintenance which was giuen him, by certaine simple women that supplied his want, with their meanes and possessed nothing. Hee was often iniured and railed vpon by the greater number of the people, that called him glutton, drunkard, seducer of the people, and a Diuell. He was led vpon a high mountaine, from thence to be throwne downe headlong: betrayed by one of his Apostles, imprisoned, spit vpon, buffeted, beaten, mocked, whipt, crowned with thornes, condemned to dye, and hanged vpon the crosse between two theeues. But besides these exteriour torments, what anguish did hee feele in his heart, when he sayd, that his soule was heauy to the death, when hee fell vpon his face ont he ground, and when he cryed vpon the crosse (*My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?*) He that attentiuely will consider the life and death of this great Sauiour of the world, cannot but be greatly comforted in all his tribulations, and seeke to imitate the patience and meeknesse of Iesus Christ, who hauing no sinne, suffered and endured so much for vs. But specially and before all things, wee are by his example to learne, hat it shall be a great assurance vnto vs of our adoption, and to be heires of God, and coheires with Iesus Christ, when we suffer with him, (as the Apostle saith) to the end to be glorified with him: when (saith he elsewhere) we shall haue the honour to accomplish the rest of the afflictions of Christ in our flesh, that we may obtaine celestiall riches. For feeling in our selues a participation of his sufferings, euen vntill the last act of our liues, wee shall haue matter presently from thence to apprehend the power of the resurrection of the same Iesus Christ, with certaine and firme hope to enioy eternall glory with him.

But let vs a little consider, how feeble and weake, the occasions of our complaints are, touching those things which wee call the miseries of this life. Sickneses, pouertie, and losse of friends, commonly are three of the greatest crosses that wee complaine of. But that griefe which is not gotten by infirmity, and vaine opinion, is light, and may easily bee borne, if the patient will bee of a good courage, and say, This is nothing, or very little, it will soone passe away, or if it bee extreame, it is a sure meanes to obtaine perpetuall rest. As for pouertie, if wee looke into our nature, wee shall neuer bee poore, but wee if follow the opinions of men, wee shall neuer bee rich: For one contenteth himselfe with a little; another, the more hee hath the more hee desireth. But godlinesse is great gain if a man bee contented with that hee hath. Haue wee lost our goods? It may bee, they would haue beene our destruction, if wee had not lost them: wee shall from thence forward bee in lesse daunger; and wee are most happy, if wee haue altogether lost couetousnesse. Touching death, which taketh from vs our neere and best friends, it is in vaine to torment our selues therefore, when wee cannot remedie it. Wee wrong our selues to bee greeued for that which is happened to one, when the like may happen to all, in vaine is that complaint and desire where the thing desired (which

is gladly and soone to follow our friends to the grave,) is so neere to him that wisheth it. To complaine for any mans death, is as much as to be sorry that he liued and was a man. Every mans life from the beginning to the end, is nothing else but a way and a disposition to death. Therefore we must rather giue thanks to God for the time that hee made vs enioy our friends on earth, then by a kinde of ingratitude towards them, and the diuine maiesty of God, to lament the ioy and the felicity which the passage by death out of this world into heauen bringeth them into.

4. *The fruits of afflictions are of power to confirme the faithfull in the assurance of their adoption.*

But here we must specially vnderstand, how afflictions by their fruites and effects may and ought with full assurance to confirme vs in our holy vocation in the Lord. For first, seeing the reliques of sinne remaine in this life, and that in those which are most perfect, which make vs all prompt and enclined to offend God, wee haue need of aide and releefe, to wake, to humble, and to withdraw vs from our corruptions and vices, specially to make vs carefull and wary not to fall into them againe, least they seate themselves in vs to our vtter destruction, but rather by degrees to forme and fashion vs, to a holy obedience vnto God.

To that ende are all the tribulations, wherewith God visiteth his children, and for that cause according to the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, they are called chastnings, corrections, and medicines for the soule, because they serue to withdraw our hearts from the world, to lift the vp to heauen, to purifie our faith as gold is purified by fire, to strengthen our hope of the glory to come, to teach and illuminate vs in the waies that may leade vs thither, and to conform vs to holinesse of life. Therefore the vtility and profite which we receiue, by this entertainment, which the flesh findeth to be of so euill a taste, ought to bee a certaine testimony vnto vs, that God in this manner plainly sheweth himselfe to be our father, and that so he hath a care of our good and saluation. Neuerthelesse, it is true, that there are but few men, (who while God visiteth, and chastneth them,) that receiue as they ought, the bitterness of this wholsom mirrh: but yet in the faithfull, tribulation alwaies produceth some fruit, and finally worketh this effect in their soules, that the mercy and sweetnes of the diuine hand of God, is by them acknowledged, in that it leadeth the elect by the bridle of Discipline, to eternall felicity. Then as the troubles and miseries of this life, call and mooue vs to feele our sins, to awake & humble vs before God, so fro thence in men truly touched with the feare of God, proceeds resolutions & protestations, no more by his grace to fall into the like faults, but to amend and become new men. Wherunto that which the Apostle saith, may be applyed, (that no chastning for the present seemeth to be ioyous, but grievous, but afterward it bringeth the quiet fruit of righteousness vnto them which are thereby exercised,) and that God chastneth vs for our profit, that we might be partakers of his holines. As *David* also to the same purpose protested, saying, Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I keepe thy word.

Heb. 10. 12. 11

Psal. 119. 67.

Againe, as terrestriall blessings, and commodities of this life, in their true endes and vses ought to bee meanes to eleuate our hearts to the Authour of all blessings, and Lord of all things, to acknowledge that wee receiue them from him, and to praise him for the same. To the contrarie, our corruptions and disordinate affections in the world, conuert them into thornes and hinderances of our duties towards God, and make vs presume, that they come from our selues, from our ancestors or parents, or that we haue gotten them by our owne vigilancy, care, and industry, and perswade vs, that wee our selues also can preserve and keepe them. Therefore G O D deprieth vs of such gifts, either by taking them away, or by mixing them with troubles and cares, that so wee should turne vnto him, to aske him that which wee neede, confesse our ingratitude, and acknowledge that we are beholding vnto him: for all that we haue for our benefit, necessitie, and vsc. As also, because that willingly wee esteeme too much of those inferior things, and make more account of them, then they deserue, louing them excessiue, & desiring and seeking to get them with great care and affection: God therein causeth vs to meet with thornes, and brambles, which withdraw vs from the foolish loue of those false riches, and teach vs to know that they are not true, to make vs seeke for the treasures of the Spirit, and thereby

to be better disposed to follow our vocation. Experience too much sheweth that we are as it were linked to the riches and greatnes of the world, that they make vs proude and insolent, that we esteeme such vanities to be permanent, and that we thinke them happy that enioy them. We easily perswade our selues that great estates are firme, that their reuenues cannot diminish, nor their honor bee defaced, that the fauour and the amitie of mighty men will not alter nor change; that our health will not weaken, nor the strength of our youth decay, and to bee short, that the flourishing time of this miserable world will neuer whither nor fall away: withall making such account of our parents and friends, as if they were not mortall. And yet God depriueth vs of them all, when wee thinke least thereof, when wee make most account of these transitorie things, and when wee are perswaded that wee haue most assurance of them; or else, seasoneth them in such manner with the sharpe salt of tribulation, that they open our eies; to behold and perceiue the vanity of worldly pleasures, and to make vs confesse with *David*. *That all flesh is grasse*; and with the Apostle, that hauing no permanent city here, we must search for one to come. *I wil stop thy way with thornes* (saith God by his Prophet) To teach vs, that as beasts go along through the high way, & on the sides thereof see pleasant greene fields; thinking to go into them, and finding hedges full of thornes which pricke them, goe one their way, and leaue them: so when the children of God, goe out of the way of heauen, to enter into the pleasant fieldes of the world and the flesh, God makes them meet with brambles of afflictions, and scourgeth them with his paternall rodde; that by the bitter sweete prickles thereof, they should leaue and forsake the pernicious deceites of terrestriall and carnall affections, wherewith they feelethe selues assailed. When a mother desirous to weane her child, should continually say vnto it, (child, it is time for thee to leaue the breast, thou art great enough, I am with child, which spoyle my milke, and thou wilt bee sicke if thou suckest longer,) it were but in vaine, the child's eares being incapable of such admonitions, specially if it bee fond of the breast, and will not leaue it: But if the mother puts a little allume vpon it, when the childe feeles the breast bitter it will leaue it and sucke no more. So, though wee bee neuer so much warned and exhorted, to leaue the corrupt milke of the world and of the flesh, yet wee are too deafe to hearken therunto, and rather desire to ly still at the infected breasts of our mother nature, vntill God, (to weane and to regenerate vs, layeth the wormewood of afflictions vpon them. He doth like the good husbandman, which cutteth his vine, that it may bring forth more and better fruit. And as we cut birds wings, because they shall not fly away and be lost: so God cutteth our beautifull feathers of the flesh, that it may not grow too fat and full, and spoyle it selfe with vaine confidence and glory.

Psal. 103. 14.

Heb. 11. 14.

Olea 2. 6.

Ioh. 15. 1. 2.

Wee see how all things that serue for the vse of man, (to make them commodious and profitable for him,) endure many and diuers violences, as if it were as many tribulations and matterdomes the ground is broken vp, plowed and barrowed, to make it bring forth corne, which being reaped and gathered, is thrasht, fanned, ground, kneeded, and baked: wine is prest out of the grape: wooll and flaxe endure infinite labor, and goe through many mens hands to bring them to perfection; so man to serue God well, should bee refined like gold, and made perfect in the furnace of afflictions, that he may know how to vse the gifts and graces which he receiueth from God. So wee see, that whereas riches and honours of the world, make men insolent and proud: pouerty, and meane estate, imbaseth and humbleth them.

In bankets, feasts, and other assemblies of mirth and pastetime, wee speake of things that are pleasing and agreeable to the flesh, but at fasts, in sicknesse, when we lie on our deathbeds, and at the burials of our friendes; wee speake of life eternall, and of the means to attaine thereunto. And so in humane prosperity, we go diuers waies astray, and regard not the efficacy of spirituall instruction and admonitions: but in affliction, aduersity and griefe, we easily enter into the right way to heauen, and hearken to good counsell, veresifying the sentence, which is, that where vice aboundeth, aduersity beateth it down: and where vertue raigneth, it beautifieth, and maketh it euident to the world. For by nature we rely too much vpon terrestriall meanes, and know not what it is to beleue in God, (as *Abraham* did) beyond hope, with hope, and to trust in his providence without pawne in hand. Riches, estates, friendes, strength, health of body, support of men, as of the husband to the wife, of the father to the child and of the Prince to the subiect are as wayles staying our sight vpon earth and as stauers therein to leane vpon.

Rom. 8. 14.

And therefore God oftentimes taketh away those obstacles & feeble props of the flesh, to make vs feeble and perceiue the vanitie of our iudgements, and of all humane and mortall things: constraining vs by that meanes to cast pure eies on him, to cleaue vnto him, and wholly to depend on him. As Saint Paul saith, That he was brought into many and extreame perplexities, euen of death, that hee might haue no confidence, but onely in him, that is risen from the dead. God knowes when we haue neede to be mortified, and tried by temptations, (as Saint Peter saith) *That the triall of our faith, being much more precious then gold that perisheth (though it bee tried with fire) might bee found vnto our praise, honour, and glorie, at the appearing of Iesus Christ.* For as it happeneth to him, who sitting still at his ease, soone falleth asleepe, and hauing some thing in his hand letteth it fall, or it is easily taken from him: So the ease of the flesh, lul's vs asleepe in the world, and easily makes vs lose, and let fall out of our minds, the vertues and gifts of the holy Ghost. But when we are put into the furnace of tribulations, participating with the passions of Christ (as the Apostle saith) *watching in faith, workes, and prayer;* how loud soeuer the Diuell roareth, or vs with all the meanes hee can to bereaue vs of the graces of God, the firmer and constanter wee shall bee to withstand and resist him. For from thence, that excellent fruit of faith (to call vpon the name of the Lord) specially taketh force: For when we liue at our ease, and in great prosperitie, most commonly we pray but ordinarily or for fashion sake, but being oppressed with miseries, and assailed by diuers strong and humane troubles, the lesse reliefe and ease wee finde vpon earth, the more wee pray for and desire aide and helpe from heaven, and if we perceiue and feeble our selues ready to perish if God doth not strengthen, aide and deliver vs; then with all our hearts, and thoughts we crie vnto him, and protest that he is our Father, and our Saviour, and that all our hope and trust is in him: the feeling of our diseases makes vs goe to the Phisition. And David said to the people of Israel, *That when God slew them, they sought him, and they returned and sought God earnestly. And they remembered that God was their strength, and the most high God their Redeemer.*

Againe, patience, and all other Christian vertues are prooued and augmented by afflictions. For as a good Pilot of a Ship doth not shew his skill when the Sea is calme and peaceable, but when it is troublesome and tempestuous, and in time of danger, and as euery art hath rules and measures to direct, and effect the same: So the true leuell or lead to direct, sound, and examine our works, and to know how far we are gone, & haue aduanced our selues in the discipline of the Gospel, is patience, and constancie which we shew in our tribulations. And then by experience of the aide and assistance of God therein, our hope and the assurance and certainty of the diuine promise, which is, *(That whosoever shall call vpon the name of the Lord shall bee saved)* encreaseth. And as the Prophet saith, *They that trust in the Lord, shall be as mount Zion, which cannot be remoued, but remaineth for ever.* Which maketh Saint Iames exhort the faithfull to account it exceeding ioy, when they fall into temptations. Knowing that the triall of their faith, bringeth forth patience, and that if patience hath her effect, they shall be perfect and entire, lacking nothing. For when hee vs with sickness, necessities, & disgrace, or with any other humane calamities, then to feeble that he loveth vs, to find his corrections to bee good, to praise and thanke him, as we would doe a faithfull Phisition, and ioifully to submit our selues vnto his will, is a sacrifice of true obedience vnto him.

To conclude, the profitable fruits and effects of afflictions, are infinite to those that receiue them from the hand of God, and know how to vse them. For it is most true that tribulation is like a Fan, which purgeth and clenseth Corne; like a File which taketh rust from yron; like fire, which molifieth metall; like the pot which refineth gold; like salt which preserueth meat from putrefaction; like the heavenly hammer, which enlargeth our hearts, to make them more capable of diuine loue, like water which quencherh the fire of our concupiscence; like raine which watereth our soules, to make them more fertile; like winde which kindleth our charity, and like the bitter herbe Orpin which maketh vs leaue and forsake the im poisoned breastes of nature; and to bee short, it is the luerie of the children of God, and a certaine prooue, that wee are members of his Church. Therefore seeing wee are his by right of creation, and redemption; Let vs remember and learne, that for as much as he is our Creator, we ought in all things (how crosse and aduerse soeuer they bee) to practise, and say, *Lord I held my peace, and opened not my mouth, because it was thou that hast done it.* And because hee is our Redeemer, to assure our selues, that according

to

2. Cor. 8. 9.

1 Pet. 1. 6, 7.

Psal. 78. 24.

Rom. 5. 3.

Joel 2. 32.

Rom. 10. 13.

Psal. 125. 1.

Iam. 1. 2.

Psal. 3. 10.

to the loue which hee beareth vnto vs, and his infinite wisdom, hee will not dispose of vs (how bitter soeuer it seemeth vnto vs) otherwise then it shall seem good to him, for his glorie, and our saluation.

To that end the Apostle saith, that God chasteneth them whom he loueth, and scourgeth, euery son that he receiveth. And that if we endure chastening, God offereth himselfe vnto vs as to his sonnes, so saith Saint Iohn, and Salomon. And this doctrine is so certain, that when God will giue vs to vnderstand, that he is angry with any one, he saith, that hee will not correct him. As he saith by his Prophet, I will make my wrath towards thee to rest, and my lealousie shall depart from thee, I will cease and be no more angry, because thou hast not remembered the dayes of thy youth, but hast prouoked me with all these things. And I will not visit your daughters when they are harlots, nor your spoues when they are whores: as to the contrary he sayd to his people: *You onely haue I knowne of all the families of the earth, therefore I will visite you for all your iniquities:* Whereby wee evidently see and perceiue, that corrections, and rods of tribulation, are euident signes of the fatherly loue of God towards his children, who for their parts ought continually while they liue to say with the Prophet, *Behold here I am, let God doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes,* And with Iob, *The Lord giueth, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord for euermore,* and to comfort themselves with the protestation of their trust & confidence in God, with David, saying: *Though I walk in the midst of trouble, yet wilt thou reuine me, thou wilt stretch forth thy hand, vpon the wrath of mine enemies, and thy right hand shall saue me.* But let vs note this, which is the crowne of all the fruits of tribulations, and a principall and speciall point whereunto we should referre all our actions, and our selues also: which is, that when God visiteth or correcteth vs with the one hand, he strengtheneth vs with the other, in the middle of the tempest of aduersitie. (and it is certaine, that it is a true effect of the comfort and consolation which hee giueth vs, and neuer denieth it to his children,) and more effectually sheweth his goodnes and power in our naturall infirmity, our miseries and troubles, beeing as it were scaffolds or open stages, whereon he maketh his glory shine, with all enlarging and encreasing ours. Therefore let vs say, that seeing afflictions are so fruitfull, that God is the author of them, and that they are laid vpon vs by his fatherly loue towards vs, and to shew the care he hath of our saluation: It followeth that in afflicting vs he sheweth himselfe vndoubtedly to be our Father. And as when we see carpenters, cut and hew peeces of wood to make them square and plaine, and Masons polish stones with their hammers: we thereby iudge that such peeces of wood and stones, are prepared by those workemen to bee employed in their buildings: so wee must beleue of our selues, that if God doth vse tribulation, as hatchets and hammers therewith to fashion and polish vs, as neede requireth, beeing naturally crooked, and full of knottes, vs fitte for good workmanship, it is a certaine testimony, that hee hath selected vs, to place vs in the building of his Temple, therein to bee liuing stones, edified for a spirituall house, and consequently that wee are his well beloued and blessed children.

5. *To suffer for righteousness, is honourable, hauing a promise of present and future reward.*

Further, wee ought carefully to meditate vpon a most great and weightie consideration, in the matter which wee intreat of, specially in this point, that God beeing most iust, neuer afflicteth nor punisheth vs vniustly. For although wee ought alwayes to confesse the same to bee true, thereby during our liues to humble and submit our selues vnder the corrections of our heavenly Father, and to giue him the honour that belongeth vnto him in all things: Neuerthelesse, he taketh not occasion necessarily for our sinnes to visite vs with tribulation; but oftentimes fauoureth his children so much, as that by his providence hee disposeth the cause and title of their afflictions to bee honourable, calling them persecutions and tribulations for righteousness, for the Gospell, for the name of Iesus Christ, and for the loue of God. Therefore such afflictions, to moue vs continually to liue in the feare of God in Christ, (as Saint Paul saith) are speciall giftes proceeding from his bountie, and loue towards vs, as the Apostle also saith to the Phillippians: *For vnto you it is giuen for Christ, that not onely you should beleue in him, but also suffer for his sake.* And our Lord saith, that they are blessed which suffer persecution for righteousness: for theirs is the kingdome of God. Then what can they lose, seeing that eternall inheritance belong-

Heb. 12.
Apoc. 3. 19.
1. Cor. 13. 12.

Ezec. 16. 42. 43.
Olea. 4. 14.

2. Sam. 15. 26.
Iob. 21.
Psal. 138. 7.

1. Pet. 2. 5.

Math. 5. 16
Marke 10. 29
Col. 1. 14
Math. 5. 11
Rom. 8. 25
1. Tim. 3. 12
Phil. 1. 29

eth vnto them, and cannot bee taken from them? And what an incomprehensible ioy and consolation is it for vs to know, that our persecutions heere on earth, doe assure vs of heaven, and makes vs fit and disposed to attaine thereunto? Further, wee must note, that Iesus Christ promisetht all manner of blessings and temporall rewards in this life to those which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, saying; *Whosoever shall forsake houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or landes for my Names sake, hee shall receive an hundred fold more, and shall inherite everlasting life.* For although these things doe not happen in the like nature, qualitie, and value of such goods and terrestriall commodities which wee forsake or lose, yet the contentment, quietnesse and ioy which the children of GOD feele, in what state soeuer they finde themselves to bee in the time of their tribulations and afflictions: for not consenting to euill, nor to that which is against the honor of God, are much more auailable to them, then if they had then recovered a hundred fathers for one, or an hundred times as many humane ayds, and possessions of inheritance; for that in their soules they haue the assured testimonie of the prouidence of God which conducteth all things, and of his grace and blessings, with peace of conscience. As also that experience hath alwayes made the faithfull feele, (and that in their greatest neede and extremities) the truth and effect of the aforesaid promise of temporall rewards, hauing found supplies in their wants, and many and oftentimes in greater aboundance, then they could by humane reason conceiue, and also by vnexpected meanes. As Saint Paul saith, *That godlinesse is profitable vnto all things, which hath the promise of the life present, and of the life to come.* And according to the sentence of the Lord: *That if wee first seeke the kingdome of God, and his righteousness, all other things shall bee ministred vnto vs.* But alwayes neuerthelesse, wee must specially eleuate our mindes and cogitations to the last and principall part of the said Text in the Gospell, which promisetht vs eternal life. For although God, to shew that pouertie and other afflictions happen not vnto his children for want of power in himself, to giue them riches, and to deliuer them out of aduersitie, oftentimes disposeth of things in such manner, that after they haue sustained great losse of goods and treasures, they haue greater abundance, and more ease and reliefe in this life: and yet notwithstanding we must be perswaded and beleue, that God will not haue vs to repose or settle our mindes vpon so weake and slender recompences, as to giue vs those goods and benefites, which are common to the wicked and infidels. For we reade, That the Apostles propoundeth vnto slaues, for their faithfull seruice, which they shall doe vnto their Masters, not the reward of terrestriall riches, but the inheritance of heaven.

Therefore the children of God should doe themselves great wrong, from so powerfull, rich, and liberall a Father, to expect terrestriall benefites, for a testimony of his beneuolence: and fleshly commodities, which passe and slide away like water; for blessing proceeding from his paternall hands. Hee will not haue his children and seruants to make account of such friuolous things, neither that they should beleue that therein consisteth any felicitie for them. A father which keepeth all his goods and possessions for his sonne, thinkes hee doeth very little for him, if hee should giue him the like Liuey that his seruants weare. And God will not recompence our bodies, for the seruice which our soules doe vnto him: but as hee is liberall and iust; so it pleaseth him to giue vnto the battailes and combates of the spirit, spirituall crownes, and will acknowledge our labours, not according to the basenesse of our hearts, but according to the dignitie of his greatnesse, because hee doeth not properly recompence our workes, but rather those which his Spirit worketh in vs. And who knoweth not the vanitie of all worldly things, and that a man cannot haue, nor receiue any contentment, but in celestiaall things? For it is true, that the enioying of any earthly thing whatsoever, alwayes giueth a man a new and vaine desire, by this, or in this, to get or obtaine that: But the soule being of an immortall essence, can neuer be satisfied nor contented with that which is transitory and mortall.

The onely tranquillitie of the Spirit, and peace of Conscience, which acknowledgeth from GOD the state of his condition, is the true blisse of man, his true riches, and whereof hee onely is worthy; that knowes how to despise all earthly things, and to bound all his desires in God, to say with Saint *Augustine*, Lord, if thou shouldest giue mee all that which thou hast created in the world, it would not suffice thy seruant, if thou giuest me not thy selfe. And againe, touching afflictions, Lord burne, and cut mee heere on earth, so thou wilt pardon me eternally: and so, he that suffereth any great tribulation, ought like one that is verie sicke which desireth to be healed, to put

Math. 19. 29.

1. Tim. 4. 8

Math. 6. 33.

Col. 3. 24.

Aug. in Manual. cap. 3.

Id. in Medita.

put all his state into the hands of that most wise and Soueraigne Physician of our bodies and soules.

6. Afflictions which passe lightly ouer, are recompenced with diuers celestiaall blessings, and at the last with eternall glory.

But specially, we must thinke vpon the notable sentence of Saint Paul (that our light affliction which is but for a moment, causeth vnto vs a farre more excellent and an eternall waight of glory, for it is true (as he saith before) that our outward man perisheth: as if he would say, that we lose our health, riches, honours, friends, fathers, wiues, children, and other commodities and helpes, seruing for this temporall life, yea and our liues also: But on the other side, (saith the Apostle) the inward man, (that is the spirit) is renewed, and dayly encreaseth. In the grace of regeneration, whereby also it fortifyeth it selfe in all vertue, by heavenly benediction, finally and abundantly to obtaine true eternall blessings. In such manner that although our bodies languish and are sicke, our soules are quickened and liue. It men bereaue vs of earthly riches, GOD presenteth vnto vs the kingdome of heaven. If wee be put from our estates and offices here in this worldly citie, Iesus Christ giueth vs greater in the celestiaall Citie, therein making vs kings, and sacrificators to GOD his Father. If we lose our fathers, the husband his wife, the wife her husband, and both of them their children and friends, God is alwayes for vs, and neuer forsaketh vs, and taketh not his spirit of consolation from vs, to make vs remember, and to consider, that hee which gaue them vnto vs, hath taken them from vs, and that being Lord of all men, and of all things, hee may without doing vs any wrong, dispose of his benefits according to his good will and pleasure, and to be brcefe, that wee haue greater occasion to praise and to thanke him for the time, that he lent vs those aides, meanes, and helpes in this life, then to complaine of this, that being his, hee hath taken them vnto him selfe, into the number of the blessed. If on the other side, the earth and that which is earthly, will no more sustaine nor suffer vs in this short and painfull pilgrimage: heaven to the which we trauell, draweth neere, and openeth it selfe to receiue vs into rest eternall. If worldly men banish and drive vs away, the angels of God, meet with vs, and auouch vs to bee their companions in glory: If men curse and speake euill of vs, they are words like to the winde, God in the meane time blesseth vs, conuerting the curses of our enemies into blessings, (as *Dauid* saith) If our carnall fathers disdaine vs, Iesus Christ the King of glory is not ashamed of vs, but auoucheth vs to bee his brethren, If they depriue vs of their inheritance, which is but earthly, God acknowledgeth vs to be his heire, and coheires with his sonne, in the Kingdome of heaven. If men constraîne vs to weepe with griefe and sorrow for transitorie and wauering things, Iesus Christ presenteth himselfe to wipe away our teares, and to conuert our sadness into perfect and perpetuall ioy. If wee bee banished out of our Countreys or from our Townes, God giueth vs the freedom of heaven in the supercelestiaall Ierusalem, which is made of pure gold, precious stones, and pearles, & whereof the Lord God almightie, and the Lambe are the Temple. And if the worst happen, if they put vs to death, it is our advancement to eternall felicitie, and it openeth vnto vs, the way instantly to enter into it.

Then as those that passe ouer a river which riseth high, and stormeth, trouble not themselves to looke vpon the currant of the water, lest their heades should turne, and so they might fall into some greater danger, but to the contrary lift vp their eyes to heaven, or else cast them downe on the firme land, to fortifie their hearts, and to put themselves in good hope. So we must doe all the time that our ship floteth beere in the middest of so many furious waters of humane tribulations, withdrawing the eyes of our thoughts from them, to fixe them vpward to heaven, which is the onely and perpetuall habitation of the liuing, where the ioy and glory which wee expect remayneth. And therefore wee ought specially to meditate vpon the comparison which the Apostle maketh in the place before rehearsed, betweene our light afflictions, and of small moment, and the permanent weight of glorie, of an infinite reward, which they produce. For so wee may boldly say, that our euils are short, seeing that our dayes passe away in a moment of time, and that the blessednesse of the life to come, is very long, because it continueth for ever. Our dayes (saith the Prophet) doe not passe aboute seuentie or eighty yeres, and that in men that are of strong complexion. And God speaking of the captiuitie of Babylon, which continued seuentie yeres, said; For a moment in mine anger, I hid my face from thee for a little season: calling that time of seuentie yeres,

1. Cor. 4. 17.

Ib. 6.

Apoc. 1. 6.

2. Sam. 16. 12

Heb. 2. 11.

Rom. 8. 17.

Esa. 25. 8.

Apoc. 7. 17.

Apoc. 21. 18.

Psal. 90. 10.

Esa. 54. 8.

yeares, an instant, in regard of the permanent benefites, which hee would bestow vpon his Israel, as hee addeth in the wordes following, *But with everlasting mercie haue I had compassion on thee.*

1. Iohn 2. 18

And to the same purpose tendeth that in Saint *Iohn*, where hee calleth the time since the comming of Iesus Christ the last houre, as if he would deuide, all the time of the continuance of the world, into three or foure houres, whereof one was after the birth of our redeemer, vntill his last comming in glory, which last houre, hath already endured, 1618. yeeres, and yet it is not accomplished: wherein there is no great wonder, if wee can represent vnto our minds and vnderstandings, two eternities of times, to be considered of by all christians, the one was before the foundation of the world, and that is an infinite time: (If that may be called a time, which hath no beginning, and which swalloweth vp mans vnderstanding when he once thinketh how God was then all in all things, and all was in him) Then there shall be an other eternitie, after the ende and changing of this great earthly globe, when God shall be all in his elect, in the new heavens of celestiall Ierusalem, and that againe is an infinitie of time, altogether incomprehensible to the capacitie of humane sence.

Wherefore when wee consider the continuance of the world, betweene these two eternities, which already is five thousand yeares and vpwards; yea, let vs adde vnto it, once or twice as much time more, (although the common opinion is, that it shal not continue sixe thousand yeares) all that is not to bee accounted two or three houres in comparison of that which is to continue for euer; and shall bee found to bee lesse then a graine of sand, in regard of all the sand in the world; or then a drop of water, in comparison of all the water in the Seas. For in all these things which are created, there is number, weight, and measure: but in the eternitie there is no such thing; because in it there is nothing but infinitie.

1. Pet. 3. 8.

Psal. 90. 4.

Which Saint *Peter* teacheth vs, saying, *That before God, a thousand yeeres is as a day, and a day as a thousand yeeres with the Lord.* And as *Moses* saith, *That a thousand yeeres in his sight are as yesterday, when it is past, and as a watch in the night.* But that which hindreth man from looking clearly into this notable meditation, to know and learne, that his troubles and euill time is but of small continuance, as well as his terrestriall dayes, and to comfort his soule with the certaine expectation of eternall beatitude, proceedeth specially from three things. The first is his naturall impatience, which depriueth him of this prooffe, and knowledge of the good will of God towards him: whereof the Apostle discourseth to the Romanes, and which is the cause that true hope neuer faileth, but alwayes hath an happy issue.

Rom. 5. 3.

Rom. 8. 23.

Chrys. Hom.
4. ad popu,
Antioch.

The second cause of our euill is, because nature leadeth vs vnto a beleeuing of nothing else but that which wee see or feele with our carnall senses, a thing altogether contrarie to faith, and the hope of saluation (as Saint *Paul* witnesseth.) The last is, that man is borne with so depraved a iudgement, (as Saint *Chrysostome* eloquently discourseth) that hee feareth that which he should not feare, and apprehendeth not that which is more to be doubted. He feareth humane miseries and afflictions, which are nothing (for they cannot separate him from the grace of God) but hee hath no feare of sinne, which maketh a diuision betweene God and vs, and which drawes and bring vpon vs all the euills which trouble and torment vs in the world. To conclude, every one complaineth much of the tribulations in this life, and yet the greatest part leaue it against their willes, and haue more affection thereunto then to life eternall. Then what would they doe, if this terrestriall habitation had by God bin permitted to be altogether peaceable, pleasant and delightfull? Who would haue cared for the kingdome of heauen? or who would with all his heart and affection haue aspired to that glorious immortalitie?

7. The conclusion of this Chapter.

To conclude this proposition, seeing wee ought alwayes to hold for a most assured truth, that God our Father governeth and moderateth all things in the world generally, and particularly to that end and purpose which it pleaseth him by his most wise providence and soueraigne loue, to ordaine and appoint with a singular care of men, but specially of his elect. Wee must from thence drawe this certaine doctrine, that the same God is the Authour of all humane afflictions, which hee disposeth in such manner, that from thence hee knowes how to draw great benefites, as hee doth from all the other euils which happen to man, by their meanes discovering the treasures of his glorie: That his paternall loue is such,

such, that hee not onely cherisheth his children, provideth for them, and defendeth and counselleth them; but also reproveth, chasteneth, and visiteth them with his rods of discipline, that wee may bee participants of the great fruits of eternall saluation: That wee might acknowledge the vanity of the ordinary discourses of the flesh, touching that intertainment, which it findeth to bee so hard and harsh in tribulations, and fortifie our mindes therein with the notable meditations of the spirit, which are drawne out of the holy Scriptures, for the comfort and consolation of the faithfull, and that experience ought to teach vs, that our enemy the flesh nourisheth and intertaineth it selfe with sweet and delicate things; as to the contrary, the soule feedeth on hard and bitter meate, that the one quickeneth by roughnesse and aduersitie, the other decayeth by vaine pleasures and delights: the one maketh it selfe stronger and of more force by bitter and vnflauory things; the other weakeneth it selfe by sweet and pleasing things: and as hard and seuerer things afflict the flesh; so soft and delicate things destroy the spirit: in such maner, that the same which for a little time maketh the one liue at her ease, killeth and murdereth the other eternally. Let vs proceed further in the doctrine of the holy Spirit, and comfort our selues in this point: That affliction in the house of the Iust, is a secret mercie of God; and prosperitie to the wicked and peruerse, a certaine signe of diuine indignation: remembring also the prayer of the Prophet, that with him wee may often say, *Lord teach vs so to number our dayes, that we may apply our hearts vnto wisdom.* For from thence wee learne, that as seuentie or eightie yeares, which Moses assigneth to be the longest time of the life of men, are but as a minute of an houre, to the vnderstanding faithfull man, that knoweth how to compare them to the eternitie which wee hope for: and so it is with the longest time of our tribulations. Againe there is no man liuing, which passeth all the course and dayes of his life in payne, and trouble, that feeleth not many comforts and eases in his afflictions; and if it be but only when he sleepeth.

Psal. 90. 12

Then whereof doe wee complaine? we should rather reioyce in that which we heard before of the Apostle, That a moment of light aduersitie, produceth an eternall weight of glory: which should moue vs to pray vnto God, to beseech him of his diuine grace, so to reforme our nature, that wee may become conformable in our wills, to his most good and iust will; to the end, that in the rugged and difficult way, in the which it pleaseth him to conduct vs in this pilgrimage full of teares, wee may alwayes goe on cheerefully and contentedly, seeking to doe his will, and not our owne. For in that manner proceeding in our course of life, beeing sustained by his Spirit, and strengthened by his consolation, in all estates whatsoever, the peace and ioy of our adoption in Christ shall alwayes remaine firmly in our hearts, with patience to attend the great day of the comming of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, when hee will gather together the children of God his Father, in the Kingdome of heauen, there to crowne them with honour, there to clothe them with gladnesse, there to fill and satisfie them with the sweetnesse of his delights, there to exalt them with his exaltation; and there to make them participants of his eternall felicitie in all fulnesse.

The sixth consolation for a Christian Phylosopher is, constantly to perseuere in his vocation to the Lord, not to feare death, to walke in the wayes of God, and continually to pray vnto him.

Chapter 6.

1. *In Christian hope which is not visible, it is requisite to haue singular patience and perseuerance.*

Iesus Christ which is the true light, illuminating and quickning all men, when hee had vanquished and overcome death, gaue light vnto the world by his Gospel, to bring life vnto light (as the Apostle witnesseth.) And therefore the Scripture saith, *Hee that heareth my word and beleueth him that sent mee, hath euertlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but hath passed from death vnto life. And we are no more strangers, nor forrainers, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God, who hath made vs sit together in the heauenly places, in Iesus Christ.* In such manner that wee want nothing that tendeth to perfect felicitie:

John 1. 9.

and 8. 12.

2. Tim. 1. 10

John 5. 24.

Eph. 2. 6.

and 19.

licitie. But because wee must be exercised, and learne to fight heere vpon earth, and that with hard and difficult conditions, as if wee sawe no fruits of the victorie which Christ hath obtained for vs, to fortifie and strengthen vs in this combate, wee must remember that which is taught vs in the Word of God, touching the nature of hope. For seeing we hope for that which we see not, and that faith is an euidence of things which are not seene: It followeth, *That while wee remaine in this prison of the body, wee are in a manner absent from God, and travellers in this world, (as the Apostle saith.)* For which cause also, he saith in another place, *That wee are dead, and that our life is hid in God with Iesus Christ: and that when Christ, which is our life, shall appeare, then shall wee also appeare with him in glory.* This in effect is the manner of our condition, which is, *that liuing soberly, righteously, and godly in this world, wee should looke for that blessed hope, and appearing of that glory of that mighty God, and of Saviour Iesus Christ.* Wherein we haue need of singular patience, to keep vs from being wearie in our course of life, and from turning awry, or leaving the place assigned & appointed vnto vs. *Know yee not (saith S. Paul) that they which runne in a race, runne all, yet one receiveth the price: so runne that yee may obtaine.* For we runne not vncertainly, but with assurance to obtaine the price of our saluation, although many runne better then wee. It is sufficient for vs constantly to follow on our course to the end, and according to the measure of grace which God hath bestowed vpon vs. We fight not doubtfully, or as if wee beate winde in the ayre, but wee fight the good combate of faith, being well assured of the victory, and thereby of a crowne (not of leaues, which wither within two or three dayes; but of an incorruptible crowne which lasteth for euer.) It is sufficient for vs to forget things past, for things to come, and to follow hard towards the marke, for the price of the high calling of God in Iesus Christ. And although the world shall waxe worse, iniquitie increase, and the loue of many shall be cold; we know well, that hee that endureth to the end, shall be saved. It is God himselfe which giueth this grace of perseuerance to the elect, and which alwayes confirmeth them therein, that they may be blamelesse in the day of our Lord Iesus Christ. God is faithfull, by whom wee are called vnto the fellowship of his Sonne Iesus Christ our Lord. And therefore he maketh them participants of all his treasures, yea, and of himselfe, as much as shall suffice them here on earth, and fully in the life to come.

2. *Of Death, and how pleasing and welcome it is vnto the faithfull.*

Then at the end of the race, and after we shall haue fought a good fight, if we meete with death, before we receive and obtaine the price and renowne of glory, which wee hope for and expect, It may be our naturall senses will be moued and astonished thereat, when our body and soule must leaue one the other, which are so strictly and so admirably ioyned together. But it is a thing altogether intolerable, that there should be so small light in a Christian heart, as not to be able to triumph with a strong consolation, and firme resolution, ouer feare, in that last humane worke. For in truth death is nothing else, but the hower, to lay holde vpon the price of our earthly course, or rather the day of our victory, after along time of warre.

It is nothing else but the birth of a blessed soule after a great travell: the desired gate after we haue escaped the dangers of many furious tempests, the pleasing issue, or end of a perillous and painefull viage, The deliverance from all feare and trouble, the certaine accomplishing of our Sanctification, the gate of heauen, the entery into Paradise, our wedding day with the lamb, the taking of possession of the inheritance of our heavenly father, and the fulfilling of our desires. And if death wherewith God threatned our first parents, is a feeling of the wrath of God, both in body and soule, by reason of sin; in that respect we may wel say, that death and humane life are twins, and by nature so vnited together, that there is nothing but the separation of the soule from the body, which bringeth a new and a better quality to man, in such maner, that the changing of his visible essence, which we commonly call death to the faithfull, is rather a mortal blow giue vnto death: for that as the their bodies are wholly exempted from dolour and griefe, and their soules, from vice and corruption, slaying till the rest of death, (which is the wages of sin) shall be swallowed vp in the day of the resurrection. But that which deceiueth vs, is, that both life & death weare false masks to beguile man: for life, the seruant of sinne, euill fauoured, and alwayes accompanied with innumerable miseries and calamities, weares a faire and beautifull maske, which makes men desire and wish for it. And death (which freeth men from sin) beng faire, happy, and to be desired, hath an euill

Rom. 8. 24.
Heb. 11. 1.

2. Cor. 5. 6.
Col. 3. 3, 4.

Tit. 2. 12, 13.

1. Cor. 9. 24.

Phil. 3. 14.

Mat. 24. 12, 13.

1. Cor. 13. 9.

Gen. 2. 17.

euill fauoured and a fearefull maske, which make men shunne and fly away from it. But let vs pull of these two maskes, and we will soone change opinion, finding vnder the faire maske of life nothing but matter of sadnesse and dislike; and vnder the vaile of death, so great beauty and felicitie, that we will presently become inamoured therewith, in such manner, that with the Apostle wee will say, *Alas, wretched man that I am, who shall deliuer mee from this body of death?* And againe with the same Apostle, let vs apprehend what good commeth vnto vs by death, and say, *I desire to bee lofed, and to bee with Christ.* For all the time that wee liue, wee haue diuers enemies which continually and cruelly assaile vs, and neuer cease making warre against vs, as the world with his affections, which wee cannot mortifie vnlesse we our selues die. Secondly, sinne which lieth in vs, and fighteth most dangerously with vs, vntill such time as we die, and then it leaues vs: and lastly Sathan, whose continuall assaults neuer cease, but only by death. And Iesus Christ dying once, destroyed him that had the power of death, that is, the deuill: and hauing in his owne body vanquished him, daily triumpheth ouer him in his members: In such sort, that wee haue that great Saviour of the world, not onely a spectator of our combates, but also an assistant, and an aider of vs, that with the Apostle wee may say, *Oh death where is thy sting? oh graue where is thy victorie? But thanks bee vnto God, which hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Iesus Christ:* Which is as much to say, that wee find nothing more easie vnto vs, then peaceably to end the course of our liues, when the hower which God hath thereunto appointed, shall come. The poore labouring man is glad, when he hath made an end of his dayes worke: death is alwayes sweet vnto those that sigh and groane vnder the burden of sinne, and humane tribulations. The memory thereof is bitter onely to those who willingly are luld asleepe in the pleasures of the flesh, and that put their trustes in worldly vanities: For what traveller is not glad and reioyceth, when he drawes neere to his owne Country, after hee hath past ouer and through many dangers? Heauen is our country, and the earth to vs, is like a dangerous passage in a forraine countrey, or to terme it better (as it is accursed vnto vs for our sinnes) a right banishment. Then if by death wee are repealed out of a miserable exile, to dwell in our countrey, which is celestially, haue wee not great cause therein, to receiue singular comfort and consolation? And if the leauing of this world by death, is an entrance into life, what is the earth, but onely a sepulchre, and to dwell in the world, but onely to be plunged headlong into death? Again, what is he which will not be content and very well pleased, to goe out of a fraile and weake house, ready to decay? This tabernacle of our body is weake, corruptible, and tending to rottennesse, and must be dissolued, and as it were wholly consumed, that it may one day be restored to a better estate, firme, incorruptible, and celestially: The world which sustaineth it, is altogether euill (as Saint Iohn saith) and we daily see it corrupt and approaching to the ende, giuing no commoditie nor pleasure to man, but hee must buy it dearly, and makes him alwayes feeble varietie of crosses, wherein sometimes hee is wounded by enuie, and many times by ambition, or some other vice, besides the vnexpected assaults, which many diseases of the body giue vnto him, and a great number of griefes to the soule.

Wherefore there is no other meanes for vs in this combat, to overcome all the impreachments of the tranquillity & peace of our soules, then that which is taught vs by the Apostle, which is, in such sort to dispise all earthly things, whose glory is confusion, that our conuersation hereon earth, may be as if we were in heauen, both in thought & affection: with peace & spirituall ioy euery day attending, the desired death of our bodies, in most blessed hope of the resurrection thereof to life eternal. And certainly whosoever doth otherwise, and apprehendeth our departure out of the world to heauen, as if it were some great hurt or euill vnto vs, evidently sheweth, that he hath reaped small profit in the Schoole of Christ, for it is the part of those, that desire not to goe vnto him. To feare death, or to be loath to leaue the world, and as much as if they had not any will to raigne with him. And in a word, to preferre the miserable estate of a prison, before the liberty of a free life full of all blessed and heavenly ioy. Again, why should we feare that way or passage which euery man must goe, and whereunto we cannot attaine, but onely by the will of him, that hath giuen vs life, to leaue it again at the houre and time which he hath appointed? Lord (saith David) my times (euery moment of my life) are in thy hand? The Lord killeth and maketh aliue, bringeth downe to the graue, and raised vp. And al the haire of our heads are numbered. Who knoweth not that there is no creature more enemy to the faithfull nor puissant to hurt him, then the Diuell? And in the Scripture he is called the enemy, a murderer,

Math. 10.30.
Math. 13.39.
Iohn 8.44.
1.Pet. 5.8
Iob 1.2.
Luke 8.32.

1.Sam.2.3.

and a roaring Lion, alwayes seeking whom he may deuoure. But hee hath so little power to aduance or further our deaths, or to doe vs any harme, because God himselfe holdeth him as it were with a bridle, that he cannot attempt the least things, nor step a foot forward to hurt vs, vntill God by his prouidence suffereth him, as the history of *Iob* clearly sheweth vnto vs. He hath not so much power as to enter into hogs, without Iesus Christ gives him leaue: Then shall we feare men? who are all vnder the hand, power, & gouernment of God. *It is he (saith the Prophet) which establiseth their enterprises in such sort, that they shall not exceed the weight of an ounce above his ordinance.* All whatsoever they doe, it is by the will & power of God that created them; and all that they doe is for him, and for his seruice, and our good, to the end, that as it pleaseth him (and alwayes iustly) they should be as fire to purifie vs, rods to correct vs, medicines to heale vs, bridges to passe ouer from the deserts of the world into the land flowing with all heavenly benefites, ladders to helpe vs to ascend vp into heauen, instruments to glorifie vs, and as the knife, cutting the cords which retaine and hold vs fast in this prison of the body, and withhold vs from going to God in his kingdome, with our Redeemer Iesus Christ. To be short, it is the most, and all powerful God our Father, which hath disposeth of all things in his glory to make vs happy, in such manner, that there is nothing that can alter or change his will and decree, neither withstand nor make any thing that happeneth vnto vs, either in life or death, not to serue for a helpe, and as it were a way, to bring vs to our soueraignetelicitie, which is, to inioy the sight of God.

3. Exercises proper to a Christian, specially prayer.

Acts 10.24.

James 1.22.

1 Cor. 3.16, 17

Ibid. 6.20.

Rom 6.18.

1 Cor 5.14.15

Cant. 5.3.

2 Cor. 7.1.

Phil. 2.12,

After the discourse of so many notable doctrines drawn from the holy Scriptures, wee may well say with Saint Paul, *But I passe not at all, neither is my life deare vnto my selfe, so that I may fulfill my course with ioy, in the administration which I haue receiued of the Lord Iesus.* Which to doe, it is conuenient for vs, in all things to exercise that which God hath ordained, to nourish in vs godlinesse, faith, loue, humilitie, patience, hope, perseuerance, and all other gifts and graces giuen vnto vs (which proceed of his bountie) by the which it hath pleased him to elect and to adopt vs to himselfe in Iesus Christ our Sauour; which are so many meanes ordained by his prouidence, to make vs to obtaine eternall life. Whereunto serueth (as it is declared in the first part of our Philosophy) the often reading, and meditating of the word of God, to instruct and to teach our families to do the same, often to be present, and to perseuerat the preaching of the word in the holy church, there to confesse and to cal vpon the name of God, and to communicate the Sacraments. The profession of Christians is a doctrine giuen from heauen, not to tumble or tosse it vp and downe in our mindes, but to seat it in our hearts, neither yet to haue it at our tongues ends, only to speake thereof, but to spread it selfe throughout all the parts of our liues, with the efficacy of good works. *We must (saith Saint James) bee doers of the word, and not hearers onely, deceiuing our owne selues.* God hath adopted vs to bee his children, but vpon condition, that the image of Christ should shine in vs. He hath chosen vs to bee his temple, but his temple is holy, and his spirit dwelleth therein. He hath redeemed vs with a price; but it is to the end that he might bee glorified in our bodies and in our soules, which belong vnto him. He hath freed vs from sinne by Christ, but to be seruants to righteousness. He hath giuen vs his well beloued Sonne for our iustification, but to the end also that he should be our sanctification. He would haue him die for all men, but to make vs to liue to him that died and rose againe to obtaine eternall life for vs. Therefore let vs remember that which the faithfull spouse saith, *I haue washed my feet, how shal I defile them?* And that which the Apostle teacheth vs: saying, *Seeing then that wee haue these promises, let vs cleanse our selues from all filthinesse of the flesh and spirit, and finish our sanctification in the feare of God.* As the conditions and bonds betweene him and vs, is holy. But as it is God which worketh in vs, both the will and the deed, even of his good pleasure, let vs onely resigne our selues ouer vnto him, earnestly and continually beseeching him to accomplish the end of our vocation to his glory, prayer is the soule of our soules, it quickneth all our affections & works. For without the grace of God, which we obtaine by praier, all whatsoever we thinke or doe, is vanity. Faith, is the key which openeth the coffers of Gods treasures; but praier is the hand wherewith we draw out those treasures, to enrich our selues withall. It lifteth our hearts from the earth vp to heauen, it refresheth our memory with the promises of Christ, to confirme vs therein, it assureth vs against all feares, it obtaineth all whatsoever wee desire, it giueth peace and contentment to our soules

soules, it keepeth and encreaseth our minds in the feare of God, it augmenteth our affection to be ioyned with him in Christ, whereon consisteth our soueraigne good, it begetteth in our hearts a dispising of the world, and a defiance of the works of the flesh, it presenteth vnto, and maketh our soules feeble the eternall and celestially goodnes of God.

And to be short, praier, by the which we honour God, maketh him continue his good will towards vs. There is nothing more to be desired then to conuerse with him that is our ioy & consolation, and without whom we cannot liue happily nor contentedly. God is he that giueth vs happines & contentment, whersoever he is, there is Paradise, and where he is not there is hell; then he that wil alwaies be conuersant with God, either, let him pray, or reade his word according to *S. Augustines* counsel, For when we pray we speak to God, and when we reade the holy Scriptures, he speaketh vnto vs, and the more we exercise both the one, and the other, we aduance our selues in piety. Therefore we must not leaue off, nor bee discouraged in our praiers, although the Lord hearing vs, oftentimes deferreth vs from feeling the fruit of our requests, and giueth vs more then we aske at his hands. For as we haue said in another place, we owe him this honor to remit and refer our selues vnto his wisdom, as touching the time to receiue that for the which wee pray vnto him, and as concerning the maner to be heard and succoured by his bountifull mercy.

It should suffice vs, that he maketh vs this promise (and he cannot lie) That whatsoeuer we shal aske the Father in his name, it shall be giuen vs. And if he delaierh the accomplishing thereof, it is for our great good. Let hope the daughter of faith, in the meane time nourish her mother, and fortifie her constantly to attend vntill such time as the Lord shall incline her eares vnto vs, and make vs to feeble the full effect of his promises, which are alwaies certain and infallible. *Zacharias & Elizabeth* thought they had praied in vaine, when in their youthfull daies they asked children of the Lord, yet when they were old, and out of hope of any children, the angel of the Lord said vnto *Zacharias*: (*thy prayer is hard*) not that which he then made, for he thought no more vpon hauing children but that which he had made vnto God, long time before. And also because God oftentimes heareth vs, not according to our wils, but for our profits; it hapneth sometimes, that in mercy he refuseth that vnto his childre, which in his anger he grāteth to strāgers & peruerse people. As when we aske of God things concerning this life, as health, benefites, dignities, riches, parents, friends, and lands: & God deprining vs of all that, giueth vs spirituall graces, wherein we shall feeble much more profit, ioy, & contentment by his prouidence in the want that wee haue of his terrestriall benefites, ordaining the means to encrease & augment our glory in the kingdome of heaven. Then let vs learne that when wee feeble a slackenes and sluggishnes in our duty of praier, & when we haue scarce begun to pray, that in stead of thinking vpon God, & that which we aske of him, our mindes are carried an other way, they are testimonies of our corruption and infirmitie, whereinto *Sathan* thrusteth himselfe to trouble vs, & to put vs in a distrust of his heavenly grace. Whereof *S. Chrysostom* eloquently sheweth the cause, and consequently the remedy: saying, how comes it to passe, that when we speake of warre, of marchandise, and of other worldly matters, we discourse and argue long time without thinking vpon any other things; and presently when we pray vnto God, our mindes wauer, and goe astray? Learne this Christian (said he) it is because the diuel knoweth well, that speaking of earthly matters, thou dost him no hurt, and therefore hee suffreth thee to discourse as long as thou wilt. But when he seeth thee kneele down, to pray vnto God, he knoweth that thou goest about to procure that which he hateth, and which tendeth to the destruction of his kingdome. And therefore he thrusteth himselfe in between both, troubling, and drawing thy thoughts an other way, to hinder the fruits of thy prayers.

Then say to *Sathan*, who at that time is so neere vnto thee: Away from me, thou tempter, for I must pray vnto my God, and when thou feelest him importunate with thee, beseech God to drine him away from thee, & so perseuere in thy prayer. Now for that it may so fall out, that by meanes of some great affliction of the body, or of the soule, some man may bee so feeble, that he cannot make any formall prayer with tongue and voice, hee ought not therefore to be discouraged. For at the least, he hath power to desire his own good and saluation. There is no sicknes, no nor any terrant, that can hinder or impeach him from that. The mind and desire is a praier before God, he heareth saith *Dauid* the desire of the humble and poore, hee prepareth their hearts, and bendeth his eares vnto them. Therefore let vs alwaies say with him, and when wee cannot say it, let vs meditate in our thoughts (Lord I powre my whole desire before thee, and my sighing is not hidde from thee;

Esay 38.14.

thee. It is written of *Ezechias* King of Iuda, That in his affliction, he could not distinctly pray vnto God, but chattered like a Crane, or a swallow, or grumbled like a dove; yet lifting his eyes vp to heauen, his prayer was heard. What prayers doth the little child make to the mother? it weepeth and cryeth, and she giues it the brest, or giueth him some other thing, which she thinketh he needeth. Much more and sooner will our heauenly Father that vnderstandeth the sighs, the sobs, and the wishes of his children, doe the office of a good Father towards them, providing them of all things necessary.

4. *The conclusion of this Chapter.*

1 Cor. 5.2.

Rom. 8.19.

Luk. 2.36.37.

Iohn 16.23.

Math. 17.5.

Rom. 12.12.

Psal. 141.2.

Iohn 16.24.

Then to conclude, let vs learne to make our vocation sure vnto the Lord, by walking in his waies, and aspiring vnto future immortality. Let vs march ioyfull in our race to come to death, not as if we would be vnclathed, but because we desire to be better clothed. Brute beasts and insensible creatures, hauing as it were a certaine feeling of their vanity and corruption, harken after the latter day, to be deliuered from it: much more the, (In consideration of all that concerneth our happines,) ought we to lift vp our affections & thoughts aboue all earthly and mortall things, let vs aske of God those graces, which are necessary for vs: And if we receiue them not when we would, but when, & in such measure, as it pleaseth him, let vs know that his will is to giue vs to vnderstand and will haue vs earnestly to meditate, that they are his gifts, which, when he deferreth, it is to humble vs the more, by the feeling of our imperfections and weakenes, so to prooue our patience & perseuerance. Therefore let vs not be discouraged, but let vs perseuere at all times to pray vnto God, following the example of the wise widow, who being continually in the Temple, night & day serued the Lord in praier and fastings, assuring our selues, that as he whom we call vpon, desireth our good & according to his paternal loue & infinit power, can giue vs that which weaske of him, and according to the truth of his promise, he will heare vs: so according to his wisdom, he knowes the fit time, and the conuenient means, to make vs feeble & find the effect of our praier. If we pray vnto him with such a zeale, and with the feeling of the ardency and faith which is required in true praier, let vs remember, that it is in the name of Christ that we pray vnto God, according to his word, that for the loue of him he will heare vs, and not for the excellency and worthines of our praier. Let vs carefully remember and meditate, that it is by the mouth of the sonne, that euery faithfull Christian presenteth his prayers to the Father, to be sanctified in him who is his wel beloued Son in whom he is wel pleased, which therefore cannot but be pleasing and agreeable vnto him. Let vs beleue, that what weaknes or coldnes soeuer we feeble in our selues, neuerthelesse, we are bound to pray; and to continue in that duty towards God, and withall to acknowledge our infirmity in this holy worke, in such manner, that praying we may aske double pardon and forgiveness of God, that is of our sinnes before committed, and of that which we commit in praying negligently. By that meanes God of his goodnes bearing with our want in praier, will receiue it as a sweet smelling savor, and as an incense offered vnto him by our great sacrificatour Iesus Christ, and will make vs perceiue the fruits thereof, vntill our ioy shall be accomplished.

Meditations and Prayers, which a Christian Philosopher, for a seuenth and a compleate consolation ought to haue in heart and mouth, and every day to exercise the same, to liue and die happily. Chapter 7.

1. *Meditation vpon the Lords Prayer.*

All the precepts in the holy Scriptures, are no other thing, but commandements of God our Lord and Father, touching the obedience which he requireth of vs, foundations wheron to build our hope, instructions to strengthen our faith, food to nourish our soules, guides to conduct vs in the way, & helps to comfort vs in the miseries thereof, & to bring vs to saluation. In such maner, that when the heart of the faithful becometh tractable here on earth, vnto those sacred precepts, it is a most assured means to bring him to heauen. Among so many good instructions that are found to bee in the holy Scriptures, Iesus Christ

Christ hath specially appointed vs a forme to pray well vnto God. Hee, I say, which is the wisdome of the Father, which hath the words of life, and by whom we live, and shall live, hath taught vs what wee should aske of God, to the ende, that praying as his Sonne hath taught vs, he would the willinglier hearken to vs, and wee shall bee so much the more assured that he will heare vs. This Sauour of the world had taught, *That the houre should come, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in Spirit and truth.* And therefore to accomplish his word, hee hath giuen vs his Spirit, by the which wee crie, *Abba Father.* And hath pronounced his word, for a certaine testimonie of the Gospel, to make vs to yeelde vnto God that spirituall seruice, which is conuenient to his nature, saying, *When you pray, say thus, Our Father which art in heauen, hallowed bee thy Name, &c.*

John 4.23.

Rom. 8.14.

John 4.24.

Math. 6.9.

Luke 11.2.

Here in the first place wee see, how Iesus Christ, the Doctor of peace, and the Master of vnion and concord, would haue our prayer to be publike, and common to all Christians, as all the people of God are but one body. For as in one man (the word made flesh) God faued many, and that by one eternall Spirit hee governeth all his elect; so hee would, that when one man alone prayeth, hee should pray for all, saying, *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.* Oh happie and amiable beginning of Prayer, wherein man newly regenerated, and which is reconciled vnto God, calleth and claimeth him to be his Father, because hee is receiued to be a child, and one of his heavenly family, hauing bin baptized, and beleeuing in the name of Christ, the first borne among many brethren: It is true, that God our Father is in heauen, but this is it which comforteth vs, that he is our Father, that wee are his, and that hee accepteth of vs in his beloued Sonne, in whom he hath elected, called, and sanctified vs, to bee glorified. Then for the first request we pray, and say, *Hallowed bee thy Name:* that is in vs, that his glory may bee exalted in our soules, in all places, and in all things, whereby also wee obtaine that holinesse, which is conuenient for his children, and wherof wee are aduertised in Baptisme, to the end that wee should perseuere therein. For in trueth, the name of God and his word are not sanctified and honoured by vs, if wee our selues bee not holy in all our conuersation.

Rom. 8.24.

Rom. 8.29.

1. Pet. 1.15.

Secondly, wee say, *Thy kingdome come:* that is, in respect of vs, in such manner, that wee that haue bin seruants to sinne, the world, and the deuill, from henceforth might haue Iesus Christ puiſſantly reigning in vs, and that God will daily increase the number of the faithful, vntil the accomplishing of his kingdome at the latter day. For then the kingdome of God shalbe perfect, when wee heare his sweet voice, saying, *Come ye blessed of my Father, take the inheritance of the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world.* Thirdly, we aske of God, and say, *Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heauen:* that is to say, that we may willingly and obediently in faith doe that which is pleasing and acceptable vnto him. Wherein wee must be assisted by God himselfe against the impeachments of Sathan, & against the which no man can be assured, but by a speciall diuine grace. So then, as God is eternal; so whosoever will be happy for ever, he is bound to doe the will of the eternall God: that is, the same which Christ teacheth vs in the Gospel, as the Angels doe the commandement of God in heauen; obeying the voice of his word. After these threerequests, which properly concerne the glory of God, we make three more vnto him, wholly concerning our selues, and for our good & benefit: albeit, that by his infinite goodnes, he doth in such manner dispose and ordaine all things, that nothing can be for the honour of his name, which also is not good for our saluation; so in all our demands, which specially concerne vs, his glory ought to bee so much respected, that it should be the end and purpose of our desires. The first of the three last requestes is, *Giue vs this day our daily bread:* which may bee vnderstood spirituall by Christ, which is the bread of life, & the necessary food of our soules. But here the Lord specially teacheth vs, not to be transported, nor otherwise carried away then we shoud be, by the cares of this present life, but rather as we brought nothing into the world, and that wee shall carry nothing out of it againe, we should also content our selues with that which sufficeth vs to liue soberly, and to clothe our selues simply; it beeing most true, that they which aspire to riches and superfluities, fall into many griefes, and are easily caught in the snares of the deuill. Then contenting our selues to aske of God our daily bread, we shall not be carefull for to morrow, nor to aske of God our Father greater things for this life: for the next day shall care for it selfe, and he that provideth for the fowles of the heauen, which neither sow nor reape, nor carry into the barnes, and which clotheth the grasse of the field; knowes well, how to furnish vs with all that which shall be necessary for vs.

Math. 23.34.

Phil. 1.10.

John 6.35.

48. & 53.

1. Tim. 6.8.

Mat. 26.26.

Math. 6.12. Then it followeth, *And forgive vs our trespasses, as wee forgive them that trespass against vs.* Heere wee aske forgiveness of sinnes which are called Trespasses, because they hold vs bound to the condemnation of eternall death. Which wee beseech G O D our Creator, that he would be pleased freely and graciously to pardon. For it is the onely meanes whereby wee are pleasing and agreeable vnto him, as if wee were righteous and innocent, and which assure our consciences of his fatherly loue towards vs, from whence we haue saluation and life eternall. But the condition opposed to this request, bindeth vs before God to forgive our neighbours, if wee will haue him to forgive vs, as Iesus Christ saith in another place, *That with such measure as wee mete, it shall bee measured vnto vs againe.* And that if wee forgive not our brethren with all our hearts, wee shall bee dealt withall, as the euill seruant was, which dealt rigorously with his fellow seruant. It is a good sacrifice which wee present to our common father, when our hearts are reconciled and vnited together with all his family: otherwise, our Prayer cannot bee pleasing vnto him; for nothing pleaseth him, which proceedeth from a peruerse and a hatefull heart.

Math. 7.2. Math. 18.35. Lastly, wee say, *And leade vs not into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill.* For as God by his mercie preserueth his faithfull children, and suffereth not the Diuill (the authour of all temptations) to seduce them, nor will not haue sinne to ouerwhelme them: so those whom God in his iustice will punish, hee doeth not onely forsake them, and withdraweth his grace from them, but forthwith deliuereth them to the Diuill, to bee subiect to his tyranny, and blinding them, giueth them a reprobate sence. From whence we learne, for our singular consolation, that this great aduersarie can doe nothing against vs, but by the will and permission of God: who sometimes suffereth vs to bee tempted, to punish vs for our sinnes present or past, or to make vs triumphant and victorious in temptation, when it pleaseth him so to prooue vs, for his glorie and our good. For this is most true, that God beeing our Father, will neuer suffer vs to faint, or to bee overthrowen in the assaults of our enemies. And praying to bee deliuered from euill, it is to bee defended from all hurts and danger, proceeding from the Diuill, from men, or from our owne corruption. For hauing God for our warrant and defence, wee need not feare any thing.

Math. 26.39. Luke 6.12. To bee brieft, and to conclude our Meditation, let vs carefully marke how our Lord Iesus Christ, hath not onely commanded vs to pray: but hee himselfe also gaue a singular and speciall example; who oftentimes withdrew himselfe apart to pray, and therein spent whole nights. Now if hee that was exempted from sinne, prayed: If three times in one night hee asked one selfe something of God, bounding his request on these wordes, *Thy will, O Father, bee done:* With what face can wee, poore sinners, well abstaine from praying vnto God, and how should wee bee weary of so necessary a worke, or withall patience to attend, vntill we receiue the fruits and efficacie thereof? Let vs watch and pray, that we enter not into temptation, that in the day of the Lord, we may bee found wise and faithfull seruants, to bee made happy and blessed for euer.

2. *Consideration of the excellencie and efficacie of Prayer made in faith, with a good and a Christian resolution.*

Wee ought all to acknowledge and confesse, that among the principall points of the seruice which wee are bound to yeeld vnto our God and Father, prayer hath not the last nor least part therein: when with a true and liuely faith, well assured that wee are of the number of his children by Iesus Christ, wee present our selues before his heauenly throne, bee it publikely in the Church, or priuately in our secret chambers; to speake familiarly with him; to discover our griefes and troubles vnto him; to shew him our corporall or spirituall paines; to make him acquainted with our necessities; and of the need which wee haue of his grace in our infirmities; and to desire, that according to his great mercie, and for the loue of his welbeloued Sonne, hee would haue compassion on vs, and graunt vs that which hee knoweth to bee necessary for our good and saluation. But to pray deuotly, and according to the order aforesaid, taught vs by the Lord himselfe: first, the requests which wee make vnto God when wee pray, must bee done in such manner, that before all things, wee must seeke for the glory of God, and the aduancement of his kingdome: otherwise wee should (in a manner) begin backward, if wee abase heauen, to aduance earth, place

place man before God his Creator, & first make petition for our own private commodities, and afterward follow on with that, which ought to be dearer and more recommended vnto vs, then our owne soules, that is, the glory of our God, and the care of his honour. Wee reade of the Prophet *Elias*, who in his time was visited with many tribulations, miseries, anguishes, and troubles, (if euer any man was,) and by consequent, had occasion according to humane infirmitie, to seeke for, and to aske of God, ease in his paines, returne out of exile, enioying of his goods, remedy against hunger, company in solitarie life, deliuerance out of dangers, defence and iustification against slaunders, honor in imbasement; and to conclude all that which is requisite and necessary to make this life pleasing, contented, assured, and honourable, (for all these things hee seemed to want.) Neuerthelesse, wee see none of all these things to be placed before, or in the first part of his prayers and complaints to God, but onely that he was ielous for the Lords sake, because the children of Israel had forsaken his covenant, cast downe his Altars, and slaine his Prophets. Lord God of *Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob* (said he,) let it be known this day, that thou art the God of Israel, and that I am thy seruant, and that I haue done all these things at thy commandement, heare me, Oh Lord, heare me, and let his people know, that thou art the Lord God, and that thou hast turned their hearts againe at the last.

Thus was this holy man blessed in heauen and his prayer heard, for that, forgetting himselfe, he prayed for the glory of God: which ought also to be set before and preferred in all our prayers. For doing so, wee can not chuse, but by experience feele the infinit riches of the most powerfull God, who without ceasing, by his most great liberality, recompenseth with an infinitie of blessings, the prayers which we make in the name of his sonne our Lord Iesus Christ, as by him we haue access to the throno of glory, there to finde al need. fullayde and releefe. And in truth, prayer serueth vs in manner of a chariot to beare and lift vs vp to heauen, to speake with God, and to obtaine those things of him, which without this onely meanes were impossible for man to attaine vnto: witnesse *Moyse*, who by his prayers, was the cause of victory to the Israelites: *Iosua*, stayed the Sun by the same means: *Elias* procured fire to come downe from heauen, and obtained celestially powers to helpe him: And *Ezechias* in his weake and feeble state of sickenes, obtained perfect health. Prayer is a sound and solide counsel for vs in most doubtful causes, it comforteth vs in desolation, it is a safe haven and releefe vnto vs, in time of torments, a remedy in griefe, a heap of treasure, in necessity, a deliuerance in danger, a retract in exile, and in our most hard assaults an impregnable place; and to be short, there is no crosse nor trouble so difficult, which prayer doth not molifie, and maketh the issue thereof, in what manner soeuer, tend to the good & saluation of the faithfull. Therefore *Ioa* said, *Whosoener shall call vpon the name of the Lord shall be saued.* And *Iacob* found the certaine effect thereof, when hee saw his brother *E. Iacob* heart from cruel, to become courteous; from angry peaceable; and from furious, gentle. But specially, let vs note, how many times *Dauid* hath by praier beene drawne out of trouble, and deliuered out of innumerable dangers of enemies, sorrowes, and anguishes? His diuine Psalmes make mention thereof, which so highly extol the fidelity of God, which heard the languishing voice of his faithfull seruant, when he called vpon him in his troubles. Oh Lord I haue called vpon thee (saith he) surely thou wilt heare me, O God encline thine eare to me, and hearken vnto my words, shew thy marvellous mercies, thou that art the Sauer of the that trust in thee, from such as resist thy right hand. And I wil call vpon the Lord, which is worthy to be praised, so shall I be safe from mine enemies. The sorrowes of death compassed me, and the floods of wickednes made me afraide. The sorrowes of the graue compassed me about, the snares of death ouertooke mee, but in my trouble I called vpon the Lord, and cryed vnto my God, and he heard my voice out of his Temple, and my cry did come before him euen in his eares. And *Esay* saith, *Seeke the Lord, while he may be found, call vpon him while he is neere.* And *Iesus Christ* saith, *Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation.*

All which things neuerthelesse, we must vnderstand to be in such manner attributed vnto prayer, that we must not refer the things to the worke selfe, but to the power, grace and mercy of God, for that it is he, who being moued with paternal pittie, and full of goodnesse, sheweth forth his vertue, to graunt that vnto his children, which their prayers made by faith in Iesus Christ require and desire according to his will, in such manner, that he can finde a remedy in things impossible to men, and raise vp admirable meanes to make his seruants feele his powerful aide and succour, in their most grievous and dangerous troubles.

Againe, let vs note, that it is fit and conuenient for those that pray, to obserue temperance and modestie in their words, with a staied manner full of reuerence and humilitie; remembering that it is before the face of God, that wee present our selues. And therefore let vs learne, both in countenance, gesture and voice, to please that great King of heauen and earth our Father: being most certaine that there is nothing, which so much recomendeth praier, then modestie and simplicitie. Wee know also, that God commendeth that praier which is made apart and secretly in our Chambers, as a thing agreeing to faith, to make vs know, that God is in all places, and that the fulnesse of his Maiestie penetrateth euen into the most secret places. And therefore, he willinglyer hearkeneth to the heart, then to the voice, and openly giueth vs that, which hee secretly seeth in our thoughts and mindes, humbled before his face. It is said of *Anna Samuels* mother, That she spake vnto the Lord in her heart: So that her praier being secret her faith was manifest, wherein also shee was heard. Wee also haue another example of a well ordered and modest praier, in the person of the Publican, who shewing the true signes of an humble heart, in confessing his sinnes, obtained the fruits of his request. Mens sinnes are a thicke wall betweene God and them, which oftentimes hindereth his grace to come vnto vs, and our principall felicitie consisteth in the remission of our sinnes. Therefore the most conuenient preparation and disposition of praier is, the confession of our sinnes, proceeding from a dejected soule, bombled with the feeling of her owne vnworthinesse. And it is no maruell, if the object of her filthinesse maketh her fearefull to speake vnto that great God, before whose infinite Essence, man is lesse then nothing: and before his resplendant brightnesse, like dung. But the soule casting it selfe downe before his Maiestie, vnder the shadow of Christ, and couering it selfe with the honourable roabe of the perfect righteoussesse and holinesse which is in this Saviour of the elect, shee yeeldeth a sweet smelling saour before God, and a pleasing show, that so confessing her owne miserie, and offences, with an humble heart, shee may receiue full pardon, and a new testimony of heauenly blessings.

Againe, when wee pray, all carnall thoughts and imaginations, must bee farre from vs, that the Spirit may onely bend it selfe to praier; that our hearts must bee wholly shut vp against Satan, and open vnto God; for the Diuell is craftie, alwaies seeking holes and creuices to slip into our vnderstandings, and to turne them from celestiaall meditations; by that meanes oftentimes causing vs to haue one thing in our hearts, and another in our tongues. It is not the sound of the mouth or tongue, which the Lord requireth, but the heart and thought.

Lastly, it is conuenient that our praier should not be barren, to haue the more efficacie, but ioined with all good workes; and therefore the holy Scripture often ioyneth it with Almes and Fasting. Praier is a good thing with fasting, almes, and righteoussesse. And we read of good *Cornelius* the Centurion, That fasted and prayed, and that his praier was heard, and his almes were had in remembrance in the sight of God. And *Esay* saith, that among other things which the Lord requireth of all that call vpon his name, it is, That with fasting they should lose the bands of wickednesse, and breake their bread to the hungry, and couer the naked. And in *Isaiah* we reade, Therefore also now the Lord saith, Turne you vnto me with all you heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning. And rent your heart, and not your clothes, and turne vnto the Lord your God, for hee is gracious and mercifull, slow to anger, and of great kindnesse, and repenteth him of the euill. Sanctifie your fasts, call a sollemne assembly, and say, O Lord spare thy people, and giue not thine heritage into reproch. All these are good and conuenient meanes to make our praier fruitful, and by taming the flesh, to make the Spirit freer and prompter, well and truely to call vpon God: all superstition, boasting, and vaine glory, being wholly cut off, and laid aside. And let vs say, that happy are those whom the Lord shall finde in that sort watching and praying, either when he taketh them out of this world, by their ordinary death, or when in a moment, or in the twinkling of an eye, they shall bee transformed in the latter, and great day of his comming, wherein hee will iudge the quicke and the dead.

3. Meditations vpon the Creed.

After praier, wee haue the Confession of our Faith, which is commonly called, *The Apostles Creed*, wherein specially wee comfort our selues. For all religion (which is a reuelation

revelation from heaven, teaching vs the meanes how to honour God, and to attaine eternall life) hath for a principle, and ground, *To beleue*, that such was the inscrutable counsel of God, that man by him created entire and vpright, to make him happy for his glorie, (but yet free and capable to fall) sinning by distrust and pride, and falling from his glorious estate, should bee releued and saved by faith. And that as in the beginning he being puffed vp with a desire of all knowledge, and to be equall with his Creator, hee should by his disobedience erre, and be the cause of his owne destruction. So in his regeneration (wherein God would establish the felicitie of his elect) man learning to know nothing els but one Iesus Christ, and him crucified: should denie himselfe, and all presumption of humane wisdom, to beleue and wholly to be led and guided by the word of the Gospel, and thereby to be brought into the way of heaven. Which doctrine beeing most large and ample, the Primitive Church (by direction of the holy Ghost) gathered all the principall points thereof, concerning saluation, into certaine brieve summaries, and reduced them into the Articles of the faith, which wee haue in the Creed. Which briefly comprehendeth, and yet singularly and evidently, the summe of our Christian profession; in such manner, that although it is onely called the Apostles Creede, neuertheless, it also containeth that which the Prophets taught, as in effect there is no other difference, betweene the Law and the Gospel, touching their substance, then of one Iesus Christ to come, and of him being come. So that, in this Creede wee haue a true declaration, and a certaine accomplishing of all that which had beene written before. Which is, *I beleue in God the Father almighty, maker of heauen and earth, &c.*

Genes. 3.

1. Cor. 2. 2.

In this Creede, we haue foure principall parts, whereby Religion is compleate: The first, of God the Father, author and fountaine of all things by his great power. The second, of Iesus Christ, the eternall Word and wisdom of God, in which part also is contained the historie of mans redemption. The third of the holy Ghost, the infinite vertue of the Father and the Sonne. The fourth, the Church their common familie, and of the graces of God towards it. So that wee learne by these foure summaries of our faith, That there is one onely eternall God, of one spirituall, infinite, and simple Essence, distinguished in three persons, Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost: (*Iehoua*) Which is, which onely is: or (*Ehe ie, Ehe ie*) *I will bee that I will bee, or I am that I am.* That in this vnitie of Essence, euery one of the persons retaining, that which is proper vnto him in the Deitie: The Father is the principall, and the beginning of all, and the first and soueraigne cause of all creatures, which hath made things visible and inuisible, in them to manifest his glory, and to bring man, (the head of his worke) to eternall beatitude. That the Sonne, borne of the Father before all worlds, and that was from the beginning with him, consubstantiall, and by the which all things were made, is the life and light of men, and their way to come vnto God, he being made flesh, and dwelt among them, that hee might giue vnto those that beleue in his name: The right to be called children of God: and to purchase this benefit for them, dyed once for their sinnes, and rose againe for their iustification. That the holy Ghost eternally proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, is hee, by whom so many graces subside, and are communicate to the faithfull, by regenerating, sanctifying, and giuing them the water of life, in them to be made a fountaine of water flowing to eternal life. That there is one holy Catholike Church, wherein we must receiue all his graces and celestially blessings, because in it onely God sendeth his spirit vpon all his seruants, to saue them as hee hath called them in Iesus Christ. And to be short, we gather by all these great and high mysteries of Christian Religion, vnknowne, and incomprehensible to all humane wisdom: that the goodnesse and loue of God the Father, the Creator, is the fountaine and first cause of the Soueraigne good which we hope for in heaven. That his Sonne, the Redeemer, bringeth vs this grace, as a River spring from that fountaine, and a neerer cause to vs by the satisfaction which he hath made for vs to diuine Iustice, hauing put on our flesh. That the holy Ghost, the sanctifier, communiceth his gifts with all efficacie in vs by degrees heere on earth, finally, to make vs enioy saluation in heaven. And that to keepe and to make vs walke intallibly in this beatitude, God calleth vs in his Sonne there to make vs participants of his blessings and rich treasures, which he committeth vnto her as a gage, that she may conferre them by his holy ministerie to all the members of Iesus Christ her Spouse, to the end that they may liue and die vnto him betweene the armes of their mother, passing from this world to the kingdome of heaven. For eternall saluation

Iohn. 1. 1, 2, 3

Iohn 14. 6.

Iohn 4. 14.
7. 28. & 39.

Iohel 2. 18.

Psal. 44. 3.
Acts. 2. 18.

1. Pet. 1.9. is the end and effect of our faith: that is it whereunto we aspire, and the reward which is promised to the Church Militant.

4. *Meditations and Prayers touching Faith, and to obtaine encrease thereof.*

The soule of every man is naturally full of ignorance, and his flesh of vanitie, hee cannot (being brutish) comprehend any thing of the Deitie, whereof the Essence is infinite, the workes miraculous, the mercies without end, and the iudgements most profound. In the meditation of these things, our spirit is as it were swallowed vp, and therein loseth all his reason. Whereunto also the diuers calamities of this life, which astonish and beate vs downe, stirre vp impatience, and frame rebellion and murmuring in vs, because wee are ignorant of the power, wisdom, and iustice of God; whereby, as well of good things, as of euils, he maketh a most iust and most perfect dispensation and distribution; but specially, our ignorance, incredulitie, and distrust is great, as well in that which concerneth the admirable worke of the creation of the world, as in the miraculous worke of our redemption. For being borne blinde of vnderstanding, and heardned in heart wee cannot comprehend nor beleue those wonders which surpasse all wonders.

Our soule (I say) being weake, cannot vnderstand how God hath created all things of nothing, and how he was from the beginning in Christ, reconciling himselfe vnto men. Flesh cannot finde God in man, nor consider him to be Mediator betweene God and humaine nature. These are hidden and sealed letters vnto vs, that the generation of the diuine, pure and holy word, exempted from all spots and vncleannesse, was given vs for Iustification and Sanctification, and for the Author of peace and eternall blessing. That his wounds are our healing; his condemnation, our absolution; that his deformitie, is our beautie; in his travels and passions, our rest and victorie; in his abiectnesse, our honour; in his reiection, our recalling; in his death, our life; in his grave, our resurrection; in the anguishes and dolours of his soule, our true paradise: And to be short, the flesh cannot beleue, that in this Man-God triumphant, thus ouer sinne, death and the deuill, consisteth our triumphes, and the summe and full effect of our felicitie. And yet it is the summe of that which is taught vs in the Symbole of our Faith, and throughout the holy Scriptures. That is it which hath bene so many and so often times shewed vnto vs in the house of God (the Catholike Church.) But we haue not vnderstood it, nor beleued it so plainly nor so firmly as we should. Our eye hath beheld the holy sacred mysteries and signes of this most admirable redemption of man, and yet wee haue not perceiued, nor drawne the fruits which we ought to receiue, from the participation of these infallible gages of saluation, so vicious our incredulitie is. Even as the earth cannot comprehend the heavens, and that which is borne of flesh, being but flesh, is not capable to mount vp to the Spirit of life, of vnderstanding, and of wisdom. Then oh Lord our God Father of light from whom all good gifts proceed, which hast promised to powre out the Spirit of grace and compassion vpon thy seruants, we most humbly beseech thee, that for the loue of thy Son Iesus Christ, in whom it hath pleased thee to chose vs, and to blesse vs with all spiritual blessing, it would please thee also, to endue vs with true faith, whereby we may sufficiently comprehend the breadth, depth, length, and hight of thy loue towards vs, witnessed in Christ, God with thee, and man with vs, to tru st and comfort our selues in thee, all the dayes of our life, and to bring forth fruites to thy honour and glory and to the edification of our neighbours, that this faith may be a liuely faith, and a speaking faith which calleth and crieth vnto thee onely in the name of Iesus Christ, a faith working by charity, a faith patient in aduersity, a faith surmounting the world, by the meanes of thy invincible force (O most puissant God) and him whom thou hast ordayned to be our Lord, it is thy commandement that we should beleue in him whom thou hast sent, the savior of the elect, & that we should loue one another.

But alas, we know that al men haue not faith, & that it was an old complaint long since made by the Prophets and Apostles which say, Lord who hath beleued our report? on the other side: Oh God and Father, there are so many false Prophets and impostrous fellowes in the world, which tell their owne dreames and inuentions in stead of thy holy word, and which in the meane time transforme themselves in o angels of light, and also there are so many

James 1.17.

Zach. 15.10.

Eph. 1.3.

Gal. 5.6.

1 Iohn 2.4.

1 Iohn 3.11.

2 Thes. 3.2.

Esay 53.1.

Rom. 10.16

many assaults, persecutions, and miseries, which fright men: and the vanity & imbecility of our nature is such, that it suffereth it selfe to be easily caried away with all winds; If thou (O threefold great, and most merciful Lord) workest not that in vs which thou commandest, if thou thy selfe doest not bring vs vnto thy Sonne. For otherwise wee cannot come vnto him. And if he giueth vs not access to the throne of thy grace, wee can by no meanes approach vnto it, as also if thy holy spirit doth not conduct vs in all truth, and doth not beare witness thereof in our hearts that thou art our Father, it is not in our power, to cry *Abba*, Father. May it please thee then, thou that art the onely God, three persons in one Essence, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost: according to thy mercifull promise, to purifie my heart, by faith, to dwell and remaine with mee thy poore creature, to preserve and keepe my spirit from being seduced by errors, my soule for affecting any other thing, then thy good will, pleasure, and holy word, and my heart from desiring any other but thee, which art the soueraigne good, which art my all in all, and my abundant portion, that hauing, and louing thee, I may despise this world, forsake and renounce all vanities, taste and sauour the delights and pleasures of thy house, louing nothing but in thee, and for the loue of thee, and attending the most happy and blessed houre, wherein I shall no more walke by faith, but by sight, in the contemplation of thy face. Worke so (Oh my most mercifull God) that daily increasing in faith, I may attaine to the measure of a perfect Christian, in that admirable day of the restoring of all things, to receiue the incorruptible crowne of righteousness and glory, and at thy right hand to feele the fulnesse of ioy and gladnesse. Amen.

John 6.63.

Rom. 8.15.

John 14.23.

2. Cor. 5.7.

Ephes 4.13.

2 Tim. 2.5

& 4.8.

Psal. 16.11.

5. *Meditations and Prayers touching God the Father, most puissant Creator of heauen and earth.*

God in the Articles of our faith, is described vnto vs, by his workes to bee the same, which his word reuealeth him to bee. To that ende, that the knowledge which we ought to haue of him, should not bee a vaine apprehension: and that wee should plainly see, that wee haue good cause, to put our trust in him, as also that wee may the better bee discerned from those people, which doe not truly know God. Then this is the proper giift of the faithfull, to know God, as hee is: that is, in one essence, and neuertheless in three persons (the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost) and hee that doeth not acknowledge the Father, knoweth not what the Sonne is; and he that knoweth not the Sonne, knoweth not the Father: and he that beleueth not in the holy Ghost, neither knoweth the Father nor the Sonne, and so is altogether ignorant of the Deitie.

But although that God is our father, as we call him in the Lords prayer, yet we are but children by adoption, receiued, and adopted for the loue of his onely and eternall Sonne, eternally begotten by the father, and in whom he is wel pleased. Then in this diuine essence the first person is called Father, to shew vs, that our faith is grounded only in God, although this true and onely Deity which we adore, and wherein we beleue, is the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost: who in these three persons working together, manifested himselfe vnto the world, by foure most diuine and supernaturall workes, that is, the creation of the world, the redemption of man, the gathering together and preservation of the Church, and the admirable gifts and benefits bestowed vpon the same, specially the remission of sinnes, and life euermlasting. What great aduantage is it vnto vs, to know this true God, for that by this knowledge we may say with Saint *Paul*, That all things are ours, because we are Christs, and Christ Gods, which is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, hee is also called most puissant, because his throned being in heauen, he doth all whatsoever he will, and whose power is conioined with truth and iustice. Then we are happy, whose faith is not grounded vpon the wisdom of men, but on the power of God, which is saluation to all that beleue. Likewise he is the creatour, For who is he (saith *Esay*) that hath measured the waters with his fitt, and compassed the heauens with his spanne? who is he that hath comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountaines in a weight, and the hilles in a balance? Who hath instructed the Spirit of the Lord, or was his Counsellor, or taught him? All nations before him are as nothing, and they are accounted to him lesse then nothing, and vanitie. To whom then will you liken God? or what similitude wil you set vp vnto him? lift vp your eyes on high, and behold who hath created these things, and bringeth out their armies by numbers, and calleth them all by names; by the greatnesse of his power, and might.

Psal. 2.7.

Math. 3.17.

1 Cor. 13.22.

2 Cor. 1.3.

Psal. 115.3.

1 Cor. 2.5.

Esay 40.12.

&c.

mighty strength, nothing faileth. *Why sayest thou O Iacob, and speakest oh Israel, My way is hid from the Lord, and my Iudgement is passed over by God? Knowest thou not, or hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord hath created the ends of the earth, hee neither fainteth, nor is wearie, there is no searching of his understanding.*

Hereby wee learne, that is is proper vnto our God, To giue a beginning to all things, to make that to bee which is not, and to produce and bring forth a creature of nothing. As Saint Paul saith, *That God quickeneth the dead, and calleth those things which bee not, as though they were. And that of him, and through him, and for him, all things are, to him be glory for ever.* Herein wee must not giue any place to the speculations or contemplations of the flesh, and of those fooles that haue disputed to know how it is possible that of nothing all things were made, seeking to measure the infinite power of the Deitie, by their vaine discourses, for want of knowing the force, and vertue of this world. But that which the vnderstanding cannot comprehend, Faith is bound to beleue it, as it is written, *By faith wee understand, that the world was ordeined by the word of God: to shew that the things which we see, are not made of things which did appeare.* For (as an Auncient Father said) the whole circuit or compasse of the world, is a notable booke for vs, (Wherein there is as many leaves, as there are creatures in the world) therein with great praise all the daies of our liues to reade and peruse the name of God, and in the same to learne to know him. Lastly, to the work of the creation, is ioyned the doctrine of the prouidence of God, and of the admirable disposition of all things. For if God had onely created the world, and did not gouerne, dispose, and maintaine all the things, and parts thereof, hee should not be Almighty. Therefore the Scripture saith, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work with him,* blessing, multiplying, preserving, restoring, and disposing all things for his glorie, and the saluation of his Elect. *Hee beholdeth (saith Iob) the endes of the world, and seeth all that is vnder beauen, to make the waight of the windes, and to waigh the waters by measure. When hee made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightening of the Thunders. But thou (said Dauid) diddest draw mee out of the wombe, thou gauest mee hope, euen at my mothers brests. I was cast vpon thee euen from the wombe, thou art my God from my mothers belly.*

Then O Lord God my Father, and most puissant Creatour, which created mee when I was nothing, and canst again when it pleaseth thee to reduce me to nothing. When I was feeble, and vndone, diddest recreate me, to bring me to greater glory, seeing thou presentest thy selfe vnto me, vnder the sweet name of Father, let me not be a negligent child to call vpon thee, and seeing thou art so ready to enlarge and bestow thy benefits vpon me, let not mee bee slow nor carelesse to require them of thee. To the which end, my good God, giue me grace I beseech thee, to feele how necessary thy ayde is for me. To me I say (poore wretch,) which neither haue nor possesse any thing, but of the meere mercy & bounteous liberality, and with whom neuerthelesse nothing can prosper without thy blessing. I confesse the great imperfections which are in me, concerning celestiall things. For that neither faith, loue, nor repentance, could be in me, if thou most louing and benigne Father, diddest not enlarge the light of thy countenance vpon me, and helpe my infirmity. Every good thing and euery perfect gift is from aboue, and commeth downe from the father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. Therefore I call vpon thee, being assured of thy promises, that thou maiest giue me, that which thou knowest better then my selfe to be necessary for me, for my saluation and eternall life. Giue me grace with a pure heart and thought, to meditate how great and admirable the benefites are (which thou hast prepared for them that loue thee,) in thy eternall kingdome, seeing (O Lord) here in this world, which is but a prison, thou giuest vs, the enioying of so many notable and excellent workes of thy hands, and that from thence I learne, to aspire to that felicity, which eye hath not seene, care hath not heard, tongue cannot expresse, nor heart comprehend, which beatitude is assured vnto vs, in the contemplation of thy face. that the crosses and troubles of this world, which shake and ouerthrowe so many men, may not hinder my soules quiet depending vpon thy prouidence, and from assuring my selfe of thy power. And as thou hast sustained me from my mothers wombe: may it please thee also to giue mee thy hand to support mee in my age, as beeing my perpetuall Father and Sauour.

Lastly, oh Lord, forasmuch as of our selues poore wormes of the earth, wee are not fit nor capable to thinke any good thing, I beseech thee alwaies to enspire my minde, and to conduct mee, guiding my steps, thoughts, intents, and workes. And for that all things helpe

Rom. 4. 17.

Ibid. 11. 36.

Heb. 11. 3

Hist. Tripart.
lib. 8. cap. 1.

Iohn 5. 17.

Iob 28. 24

Psal. 22. 9, 10.

James 1. 17.

2. Cor. 3. 5.

helpe vnto the good of those that loue thee, because thou louedst them first, and that thou chastenest those whom thou louest, giue me grace patiently to beare thy visitations, giuing me wisdom in the Sanctuarie of thy holy Word to vnderstand the miserable end of those, who forsaking and leauing thy Wayes, shall at the last wring out, and drinke the dregs of worldly delights, and that in trusting and delighting onely in thee (oh God most high, and the onely good of my soule) I may speedily mount vp on thy holy Mountaine, and to the rest of the Blessed.

Psal. 75. 8.

6. *Meditations and Prayers, that Iesus Christ is the Sonne of God, and our Lord and Saviour.*

The Creation of the World, conioyned with the Providence, Iustice, and Wisdom of the Lord is the first testimonie which is propounded vnto vs of God in the Articles of our Faith, to the end wee should adore him, and put our trust in him: But there is another ensuing it, which is much more admirable, and which representeth vnto vs his extreme bountie, goodnesse, and infinite power; that is, the worke of our Redemption, for to redeeme, and quicken a creature that was lost, and to redeeme him with so great a price, as the precious Blood of the eternall Sonne of God, and not onely to deliuer him out of captiuitie, and from Death, but also to giue him life Eternall, is so great a Worke, and so singular a benefit, that no tongue can expresse it, nor no heart is sufficient to comprehend it. Man (as the Scripture saith) was created good and righteous; but hee continued not in that happy estate: for, that following his owne inuentions, discourses, and the euill counsell of the Diuell, he turned from his God; and by that meanes fell into decay, making both himselfe and his Posteritie culpable of death and eternall damnation, for Death and all the Citations which hee serueth vpon vs, that is, all the aduersities which happen vnto vs in this world are the rewards of sinne. And our destruction proceedeth from our selues, because our first Father abusing his owne free-will, became a slaue to Sathan, and by that meanes drew vpon himselfe and all his Posteritie, the iust vengeance of God. What a change and pitifull alteration was it, when the Image of God in man was so disfigured? and that so noble a creature became vile, miserable, full of sinne and filthinesse? For although Adam was created and made of the dust of the earth, yet the Spirit of God had swallowed vp in him that matter of terrestriall corruption, if he had not sinned, and all Mankind had been exempted from weaknesse and putrification, whereas now by nature he is nothing else but dust and filth, endowed with a heart altogether peruerse from his Infancie, which is the cause that he hath neede of regeneration, not of mortall seed (as Saint Peter saith) but of immortall, that is, by the Word of God which lieth & endureth for euer, which teaching vs to beleue the Deitie, for a true object and sure foundation of our faith, giueth vs Iesus Christ the second person of this Deitie one in essence. For beleueing in him, we beleue in God, because Christ is God ouer all, blessed for euer (as the Apostle saith) and of whom *Moses* and all the Prophets spake, and to whom they direct vs, as hee is the substantiall image of the inuisible God. And the brightnes of his glory, and the ingraued forme of his person, by whom also the Father spake, and hath made all things, and which is more this diuine word, tooke our nature vpon him, and made himselfe *Emanuel*, that is, God with vs, and was manifest in the flesh. Whereupon Saint *Paul* teacheth vs, that other foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ: saying further, that he esteemed not to know any thing among the faithfull saue Iesus Christ, and him crucified: Not that he would not also acknowledge God the Father, and the holy Ghost, but because in the second person of this vspeakable Trinitie, we know him wholly, and that without Christ we can not know what the father is, nor haue access to his vnaccessable light: If the Sonne doth not giue vs an entrance thereinto withall assurance. But we must note, that this grace, (with a sauing knowledge, to know the liuing and eternall God, that is, to acknowledge him by Christ and by him to call vpon him confessing him to be very God, and very man, and the onely mediator betweene God and man, is a gift proper to those that are faithfull and elect children of God. For against this truth, the diuell hath at all times raised vp false Prophets, to darken and extenuate this sauing knowledge of Christ in the world, according to the prophesie of *Simeon*, saying, Behold this child is appointed for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a signe which shall be spoken against.

Eccl. 7. 30.

Rom. 6. 23.

Osc. 13. 9.

Gen. 6. 5.

1. Pet. 1. 23.

Ioh. 14. 1. 10.

Rom. 4. 5.

Luke 14. 27.

Col. 1. 15.

Heb. 1. 2. 3.

1 Cor. 3. 4.

Ibid. 2. 2.

Eph. 2. 18.

Ioh. 17. 3. 25.

1 Tim. 2. 5.

Luke 2. 34.

Eph. 1. 6.
Rom. 8. 3.
Esay 53. 4.
Heb. 2. 14. 17

Tert. de re-
surre. Christi
Eph. 4. 5.
Iohn 10. 30.

But we haue good and infallible conclusions, to oppose against their errors. As first, that it was requisite and necessary for vs to haue such a Sauour and Mediator that was very God and very man, and which participateth (to be a Mediatour,) of both natures, diuine and humane, which were at variance, that he might reconcile them, and in such manner, that to overcome and vanquish sinne, death and the diuell, and to giue access vnto men, to the inaccessible light of God, he should be stronger then all creatures, that is, God, and the beloued of the father, in whom he might be pleased with vs: as on the other side, it was requisite that in the flesh, which had bene overcome by sinne, the victory should be gotten, & that the flesh which had sinned, should suffer the punishment, which Christ also tooke on him: and to be short, to haue pity on vs, that hee should communicate with our infirmities and miseries, that he might beget brethren, and carry our nature vp into heauen, as the earnest of our hope, and whereof he hath giuen vs an other most certaine earnest, that is, his holy Spirit, as Tertullian learnedly discourseth, saying, That we beleue in Iesus Christ, not that we haue diuers sorts of faith. For there is but one God and one faith, and the Father, and the Sonne are one. But we beleue in God, as hee reueiled himselfe by the creation of heauen and earth, and in his holy word, which testifieth vnto vs, that the eternall Sonne of God, Iesus Christ, taking our nature vpon him, at the time appointed and preordained by the Father, to be the mediator of the alliance and contract made by our Creator, by vnitng the two natures, diuine and humane, hath reconciled vs with God his Father, when by his obedience and merits, by his force and incomprehensible bounty, and by his death, and passion he made satisfaction for our sinnes, and by his resurrection vanquished death, & hel, and ascended vp into heauen, there to be a perpetuall Mediatour for vs, in such manner, that for the loue of him God loueth vs, and his righteousness being imputed vnto vs, as if it were our owne, God accepteth vs for iust, and so we are certaine and assured that neither the law giuen by *Moses* hath power to condemne vs, nor death, nor the diuell, to make vs afraide, seeing that Christ clothes vs with his perfect righteousness, and that for vs he hath overcome all that which could make vs afraid, or doubtfull.

To conclude, we beleue, not onely the history of the nativity, life, death, passion, resurrection and ascension of the Lord, but also, every faithfull Christian, by faith appropriateth and applieth to himselfe all the benefits which hee hath gotten and obtained for vs, assureth and comforteth himselfe, with his holy and amiable promises, and apprehendeth him as true Iesus, sauing and blessing vs, & which hath by his precious blood prepared eternall saluation for vs in a happy and blessed life for ever. Thus much for the first conclusion and most certaine foundation which we oppose against those, which acknowledge not as they ought, the admirable counsell of God, which hath provided vs such a Mediatour and Sauour as was needfull for vs.

Secondly, wee haue for an inuincible reason the perpetuall consent of the olde and new Testament touching Christ, wherein wee see, that the same which the Ceremonies of the Law had foreshewed, by the exquisite and diuine Service therein celebrated, was perfectly accomplished in Iesus Christ; as it is notably expounded and declared in all the Writings of the Apostles, (specially in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, where it is prooued that Christ was the end of the Law.) And finally, this Doctrine concludeth the effect of this sauing knowledge of God in his Sonue, which giueth quietnesse and peace of conscience to the Faithfull, in such manner, that with great ioy many haue willingly suffered death for the name of Iesus; and to the contrary, the end of those which blasphemed it, was alwaies most miserable: as that of *Cerintus*, *Maunes*, *Arius*, and others.

Ioh. 17. 3.

Phil. 3. 8.

Heb. 7. 26.

Then most gracious Lord God, our Father, for as much as it is life eternall for vs to know thee, and that we cannot know thee, but in thine ingrauen Image, Iesus Christ, manifested in the flesh, I beseech thee to conduct me by thy holy Spirit to the true knowledge of thy Eternall Sonne, and in the studie and meditation of so sauing a Secret, to giue me such a resolution, that with the good and blessed Apostle I may esteeme all things as dung in regard of that excellent knowledge of Christ our Sauour. And first (oh God) giue mee grace, with all men, truely to acknowledge my common necessitie, that is, that wee had neede of such a Soueraigne Sacrificator, holy, innocent, without blame, seperated from all other sinners, and that was very God and very Man. Also, heavenly Father, I beseech thee liuely to imprint in my heart the feeling and confession of this thy admirable charitie which hath shewed so great loue to vs poore sinners, as to make thy sauing grace appeare in
Iesus

Iesus Christ thy beloved Sonne, sauing vs not for our workes, but of thy meere mercie, and for the merits of his death and passion. Oh what loue, fauour, and humilitie, hath this great King of heauen shewed, in taking on him the forme of a seruant, and imba-
Tit. 2. 11.
Tit. 2. 5.
sing himselfe, euen to the death of the Crosse, for vs poore slaues, and wormes of the earth. But before all things (O most mercifull God) giue mee knowledge to learne Christ well, and not to bee like those, which liue disorderly, with carnall libertie, abusing that so happy, and so profitable knowledge, but rather that I may put it to the true vse; which is, to humble the faithfull, and to make them confused in themselves, to see that our sinnes were so great and so inorme, that hee was faine to redeeme them with so great a price, and that so I may onely praise and magnifie thy bounty, hauing all my ioy and glory in thee, my Lord and Father.

And lastly, that in all calamities and humane tribulations, I may alwaies cast my sight vpon that good Iesus, which suffered so much for vs, directing my actions to the eternall saluation which hee hath prepared for vs: and denying my selfe, to liue to the praise of him, that hath redeemed mee.

7. *Meditation and Prayer vpon this article, that the holy Ghost is our instructor, sanctificator, and comforter.*

The Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost (as it hath already beene said) is but one onely true God, and one selfe same Deitie, like glory, and one coeternall maiestie. But this one true God, did in such manner manifest himselfe to the world, that the Father is properly called the Creator, the Sonne, the redeemer, and the holy Ghost our instructor and sanctificator. For although this inseparable Trinitie, worketh together in all his workes, neuertheless for our greater consolation, it hath made it selfe in such sort knowne to men, that they may vnderstand (by instigation of his heavenly light) that without confounding the persons, or separating the substance of this onely Deity, euery one of them retaineth that, which is proper vnto him in the things which belong to our saluation.

And as the Sonne is eternally begotten of the Father, so the holy Ghost, proceedeth eternally both from the Father and the Sonne. So that beleeuing in the holy Ghost, we doe not beleue, that the same spirit is onely a certaine moouing or inspiration: but first
Heb. 9. 14.
Rom. 8. 6.
1 Cor. 3. 16.
& 6. 19.
1 John 5. 7.
Acts 2. 4.
& 8. 20.
1 Cor. 12. 6.
Bern. Sup.
Cant.
we beleue against the Macedonians, (ancient heretickes,) that he is very God, of the same essence with the Father and the Sonne, and for that cause we cast the ancker of our faith in him. For we are as well baptized in his name, as in the name of the Father and of the Sonne and of whom we being made the Temples, we are made the Temples of God, (as the Scripture saith,) the Father, the word, and the holy Ghost are one. Again, we beleue, that for the loue and in the name of Iesus Christ, this spirit comforteth and sanctifieth our soules, and that by the inspiration thereof, the holy Prophets and Apostles haue spoken, and for that cause also he is called the gift of God, who being but one in himselfe, produceth in vs diuers operations for our edification and saluation. For as (S. Bernard very wel saith), We were dead in sinne and stinking creatures: But Iesus Christ imbalmeth vs with his holy spirit, and hath annointed vs, to the end, that we might know the true God, and tast and feele his mercy. This is the heate of the diuine Sonne, which warmeth vs: this is the pure water of the celestiall riuers, which sprinkle and renew vs: this is the balme which maketh vs a good flavor: and this is the oyle, which comforteth and strengtheneth vs. Then where is the tongue that can expresse, the bounty of God towards vs, of the Father, which created vs, after his own image, of the word, that redeemed vs by his precious blood, & of the holy Ghost, which sanctifieth vs by his vertue? By the first *Adam*, we were made barren and vnprofitable, and were debarred from the grace of God, but the Lord had saide by his Prophet, I will powre
Zach. 13. 10.
vpon the house of *David*, and vpon the inhabitants of Ierusalem, the spirit of grace and of compassion, that they shall looke vpon me, whom they haue pierced, for the saluation of the world. For although that from the time of the fathers vnder the law, God did many great things in his mercy to men, yet it is proper to Iesus Christ, to giue vs the Spirit of grace, of mercy, and of inuocation.

And it is the greatest and richest gift which we can haue from heauen, for that, (as the Apostle saith) without this spirit, we belong not to Christ, and cannot be assured that we are the children of God. It was miraculously & extraordinarily giuen vpon the day of Pentecost, but now euery day, it ioyneth his eternall operation, with the preaching of the Gospell,
Rom 8. 9, 16.
Acts 2. 1.

and is the cause that with assurance we call vpon our Father which is in heauen, Whosoever (saith Christ) drinketh of the water that I shall giue him, shall neuer bee more a thirst. But the water that I shal giue him, shall be in him a Well of water, springing vp into euermore life. This water is the efficacy and the worke of the Spirit of God, working by his word. *David* had well felt the effects thereof, when hee saide. As the Hart brayeth for the riners of water, so panteth my soule after thee Oh God. The holy Ghost (because of his fruites) is sometime called fire; because hee purifieth, and consumeth our euill affections, and kindleth in vs a true zeale to the honour and glory of God, as it is sayd of the Disciples going to *Emas*, that their hearts burnt within them, when they heard Iesus speake. Sometimes he is called water, because he refresheth vs, in and against the burning heat of carnall temptations, and washeth and comforteth vs to quench the fierie darts of Sathan (as the Apostle saith.)

But we are specially to remember the notable title of comforter, which Iesus Christ giueth to the holy Ghost, saying, that he should teach the Apostles all things, and leade them to the vnderstanding of him. God our Father (saith Saint *Paul*) hath loued vs, and hath giuen vs euermore saluation, and good hope through grace. But it is by his spirit the Comforter, that wee remaine firme and constant in the faith of our saluation, that we may neuer faint nor faile, by the temptations or afflictions, which ordinarily happen vnto the world. For when we are once supported by the protection and defence of the holy Ghost, there is nothing that can abash, or make vs afraide. It is true that the holy doctrine of the Gospell, doth not presentlie produce his fruits in perfection, neither doe wee profite so well therein, as oftentimes wee desire. Yet wee must not bee discouraged, but alwaies hope well, vntill the holy Ghost, which is the interior instructor of the soules of the faithfull, speaketh in our hearts, and telleth vs of those things which wee haue either seene with our eyes, or heard with our eares in the Gospell. For although *Esaie* pronounceth this vnto the incredulous, That the word of God shall be vnto them as a Booke sealed vp: neuertheless, the Lord oftentimes humbleth those that are his, after the same manner. Therefore they must patiently and peaceably stay the fit time of the reuelation from above, every one in the meane time encreasing his talent according to the measure that hee hath received, to the ende that hauing but a little, he may obtaine more.

Oh most eternall G O D, which onely dwellest in the vnaccessable light, take compassion I beseech thee on my darkenesse, which can beget nothing in mee, but the accursed state of death eternall. For whosoever walketh in the obscuritie of his nature, stumbleth grievously, and no man can erre in thy presence (oh God most iust) but he falleth into the snares of Sathan, if thy grace doth not preuent his destruction. But as the Sunne illuminateth the world, and the light of mans eyes guide his body: So the onely light of thy Spirit, is the guide of the soule, and in the shadow of death, thy Sonne Iesus Christ is the cleare light illuminating all thy workes, but his light, is vnto vs as a darke night, vnlesse the holy Ghost leadeth vs to see the hope of eternall life in the great Saviour of the world, and maketh the eies of our vnderstanding clearer then the eies of the Eagle, which lookes vpon the great light of the world. Christ is the Sonne of righteousness about whom we must flocke to draw life vnto vs, which in this mortall and terrestriall pilgrimage, cannot by humane reason be perceived, without the light of the holy Ghost, which maketh vs seeke for victory in the Crosse, glorie in ignomie, rest in paine, profit in losse, ioy in teares, and life in death; learning vs to esteeme all things hurtfull in respect of our Emanuel, by whose meanes the Spirit of adoption is a certaine earnest and pawning vnto vs, of our redemption in eternall saluation. Lighten then my soule (oh heavenly Father) with thy holy light, that I may walke vprightly, in ioy and assurance of thy loue all the daies of my life, and that I may as much as is necessarie and requisite for the imbecilitie of my faith, penetrate into the knowledge of the sacred mysteries of the Gospell, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend. All men (oh God) are capable to reade and looke vpon the letter, but they onely, (whom thou illuminatest) to vnderstand the sense thereof, for the secrets thereof are hidden, from the greatest number of men, whose eies are blinded by the Diuell, and the deceits of worldly vanities. And therefore they cannot vnderstand, how thy word, is the onely knowledge, the true wisdom, the only pleasure of the soule, and the assured guide to keepe men from erring out of the way of heauen. But for my selte, thy holy conduction shall

shall bee my treasure, and the price of my vowes. May it please thee then to create in mee a pure heart, and in the secrets of my soule to renew an vpright thought, cast mee not of from before thy face, and take not thy holy Spirit from mee: continue in mee the ioy of thy saluation, and let thy eternall arme sustaine mee: that in obedience of faith, I may alwaies giue place to thy holy Spirit, and neuer giue it cause of dislike by sinnes and vncleannesse, that it may guide me in all truth, that it may sanctifie and strengthen me vnto the end of my life, and that it may comfort me at my last end, praying and groaning for mee, with sighes which (oh my God) are pleasing vnto thee.

8. *A Prayer full of comfort to the Trinitie, one onely God, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost.*

Oh Deity, in three persons coequall and coeternall, in one essence, one God and true God, (Father, Son and holy Ghost) which only dwellest in eternitie, & in vnaccessable light to all flesh, which art, which was, and which continuest for euer, the first and the last, the beginning and the ending of all things: soveraigne and most puissant Creator and gouernor of all things that are, that liue, that feele, and that vnderstand, which hast spread abroad the heauens by the diuine wisdom, and layd the foundation of the earth by thy great power, by whose prouidence consisteth all moderation, beauty and order in the vniuersall world, in the contemplation whereof consisteth the only good and true felicity of man; the chiefe of all thy creatures: holy and triple holy: admirable and amiable, who being iust, wouldest not suffer, that man made after thine owne Image, for thy glory, and to serue thee, in blessed estate, should goe vnpunished having sinned, who being mercifull, diddest not withdraw thy mercy from him: and who being good, hast not neglected the least of thy works, euen to the haire of a beast, the smallest feather of a bird, & the least flower or leafe of an herbe, ingrauing in every one of thy creatures, certaine signes of thy glorie and maiestie, by the proportion and agreement of all their parts, as it were a sweet peace. Oh onely God in Trinitie, make, (I humbly beseech thee) thy wisdom and light, by their vertue, to enter into my soule, which honoureth and inuoketh thy name to make me vnderstand, and inwardly to see thy diuine wonders, in thy Spirit, which can do all things, which vnderstandeth and beholdeth all things, which animateth all things, and which without ceasing, passeth through all peaceable knowledge, and resideth in every one of thine elect.

Grant mee (oh eternall God, and most great and rich Father of heauen) that by this holy Spirit, I may with the eyes of faith, penetrate into the middle of thy celestially habitation, that there I may behold thy glorious face, and in it the blessednesse of thy children to praise thee incessantly; for thou hast promised to open the gates of thy kingdome, to all those that knocke thereat. Now is the time (oh God most mercifull) that the desires of my heart famished for want of heavenly bread, eleuate and lift vp themselves to thy holy sanctuary, and make mee knocke at thy doore. Before thy eies is all the desires of my soule, and my thoughts are not hidden from thee. Then turne not thy face away from mee, neither withdraw thy selfe, because of my indignity: but rather let it please thee benignly to hearken vnto the cry of thy seruant, that hath for his warrant the onely righteousness of Iesus Christ, our Emanuel, and God with vs. Therefore gracious Father, stretch forth thy comfortable hand, to draw me out of the waters and filthinesse of the earth, out of this lake of miserie, and out of this bottomlesse pit of euils, to the end that I bee not shut out of the sight of thy compassions, but rather that at the day when I shall leaue this earthly habitation, I may happely mount vp to thy supercelestiall dwelling, to be fully vnited to Christ my Sauour, and by him to thee, oh Father, which art the fountaine of eternall life. It hath pleased thee (oh mercifull Father) to witness and shew forth the great goodnesse, to make me know, according to the measure of thy grace which I haue receiued, the incomprehensible secret of thee, oh Father, begotten of none; of thee oh Sonne of God, eternally begotten of the Father; and of thee, oh holy Ghost, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, one onely God, vncreated, infinite, eternal, Lord and most puissant: grant then, oh ineffable and vspeakeable Trinitie, that beleeuing in my heart, and confessing with my mouth, the propriety of three persons, the vnitie of the Essence, and the equalitie of the glorie. In thee, true and onely God, I may adore,

and serue thee for ever, according to thy holy ordinance; and that by this firme and constant faith, grounded vpon obedience, I may more and more drawe vnto mee the fauour of thy blessings, to the ende that as the Angels praise and glorified thee, the supercelestiall powers honour thee, and all the host of heaven magnifie thee. I may also once haue the honour to ioine my Canticles and songs with that celestiaill company, and enioy the same beatitude in the beholding of thy eternall light, oh glorious God. I hope in thee, I haue no trust nor confidence but in thy bounty, preferue mee then, from all euill, and from all corruption, to the end, that while I shall be clothed with this fraile flesh, my soule may alwaies praise thee, my tongue sing Psalmes vnto thee, and all my senses may agree and consent together, to say, Lord, and God, three in one, who is like vnto thee, which by thy infinite power hast made vs, even when wee were not, and when wee were lost and vtterly ouerthrowne by our owne fault: thou by thy loue, hast created vs anew, for thy greater glory. Then suffer me not to forget thy vnspeakable mercie, but make, that encreasing by faith in thy word, with hope in thy promises, and with true charitie, shewing forth the fruit thereof by good workes; I may ioyfully proceed in the course of my life, following my vocation, vntill I may obtaine the price of celestiaill felicitie, where beholding thy face, Oh holy and vnseparable Trinitie, I may fully adore thy Maiestie, singing this Himne with the blessed. Glory bee to thee oh Father, which hast created vs, glorie be to thee, oh Sonne, which hast redeemed vs, glorie be to thee oh holy Spirit which hast sanctified vs, and glorie bee to the most high Trinitie, one onely true God, whose kingdome is everlasting.

9. *Meditation and Praier, touching the Catholike Church.*

To beleue the Catholike or Vniuersall Church, is, First to beleue that notwithstanding the corruptions, Idolatries, superstitions, and disorders that are, and haue alwaies beene in the world, God the Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, chose his elect people, which hee called out of darkenesse (wherein we are all borne) into the light of the Gospel, reuealing himselfe by his holy testimonies, to those whom hee hath chosen, whom hee hath washed and sanctified, and in whom hee reigneth by his word, as in his kingdome, his Family, and his House, the pillar and ground of truth, set vpon the Corner stone of that diuine building, which is, *Iesus Christ*, against the which Church, *The gates of Hell* shall not preuaile, because all things worke together for the best, vnto them that loue God, who knoweth those that are his.

Secondly, wee protest and beleue, that wee are members of this true Church, and that wee vnite our selues thereunto, to bee true and faithfull Citizens, neuer abandoning nor forsaking the holy assemblies of Christians, and in them making that profession and confession of the Name of God, which the true children and seruants of GOD ought to doe.

Thirdly, it is to beleue and to protest, that we doe not beleue all assemblies and congregations indifferently, to be the holy Church, but that which is Apostolical, and vniuersall, gathered together by the preaching of the Gospel, & by the vse of the holy Sacraments in all places of the world, vnder one head which is *Iesus Christ*. As in him is grounded the Communion of Saints, by him made members of one body, participating one spirit, one selfe same word, and one order of the sacred Mysteries of saluation. Which faithfull Christians are also vnited by the band of peace, and conioyned by true loue, calling vpon one Saviour, and as brethren expecting one selfe same inheritance, which is eternall life. For the giftes which God presenteth to his Church are remission of sinnes, and life everlasting, which we cannot find out of the dungeon or fort of saluation, the Catholike church. In the deluge, all liuing creatures perished; onely *Noah* and those that entred into the arke with him: which was an infallible figure of the assurance which all the children of God may lay hold on, that they cannot perish in the Church: which the most amiable Tabernacle (whereof the Prophet speaketh) doeth represent; God in it giuing testimonies of his presence, and there was iauoked, as in this time of grace, the true Couenant and Congregation of the Lord, is in the holy Temple of the Christians: for it is the true Ierusalem, which also was figured by the royall Prophet *Dauid*, saying, *Ierusalem is builded as a citie that is compassed together in it selfe, whereunto the Tribes euen the Tribes of the Lord goe up, to praise the name of the Lord, all these that are brethren meeting therein together.*

In the holy Gospell, the Church is compared to a Sheepfold, whereof Iesus Christ is the Shepherd, and wherein the sheepe heare, and vnderstand the voice of their Shepherd; as Iohn 10. 1, 16 also in the Scripture, the Church is represented vnto vs, as a Bride well beloued of her Lord, and for the which Christ gaue himselfe, to the ende to sanctifie her, and to make her glorious, without spot or wrinkle, that shee might bee holy and vnreprooueable, as it becommeth her, to mount Sion, to the citie of the liuing God, to celestiaall Ierusalem, to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the assembly of the first borne, which are written in heauen, to God the Iudge of all, and to the spirits of iust and perfect men. For we are ioyned to this glorious company, and the to Angels, & Patriarkes, which beleued in the true God: by meanes of the Gospell, all these excellent titles being attributed to the Church, in regard of the elect, and all true beleeuers, whom the Lord knoweth and approoueth. For when the Scripture speaketh generally of all the visible Christian Church, and considereth the same in grosse and exteriorly, shee is compared to a great felde, that bringeth forth great store of corne diuersly, and wherein there is great store of tares or darnel, or to a draw net, which gathereth all kindes of fish. And in that sence the Apostle saith, *That all are not Iewes which are Iewes outward.* And Iesus Christ saith, *Not euery one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdome of heauen, but hee that doeth the will of my Father which is in heauen.* Therefore, oh Lord God, seeing thou art the searcher of all mens hearts, to knowe and discerne who loueth and serueth thee as hee ought to doe, from hypocrites, and the true members of Christ and of his Church, from those which onely beare the name and title thereof, I beseech thee to vouchsafe mee the grace, to loue nothing more, then the so sweete and solitarie company of thee, oh Father, Sonne, and holy Spirit, and of all thy elect and faithfull children which dwell and are perpetually gathered together in thy holy temple, in such maner, that all the desire of my soule may be to go into thy tabernacle, and to dwell therein for euer. For what greater mischief can happen vnto me then to be put out, or deuiued of such company? Whosoever is not with thee, and in thy holy city, must of force be with Sathan and in the company of Diuels, that is, with all euill and mischiefe: for that, as thou giuest peace, felicity, and life to those which dwell in thy house, so the Diuel is the author of al euill & mischiefe, and lastly of eternal death to al those which follow his kingdome, working iniquity. For although (Oh our God and heavenly Father) thou diddest couenant, that thou woldest no more drown & destroy the world with water, and that from thence forth, as long as the world should last, seed time and haruest, cold, and heat, summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease. In conformation whereof, thou didst establishe the rainbow for a signe: Neuertheles, what is this poore life but a deluge of euils? But herein my soule is comforted, that euen then, when in thy great & most iust fury, thou didst send down great floods of raine vpon the earth, O good God by thy great fauour and mercy, thou didst abundantly shew forth thy admirable defence and protection from heauen vpon Noahs arke. For what was the cause that hee perished not with the rest of mankind? did he not see one selfe same deluge? did not the same waters fall vpon him? yes certainly. But in his little lodging of Gophar wood, he had thy promise, (O most puissant Lord) he had thy grace which protected him, in such manner that thousand thousands falling on his right hand, and as many on his left, he was safe vnder thy wings. So Lord, although that in this world, the cloudes of miseries falleth vpon the good and vpon the euill, and that both the one and the other die, we know that thou wilt saue, and make most happy those that are in the arke of thy Church. That is it which thou hast promised by the Prophet: saying, *For a moment in myne anger I hid my face from thee for a little season.* Neuerthelesse, as I haue sworne that the waters of Noah, should no more goe ouer the earth: so haue I sworne that I would not be angry with thee, or rebuke thee. For the mountaines shall remooue, and the hills shall fall downe, but my mercy shall not depart, neither the couenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord, that hath compassion on thee. Whereof thou giuest vs a lively assurance in holy baptisme, therein shewing vs life and death, as in times past thou didst to Noah, shew death in the waters, and life in the Arke. As our sinnes are sufficient by the meanes of thy iust fury to drowne vs.

But on the other side also, when we are receiued into the fort of thy Sanctuary, (Oh Lord, which is the Church & ingrafted in thy Sonne Iesus Christ, by the sacred visible seale of his couenant, and shew the fruites of the same, in attestation of a good conscience before thee, (O Lord) by the resurrection of Christ, then we are saued and quickned, as it is sayd; *Blessed are they that heare the word of God, and keepe it.* And to what end is it to cast seede into the

Iohn 10. 1, 16

Ephes. 5. 25

Heb. 12. 22, 23

Mat. 13. 19

8 c.

Rom. 2. 28.

Math. 7. 21.

Gen. 8. 21.

Ibid. 9. 16.

Gen. 6. 14.

Esa. 54. 8, 9, 10

1 Pet. 3. 21.

Iude 11. 28.

the

Mat. 7. 26, 27
Iohn 14. 21
Psal. 40. 7.

the ground, if therein it taketh no roote, to spring and bring forth fruit? to what end or profit should wee build a house, if with the first winde that bloweth, it falleth downe againe? *They loue mee (saith Christ) that haue my commaundements, and keepe them.* But how shall we heare his voyce, if he pierceth not our eares, and openeth not our vnderstandings: for it is nothing to heare outwardly, if God speaketh not inwardly vnto vs, nor is not heard within our thoughts. Then great is thy mercy, (O celestial Father) seeing that the hearing and hauing of thy holy word, proceedeth not from vs, but from thy meere grace and benignitie. Therefore I beseech thee, to open my heart, that I may vnderstand the language of the holy Ghost in thy Schoole, as it once pleased thee to do vnto *Lydia*, whereof *S. Luke* speaketh, and proceed to execute and performe all that which thou hast promised for the conseruation of thy Church, vntil such time as being fully deliuered from all her enemies, thou makest her perfectly triumph in the kingdome of heauen.

Acts 16. 14.

10. Meditations vpon the tenne Commaundements.

The institution of Christian faith in the Catholike Church, is accompanied with an abridgement of the meanes how to honour and serue God, in certaine and singular precepts of holy life. For as to beleue in God, (Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost) is the true Religion: so to obey him, is the same and most commendable vertue, which leadeth the faithfull to eternall happinesse. To this end the Lord hath giuen vs his Law: for although that in the Gospel wee are freed from the rigour and curse which all men incore by not being able to fulfill the Law. Neuerthelesse, touching Righteousnesse, and the rule of living well, which is contained in the tenne Commaundements, which God gaue to *Moses*, for his people to obserue; they still remaine for a true paterne of a Christians life, to the end that hee may frame himselfe thereunto with all his heart. To that end it is said in the Church: *Heare Israel, I am the Lord by God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, Thou shalt haue no other Gods but me, or before mee, &c.*

Exod. 20.
Deut. 5.

This Law comprehended in tenne Sentences or Commaundements, was receiued by *Moses*, in two Tables made of stone, which he witnesseth were wrought by God, and the writing in them ingraued with his hand. Therefore we consider all the Commandements in two parts: The first containing foure Commaundements, which specially concerne pietie, and our duetie therein towards God. The second hauing sixe Precepts, containing that which wee are bound to doe by loue towards our neighbours. At the beginning of all these Commaundements, God maketh a manner of a Preface, wherein hee attributeth to himselfe the authoritie to commaund, saying, *Heare*; and nameth himselfe *Lord*: which word in the Hebrew tongue signifieth Eternall, and creator of the world. Then he calleth himselfe God of his people, to make his doctrine more amiable, and namely in this, that hee deliuered them from the bondage of the Egyptians, teaching vs by that deliuerance made of the bodies of the Israelites, that hee hath also deliuered their soules, and the soules of all the faithfull, from the spirituall captiuitie of sinne, and from the tyrannie of the Denill: so it followeth, that it is great reason, that wee should yeeld all obedience vnto such a Deliuerer.

The first of the commaundements is, *Thou shalt haue no other God but me, or before me*: God herein requireth, that we should reserue vnto him onelie the honor and the glorie which belongeth vnto him, and not transport it else where. Which we doe, worshipping one God onely, calling vpon him, putting our trust in him, giving him thanks for all his benefites, and obseruing all such things as the Scripture teacheth vs to bee onely due to the eternall God.

The second precept, *Thou shalt make to thy selfe no grauen Image, &c.* Containeth the true mannerto worship God, (as Christ afterward said) in Spirit and truth, withdrawing vs from all superstitions and carnall manner of worship.

The third Commandement is *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord by God in vaine*, where by God forbiddeth vs to abuse his name in any maner whatloeuere, and neuer to speak of his sacred name, but with feare and great humility, and to glorifie him.

The fourth Commandement, *Remember thou keepe holy the Sabbath day, &c.* The Ceremonie whereof, concerning the auncient law being abolished, the truth and substance thereof remaineth still with vs, as of all the rest and other Moisaicall figures and shadowes. Which bindeth vs religiously to obserue the order established in the Church, to serue God,

to heare his word, to communicate at publike prayers, and at the holy Sacraments on the dayes appointed, ceasing from all other workes: and to conclude, to submit our selues wholly to the Spirituall and Ecclesiasticall policie.

The fift, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother, &c.* Whereby wee must vnderstand, that not onely children are bound to bee humble and obedient to their fathers and mothers, to honour and reuerence them, and to assist and serue them; but also all inferiour persons and subiects, are to doe the like vnto their superiours and Lordes, because the reason is all one and alike, which is, that God is the Authour of all preheminence and authoritie.

The sixt, *Thou shalt not kill.* By the which, seeing it is God that speaketh, wee must not thinke, that the Law is onely imposed vpon exterior workes, but specially also vpon the affections of our heart. And therefore with murther, God forbidderh all hatred, and malice, and a desire to do euill to any one whatsoever; yea, and it bindeth vs to loue our neighbour, and to doe him all the good that wee can, willingly, and without dissimulation.

The seuenth, *Thou shalt not commit adultery.* Which in effect is, that all concupiscence is accursed before God, and that therefore wee must abstaine from it, for so he instructeth vs by one kinde, generally to auoyd and shunne all vncleannesse and filthinesse, displeasing vnto the Holy of Holiest: And which is more, considering the nature of our Law-giuer, who being all Spirit, doeth not onely regard the outward worke, but penetrateth into the depth of our thoughts, wee ought to learne by this Precept, that seeing our bodies and our soules are temples of the holy Ghost, wee are to keepe and maintaine both the one and the other honestly, in such manner, that wee must be chaste in thought, word, and gesture, as well as in deed and worke.

The eighth Commandement, *Thou shalt not steale.* Wherein God not onely forbidderh vs all theft, which is punished by iustice, but also all euill trades, and vnlawfull meanes to draw vnto vs the goods of our neighbor, either by violence, or deceit, or in another maner contrary to Christian charitie, and which the holy Scripture no wayes alloweth. Wherein also wee must abstaine from will, as well as from deed, and every man in his vocation is to doe the best hee can, to preserue the goods of his neighbour.

The ninth Precept is, *Thou shalt not beare false witness, &c.* Wherein God naming one kinde onely, giueth this generall rule, That wee must not falsly speake euill of our neighbour, and that by detraction and lying wee must not hurt him, neither in his goods, nor in his good name; but doing the contrary, we must thinke well of him, as farre as truth requirerh and warranteth, and preserue his good report and credit as neere as we can.

The tenth and last Commandement, is *Thou shalt not come thy neighbours house.* Whereby God requirerh such manner of integritie in vs, that neuer any euill concupiscence, nor desire should enter into our hearts, to moue and stirre vs vp to euill, to the preiudice of our neighbour, but rather, that every man should bee content with his owne, and glorifie the Lord in his condition.

Let vs further note, that of these tenne Commandements of the law, wee haue a brieue summary set downe in the Gospell, wherein consisteth the true accomplishing of all righteousness, which is in these 2. points. That we loue God with all our hearts, with all our soules, and with all our strength, and our neighbour as our selues. It is true, that the infirmity of all flesh is such, that in this mortall body we can neuer attaine to that perfection, which is required herein. For the loue of God importeth, that wee should loue and honour him in thought and deed: as our Lord, Master, Father, and Saviour, which requireth feare, obedience, honor, and confidence, and that which is added (with all our heart, soule, and force,) vnderstandeth, that we should feare God, obey him, honour him, and put our trust and confidence in him, with such zeale, reuerence, seruency, and confidence, that in our imagination there should be no desire, no will, no study, nor any cogitations that should contradict this loue, which we should beare to God. Mat. 22. 37. 39

Touching the second point, the sence is, that as we are so naturally inclined, to loue our selues, that this affection surmounterh all others, so we should carry our selues in such sort towards our neighbours, that charitie should dwell in our hearts, to lead and induce vs to doe all the duties of loue vnto them, as brethren and children of one father: from thence taking the rule of all our actions and behaviours towards them. But being not able to obtaine this perfection, yet there is a certaine measure to approach neere vnto it, and which is pleasing vnto God, that is, when we studie by all meanes, to attaine vnto that perfection which is taught vs, in the holy Scriptures, continually inuoking the grace of the holy Ghost,

Ghost, that wee may increase in obedience of faith, and bee sorie for our infirmities, for so wee may bee well assured, that there is mercie for vs in Iesus Christ, from our Father which is in heauen.

II. *A Prayer, to aske grace of God, to liue according to his word.*

Pla. 94. 12, 13 Happy is that man whom thou chastenest (O Lord) and teachest him thy Law, that thou mayest giue him rest from the dayes of euill, while the pit is digged for the wicked. Then (oh eternall God) for as much as the way to heauen is taught vs in thy word, and that by so many testimonies of the Prophets and Apostles, wee vnderstand which is the right way to saluation; suffer mee not, I beseech thee, to bee lost, by wandring in the spacious high wayes of the world, following the counsell of the wicked, or the traditions and inuentions of men. Make mee to knowe, that all those that put not their trust onely in thee, and which goe out of the way which thy beloued Sonne hath made and troden for vs, are set in perillous and slippery places, to be throwen headlong into vtter ruine and desolation. And suffer not (Oh God) that in this pleasant way of life eternall, wherein by thy grace and mercie thou hast set mee, I should faile or bee negligent in my vocation, but rather that I may goe forward therein with a feruent zeale, to my liues end, that I may bee constant and firme in obedience towards thee, and that by a true faith I may bee able to surmount the scandalles and impeachments which Sathan presenteth vnto those that haue recourse vnto thee. Oh Father of the Elect, I know well that the best runners are oftentimes subiect to stumble: but I beseech thee keepe mee from stumbling; and if I fall, let thy powerfull hand relieue and raise mee vp, that feeling thy bountie and benignitie, I may with all my heart serue thee according to thy Commandements. Our Spirits naturally are so much hindred and withdrawn by the cares and vanities of the world, that wee are stubburner, and backwarder to walke in the wayes which thou commaundest vs, then brut beasts are to go the way which men direct them. But my hope is in thy vertue; it is thy ayde and assistance which I expect, that by thy powerfull Spirit, my weake spirit being vnburthened, & my heart at libertie, there may be nothing to stay me from walking in thy waies, & running in a Christian race, wholly dedicating my selfe vnto thy seruice. Happie is he, (oh Lord) that hath profited wel in thy Schole, wherein the Law of life is taught, & the holy Ghost governeth, which comforteth and strengtheneth vs against all afflictions and humane miseries, and also against death, shewing vs that we labour not in vaine, but for the crowne of incorruptible glorie. Graunt mee grace (oh mercifull God) so to goe on and perseuere in this course of life, that I may apprehend that excellent prize, and in the end attaine vnto thee.

Psal. 119. In this terrestriall pilgrimage wee desire to see thy face in thy holy Church (saith the Prophet) and it is partly shewed vnto vs in thy word: But oh, how happie shall wee bee, when it shall bee fully discovered vnto vs, at such time as in heauen wee shall contemplate and behold it in thy glory; and that wee shall see thee as thou art, Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost: When wee shall neede neither Scriptures, Prophets, Sacraments, nor Figures: for then we shall enioy the true forme and presence of thy holy Maiestie. But while I expect and stay for this eternall blessednesse, sustaine my hope by faith in thy word, which is the light of my pathes; and in tribulation is sweeter and comfortabler to my heart, then hony in my mouth. Human reason (oh Lord) is an excellent light which thou hast giuen to man, but as it is obscured by his fall, it cannot shew vs the way which leadeth vs from sinne to righteousness, and from death to life. And those that haue no other light in their vnderstandings, perish like beasts. Therefore it pleased thee to haue a Church heere on earth, gathered together by the preaching of thy word. Illuminate my eyes to behold and see the spirituall magnificence of this thy House, that I may loue and affect it, and in such sort lighten mee, that am a stranger in this vallye of darkenesse, that seeing the paths of life eternall, in thy sacred decrees I may follow them, vntill I attaine to our true countrie, which is in heauen.

Math. 15. 13. Iesus Christ hath said, That euery plant, which thou, oh heauenly Father, hast not planted, shall be rooted out. Therefore, for as much as thy holy word is pure, and beareth good fruit, giue me grace to loue it with all my heart, and to meditate thereon day and night. And seeing thou thy selfe inuitest vs to the waters of life, which thou giuest vs for nothing, leade me to those riuers, and keepe my soule from being seduced by that enemy which soweth cockle and darnel

1. Iohn 4. 1.

darnell in thy fieldes; and giue mee the spirit of discretion, to prooue the spirits, that I may not bee borne away by all windes of false doctrines, and still retaine the true patterne of thy sauing wordes, which are in faith and loue in Iesus Christ. To prooue those that are thine, oftentimes thou sufferest euill plants to growe; but thou knowest thy time when to pull them vp by the rootes, and to manifest mens vntrueths, by the power of thy trueth. Therefore, oh most powerfull God, may it please thee to repress all those that make Sects and Schismes apart and partialities, and scandales against the true doctrine of the Gospel, and worke effectually in the holy ministry thereof, that all errors beeing rooted out of mens hearts, we may all like true Christians, with peace & concord, glorifie thy name al the daies of our liues. Let thy fauour abound vpon the people whom thou hast chosen, and now when it is as it were at the last, and the end of the time, when as (oh Lord) it seemeth, that the Sonne of Trueth is about to goe downe in the world, dwell with vs, and strengthen vs in the knowledge of thee, according to thy promise, neuer to forsake those that put their trust in thee. Amen.

12. *Meditations and Prayers, touching the holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper, to present our selues worthily at the receiuing thereof.*

Lord God, Father of the vniuersall world, the heauens cannot comprehend nor containe thee, and yet thou hast done this honour to vs which are thy creatures, to communicate with vs, and to enter into vs, poore wormes of the earth. What tongue can expresse, or thought conceiue thy admirable loue, in this, that to redeeme man, beeing a miserable sinner, and to make him happie and blessed for euer, diddest vouchsafe to let thy onely Sonne, the brightnesse of thy glorie, take humane flesh vpon him, and after that hee had shewed and taught vs the waie to heauen, hee was with great anguishes crucified, dead and buried, by himselfe making satisfaction for our sinnes; and which is more, that wee might haue this consolation and comfort, and the memorie of this great benefite alwaies present before our eies; as also to strengthen our faith, the same bodie of Iesus Christ, risen againe in glorie, should remaine with vs for food to eternall life? For thy word (oh eternall God) teacheth vs, that when our good Sauour did offer himselfe to shed his blood for the washing away, and remission of our sinnes, hee presented and ordained his blood for a sweet and sauing drinke, with the communication of his bodie, to bee mystically celebrated for euer in his Church, in remembrance of him: to the ende, that as not long before he had miraculously by his great power raised *Lazarus* from the dead: so by the institution and celebration of this great and most diuine Sacrament of bread and wine, our soules should bee nourished with the flesh and the blood of that Lambe without spot, to be freed from death which is the reward of sinne.

How great was the providence of our Lord and Sauour, to call vs to the communion of his bodie before he died; thereby to shew vs, that by death it should not bee destroyed, and that hee would neuer leaue nor forsake his Church! What a refreshing is it vnto vs, in this terrestriall pilgrimage, and how sweete a banquet, to eate the glorious flesh of Christ, and to drinke his precious blood, when by faith in his word, beeing ascended vp into heauen, his life insufereth it selfe into our soules by the vertue of his Spirit, to enrich vs with all his graces and celestiall benefites. Oh most blessed flocke, that hath so liberall a Shepherd, that will nourish it with his blood, that it may liue by his life. What consolation it is vnto vs in this vale of teares and miseries, therein to finde meate which perisheth not, and which maketh vs liue alwayes. For by this meanes, and with great efficacie, wee communicate with Iesus Christ (God and man) by his word, by faith, and by the Sacraments, vntill that in heauen, without exterior meanes, we shall eate that celestiall Bread, and drinke that holy Drinke, there filling our vnion with God, and full accomplishing of our blessednesse. Oh most desired day, wherein wee shall be fedde and satisfied with that living Bread at the Lords Table, with the Angels, that God may bee all in vs: and how happie are wee now, seeing that now already in Christ we taste the sweetnesse of this sacred Banquet, wherein wee shall see the Lord face to face, and shall bee filled with his glorie, in peace and ioy: For when we participate heere on earth the Body and Bloud of Iesus Christ, according to his Ordinance, we begin to liue in heauen.

Then, oh Lord my God, to the end, that following thy Commandement I may present my selfe worthily at this holy banquet of sacred meates, which the Angels admire and

honour;

honour, I beseech thee to purifie and cleanse my heart from all spots and vncleannesse, and therein to infuse thy loue, and all other celestiall graces, by the working of thy holy Spirit, to the end, that this day receiuing my Creator, I may increase in faith, and hope of my saluation, and in all holinesse and righteousness. I repent, and am sorrie for my sinnes past, and from hencefoorth desire to liue Christianly, according to thy word, my whole hope is in thy mercie, and I doe not seeke nor hope for saluation, but onely in thy Sonne the Saviour of the world. I desire simply in my vocation, to celebrate the memorie of the death of our Saviour, as hee hath ordained vs in his Church. I forsake and renounce all the workes of the flesh, and all enmitie and hatred, with a good intent and courage to walke in the waies, and workes of the holy Ghost, and to liue in peace and loue with my neighbours: I beleue in the promises which Iesus Christ, (the infallible Trueth) hath from his mouth pronounced; which are, that hee will truly make vs participants of his bodie, and of his blood, that wee may possesse it wholly, and in such manner, that beeing made flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones, hee may liue in vs, and wee in him eternally.

Graunt then, O my good, and most mercifull Father, that with a true sinceritie of heart, and a pure zeale, I may receiue so great a benefit of the same Iesus Christ, so that in a certaine faith, I may enioy him and all his benefites, even as hee beeing verie God, and verie man, is truly the living Bread descended from heauen, to quicken vs, and to make vs happie for euer. And that by this sacred misterie, I may truly participate the newe and eternall Testament, that is, the Couenant of grace, in such manner to perseuere in this happie societie of the bodie of my Saviour, that from him I may incessantly drawe force and life, and beeing vnited with him, I may also become one with thee, my Creator. In this manner I beseech thee, to giue mee the grace to celebrate with thy Church, the most holy memorie of our Lord, to exercise my selfe therein all the daies of my life, and to announce the benefit of his death, vntill hee commeth to iudge the world, in the resurrection of all flesh; to the end, that so receiuing this great Sacrament of his bodie, with a new encreasing of all goodnesse and celestiall benediction, with so much the greater confidence, I may call vpon thee, oh my God and Father, and more & more glorifie my selfe in thy mercies. So to thee, O eternall God, protector of thy people; to thee, O Christ, Saviour of the elect; to thee, O holy Spirit, Comforter of the afflicted; and to thee, O holy Trinitie, one onely and true God, bee honor, glorie, and praise for euer and euer. Amen.

13. *Thanksgiving after the receiuing of the holy Sacrament.*

Oh Lord my God, I giue thee praise and thanks from the bottome of my heart, because thou hast bestowed so great a benefit vpon me poore sinner, as to haue drawne and receiued me into the sacred Communion of thy Sonne Iesus Christ my Saviour. It pleased thee once to deliuer him to die, to giue life to thy children, and as to one of them this day thou giuest him living vnto me for meate and nourishment to eternall life. I beseech thee let not my indignity make the precious blood of Christ to be shed for me in vaine, and that it may be giuen me to drinke, that in it being washed and cleansed from all my sinnes, I may alwaies be quickened, as one of thine elect, and a member of thy Church, seeing that in it thou hast made me participate that heauenly bread, which thou doest not communicate but vnto thy elect.

Let me not be so wicked to abuse these sacred meates, the preparation whereof cost so deare to thy beloved Son Iesus Christ, nor become like vnto dogs which returne vnto their vomite, nor to hogs that wallow againe in the dung, but rather grant (Oh Lord) that increasing in true faith, which bringeth forth good works, & in other gifts of thy holy Spirit I may neuer forsake thy holie alliance. Whether should I goe, but onlie vnto thee, and that by my Saviour Iesus Christ which hath and doth teach vs the wordes of life eternal? Let it not be for a day, that the memorie of his passion and loue may present it selfe before mine eyes, but let it remaine engrauen in my heart for euer, that I may incessantly praise the redeemer of the world, because by his testament hee hath left vs the inheritance of heauen, giuing vs the precious earnest of the holie Sacrament of his bodie. And therefore I resigne my selfe wholly into thy hands (Oh glorious God) beeing resolved by the grace of thy holie Spirit, to goe on the course of my life ioyfullie, and with a good conscience before thee, that I may goe in peace to my graue when the time commeth, seeing that Christ

is my life. Depart from mee, worldly delights, and all terrestriall meates, which conuert and change into gall and rottenesse; seeing that within my bowels I haue incorruptible meat, sweeter then hony, and which maketh mee immortall, that is, the bread of Angels, the bread of God, the bread of heauen, the bread which giueth life to the world, and which without signes and Sacraments, wee shall eate about in the kingdome of heauen in blessednesse for ever. Then to thee, O God my Creator; to thee, O Christ my Redeemer, and to thee, O holy Spirit, which by thy diuine vertue workest this holy and vnspeakeable coniunction of faithfull Christians, with the bodie of our Lord, and to thee onely God be honour and glory eternally. Amen.

14. *Meditation and Prayer, touching the blessed life which God hath prepared for his children.*

This life which God hath prepared for those that loue him, because hee loueth them, is made vnto his children in Iesus Christ, a quickening, and blessed life for ever, because in it there is all ioy without sadnesse, rest without labour, dignitie without feare, abundance without want, eternitie without corruption, tranquillitie without trouble, chastitie without concupiscence, beautie without spot, light without darknesse, health without anguish, constancie without varietie, peace without aduersarie, holinesse without inticement to sinne, patience without murmuring, and to bee short, perfect and perpetuall beatitude: A life full of science, knowledge, and loue of God: a life enioying the whole vision of his glory, & maiestie, in that peace which passeth all vnderstanding: a life which the thoughts of the Angels, and of all the blessed incessantly desired, and are satisfied by one spirit, with that living Bread of heauen, and with that permanent sacred meate to immortalitie, (Iesus Christ verie God and verie man) without whom the desire and satisfaction of this sweete nourishment ingendreth paine and trouble: a life wherein those that haue made their soules white with the blood of the immaculate Lambe, shall bee intire men, where Christ is the first borne among many brethren, and with him, as his members, and vnited vnto him, as to their head, and by him to God, the fountaine of life: A life I say, wherein the bodies of all the faithfull shall bee made incorruptible and spirituall: like that of our glorious Lord, and their soules, made all light, in the splendour of diuine glory, to contemplate the face of the Deitie, and so to enioy the soueraigne good of man: To be short, this life, wherein one onely God (Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost) shall bee all in his elect, who being adhered and vnited vnto him, shall be made immortall, in full contentment and perfect felicitie incessantly to sing the spirituall Hymne of praise and thanksgiving, *Halleluiah*, Saluation, and glorie, and honour, and power belong to the Lord our God. This is that life (O my God) whereunto my poore soule aspireth: it is the marke whereunto it aymeth, the ende whereunto it tendeth; this price I say, of the supernall vocation of the Saints in Iesus Christ, by his Spirit. To this inestimable price I direct my course: I hunt after the incorruptible crowne of Glorie of the elect, and the great day of the restoring of all creatures, wherein our bodies being quickened, shall be reioyned with our soules, to liue together a heauenly life with the Angels.

O most bright and admirable day of the glorious comming of the Lord; a perpetuall day, without any euening or night, wherein I shall heare a melodious voice of the praise, exaltation, and confession of the most holy Name of the eternall God; and which will say vnto mee, Enter into the ioy of the Lord thy God, in that palace of glorie, where all things are great, incomprehensible, and without number, with a peaceable delight, a pleasing felicitie, a happie eternitie, and a perpetuall blessednesse, in the euermourning light of the most high Deitie. Oh ioy about ioy, ioy infinitely surpassing all other ioy, and without the which there is no ioy, when shall I enter into thee, to see my God in his glorious Throne, in his most holy Maestie, in that new heauen, and in that new earth, which his most puissant hand hath prepared for Celestiall Ierusalem, whereof hee himselfe is the Temple, and the Lambe IESVS CHRIST, the eternall Sonne? Then I shall goe into that holy and sacred place, where thou dwellest, Oh Lord, and there without doubt I shall see that which eye hath not seen, eare hath not heard, and which neuer entred into the heart of man. I shall see these incomprehensible wonders, in that last day, wherein the most mightie Lord, iudging the quicke and the dead, will transforme our vile bodies, to make them like vnto his glorified body, by that force and

efficacie, by the which all things are subiected vnto him. For then attaining to Christ (the perpetuall and infinite light) we shall see that great God face to face, and shall know him, as hee hath knowen vs, to bee filled with his glorie, without want of any outward thing that we can wish or desire, because then wee shall fully enioy our mercifull Lord, the soueraigne good, and the reward of the elect, the Scepter and Diadem of their ornament, and the perpetuall ioy inuironing their heads, as with a crowne of victorie, in vnspokeable peace, and continuing for euer. Thou art (O Lord God) this light, in whose light wee shall see light; that is, thee in thy selfe, in such sort, that in thine owne splendor beeing made all light, wee shall haue the sight of thy brightnesse; in the same to know thy truth and thy glorie, to know I say the power of the Father, the wisdom of the Sonne, and the vertue of the holy Ghost, in one Trinitie, of one inseparable and intire essence. Which knowledge is of such worth, that in it consisteth all the felicitie of the Angels, and of the Saints, the only guerdon of life eternall, the glorie of the blessed Spirits, their perpetuall comfort, the reward of their travels, the recompence of their labors, their rich rest, in a beautiful peace, and interior and exterior gladnesse, in the Paradise of God, in his holy citie, which aboundeth with blessednesse and delight for euer.

Therefore (O most cocquall and coeternal persons in one Trinitie) I beseech thee with all my soule, with all my mind, and with all my strength, that thou wilt be pleased, to suffer my heart to comfort and reioyce it selfe all the daies of my life, with firme assurance, one day to see thy glorie, when the gate of heauen shall bee opened vnto mee, to enter into the ioy of my Lord and my Redeemer. Behold me poore begger, which knock at thy doore (O most great Father) and thou hast said, Touch boldly the entrie into my house, knocke at my doore, and it shall be opened vnto thee. Now, seeing that my profoundest thoughts, the sound of my voice, and the teares of mine eyes, knocke and beate at the porch of thy Sanctuarie, and that all my affections, my vowes, and my desires are presented vnto thee and in thy presence. Turne not (O mercitull God) thy amiable face from mee, and withdraw not thy selfe from him, whom thou hast receiued and acknowledged for thy childe, and thy seruant, though he be a poore sinner. But rather benignly heare my praier, and lend mee thy comfortable hand, that it may defend mee from the sinking puddle of the world, and that hauing escaped from such a gulf, I may come to thee in life everlasting. May it please thee (O Father of the elect) to illuminate my ignorant youth, and despite not my crooked age, but causethy holy meditations to reioyce my bones, and renew my yeares, like the roiall Eagle, that with a most happie sight, I may rest in thy holy Tabernacle. Amen.

15. A Prayer to bee said by householders in the morning.

*Our ayde and beginning is in the name of God which hath made
heauen and earth.*

O Lord God our Father, altogether good, altogether wise, and altogether powerfull, Creator and Moderator of all things, wee thy poore children and seruants, by the grace which it hath pleased thee to shew vs in Iesus Christ our Sauour, humbly prostrated here before thy face, giue thee thanks for all thy benefits, specially for that it hath pleased thee to suffer vs to passe ouer the last night vnder thy protection and safegard, to liue vntill this day. Wee confesse, that being miserable sinners, conceived and borne in iniquitie and corruption, and naturally inuoloped with darknesse, ignorance, and error, we are not worthie nor capable to present our selues, nor to lift vp our eyes vnto thee (O most high God) which art all righteousness and light. But according to thy great goodnesse, thou hast made vs a way to the throne of thy grace and mercie, by the shedding of the blood of our Lord Iesus Christ thy beloued Sonne, whom wee beleue in his word, (which the holy Ghost confirmeth in our hearts) took flesh of the blessed virgin Mary, died on the crosse for satisfaction of our sins, & rose again in glorie for our iustification and eternal blisse. We acknowledge, soueraigne Father, that it is a great effect of thy benignitie that wee which are vnworthy to liue vpon the earth, because of the hereditarie vice of Adam, & which by our offences haue deserued to be cast into the bottomles pit of hel, haue this good & benefit to see the brightness of the day & of the Sun, therein to behold the works of thy hands, and heere on earth to inioy the benefits of this world, which thou bestowest vpon vs. But, O Lord, for as much as that by thy abundant liberality, thou bestowest these benefits comonly on al men, & that the

Sunne

Sunne shineth as well on the euill, as on the good, and that this exterior light, serueth but for the guiding of our bodies, wee beseech thee, to send the quickening light of thy face vpon our soules, and by thy holy Spirit to drive away the darknesse of our vnderstandings: blessing and regenerating vs more and more to all righteousness and holinesse, that wee may walke, not onely this day, but all the time of our liues, in the way of saluation, in such manner, that our intents, actions, and thoughts may all tend to thy honour and glorie, and the edification and consolation of those whom we haue meanes to aid. To know thee onely and true God (Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost) is to liue happily, to serue thee is to reigne, and to praise thee, is the ioy of a faithfull soule. Grant then (to obtaine of thy great benig- nitie so many spirituall graces) that wee may haue an assured faith in thy word, a constant hope of life eternall, and an ardent desire to loue and feare thee, withall our heart and thought, and in thee louing our neighbours as our selues.

To doethis, quench in our soules, the excessiue loue wherewith naturally wee flatter our selues, and all other impure desires of the flesh, and the vanities of the world, and kindle in our hearts the pure fire of thy loue, which may make vs thirst after heavenly things, and tread terrestriall things vnder our feet. May it please thee also (most power- full God) to fortifie vs against all the temptations of the deuill, and to deliver vs from them, as also from all other earthly dangers, and humane miseries, which may happen vnto vs in this life, graunting vs the grace, in the shortnesse and afflictions of the same, alwaies to re- member, that the figure of the world, passeth away like a shadow, and like the flower in the field; to the end (O Lord) that wee may learne principally to seeke after thy kingdome, and the sanctification of our hearts; knowing, that all other things besides shall bee giuen vs of thee for our necessitie, to make vs liue contentedly, and to die happily, to enioy eternal life. All which graces necessarie for our saluation, that wee may haue them all of thee (gra- cious Father.) Freely pardon, we beseech thee, all our sinnes, in the name; and by the merits of thy deare Sonne Iesus Christ our Redeemer, as thou hast promised to thy children and seruants, who trusting in thy Iustice, and in the merite of his death and passion aske it of thee with all their hearts.

And although we are vnworthie, seeing it hath pleased thee to command vs to pray one for another, wee pray vnto thee for all men; to the end that those who as yet haue not the vnderstanding of the Gospel, by the preaching thereof, nor the illumination of the holy Ghost, may be brought into the way of heaven, which is to know thee the onely true God, and him whom thou hast sent Iesus Christ, for the saluation of the elect. And that those to whom thou hast already giuen that grace, as vnto vs, may daily encrease in thy spi- rituall blessings, that all of vs together may honour and worship thee with one heart, with one mouth, with one Spirit, with one Faith, and with one Baptisme. Likewise, we pray thee for all those whom thou visitest with any kinde of tribulations, either in body or in soule, that it may please thee, O mercifull Father, to giue them comfort and patience, vntill they bee follie eased of their griefes. May it please thee also by thy holy Spirit to gouerne, guide and direct the King, and all other Princes, Magistrates, and Superiors, that haue the govern- ment and rule of the sword of Iustice vpon earth, that raigoning and living in Pietie and Iustice, they may imploy their dominion and power for the exaltation of thy holy Name, and for the tranquillitie, peace, and quietnesse of their subiects, subiecting and submitting themselves and all their people, to thee, and to thy holy word. Which to publish in all pla- ces, it may please thee more and more to enrich the Pastors of thy Church with thy preci- ous gifts, and from day to day, to raise vp others for the edification and perfection of thy holy Temple, whereof generally, O Lord, may it please thee to shew thy selfe the most puissant Protector, to the confusion of the aduersaries of Christ, and of his Church. Hum- bly praying vnto thee for all these things, O God, with confidence to bee heard of thee ac- cording to thy promise, and in the praier which thy beloued Sonne hath taught vs, saying, *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.* Wee beseech thee also, Oh God, to encrease our faith, that it may take liuely roote in our hearts, to fructifie and increase in vs all righteousness, and good workes, and that thereof wee may all the daies of our liues, and at our last houre, make such a confession, as wee now doe, with heart and mouth, saying, *I beleene in God the Father Almighty, &c.* The blessing of God our Father, the peace of Iesus Christ our Sa- uiour, and the ioy of the holie Ghost be giuen vnto vs, and dwell with vs eternallie. Amen.

16. *Grace or Prayer before meate.*

All creatures attend and lookevpon thee, O Lord, thou giuest them meat in due season, and they receiue it, and are satisfied and fed at thy hands. We beseech thee, O Lord, to extend thy blessings vpon vs thy children and seruants, and sanctifie the food which at this present thou settest before vs, that wee may vse it soberly, according to thy will, for the sustaining of our bodies and liues, in the name, and to the glorie of thee, O Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, one onely and true God, which liuest and reignest for euer and euer. Amen.

17. *Grace or Prayer after meate.*

Euery faithfull Christian ought to praise the Lord, and euery one should shew forth his glorie, because his mercie and trueth endureth for euer. So, O Lord God, wee giue thee thanks for all thy benefits, and specially for that it pleaseth thee to sustaine and feede vs in this corporal life, administering vnto vs al things necessary. But specially we thanke thee for the spirituall food of thy word, which thou giuest to our soules, that they may liue happily for euer, in Iesus Christ thy Sonne and our Redeemer, to whom with thee and the holy Ghost, one onely and true God, be honour and glorie for euer. Amen.

18. *Prayer to be said by a household at night.*

Oh Lord God our heavenly Father, to whom all glorie and praise belongeth, we know that thy people of Israel did euerie day euening and morning sacrifice vnto thee, as a thanksgiving for their rest, and of reconciliation with thee their God. But the true Lambe which taketh away the sinnes of the world, all figures being accomplished, hath taught vs in the Gospel, that a contrite and humble heart of a Christian, is a sacrifice pleasing vnto thee. Therefore in all humilitie and reuerence, we present our selues before thy face, giuing thee thanks, that it hath pleased thee to giue vs grace to passe this day vnder thy protection and safegard. Beseeching thee not to enter into iudgement with vs, nor to call vs thy creatures and poore wormes of the earth to account for our actions this day past: For wee haue offended thee many waies, and whensoever wee examine our consciences, they make vs culpable of death and damnation in hell: but as the childe hath recourse vnto the father, and the seruant to his master; so wee humble our selues before thee, O Lord, which art slow to anger, and of great compassion. May it please thee, O Lord, by thy great bountie and clemencie, to pardon our faults, and to couer them before thy face, with the righteousness of thy beloued Sonne, to the end, that as all things are now couered to our eies, by the darknesse of the night, for the rest of our bodies, so our soules may take their rest in our onely Saviour Iesus Christ.

Lord we know that Sathan compasseth vs about, like a roaring lion, that he is the Prince of darkenes, and seeketh to make a breach in our hearts, when we thinke not on him. But thou art the defence of Israel, which neuer sleepest, and that if thou beest with vs, who can be against vs? It is thou Oh Lord, that hath legions of Angels for the protection of those whom thou hast elected: we beleue and hope that we are of that number, by the mercie which it hath pleased thee to shew vnto vs. Giue vs grace we beseech thee this night to rest in peace, defend vs from all temptations, and pollutions, from all troublesome dreames and nightlie vnquietnes, & preserve vs from all danger that our bodies, by thy ordinance (O Lord) taking and receiuing quiet sleep, our spirits also may alwaies watch vnto thee, for the glorie of thy holie name, that so rising the next morning, we may be so much the better disposed to acknowledge thy bountie, and to glorifie thee as long as wee liue. For that in such maner going on with our course of life in Iesus Christ, we may with ioy of the holie Ghost, attend the happie, & most desired rest of life eternal, which is kept for vs in heauen, to enioie the same, after the sweet rest, which shal begiuen vs in our graues, when the Angel at the latter daie shall sound the trumpet to call vs into iudgement. But in the meane while that we comfort our selues with the expectation of that glorious resurrection, we recommend vnto thee, Oh heauēly Father, the peace & preseruatiō of thy Church, the state of this realme, and

and all persons afflicted with any kinde of sicknesse, and tribulations, praying thee to giue vnto thy children and seruants that which thou knowest to be necessarie for them, that thy benignitie may shine and be seene in the middle of those that call vpon thy name; and haue their hope in thee. Heare vs, O Lord, for the loue of thy deare Sonne our Sauour Iesus Christ, in whose name we pray vnto thee as he hath taught vs; saying: *Our Father which art in heauen, hallowed bee thy name, &c.*

19. *A short Prayer for euery particular person to say in the morning.*

It is a good thing to praise thee, O Lord; and in the morning to extol thy mercies. Therefore I humbly prostrate my selfe before thy Maiestie, and lift vp my hart to thee my Father which art in heauen, giuing thee thanks for the benefits which hitherto thou hast vouchsafed to bestow vpon me, namely, the last night, which I past vnder thy keeping & protection. I beseech thee, that this day, & all the rest of my life, thou wilt continue thy fauours and blessings towards me thy seruant, and to increase my faith in thy Church, with other gifts of the holy Ghost; that vnder thy conduction I may walke in my vocation with a good conscience, and with such sinceritie of heart, as if it were not before men, to please them; but as in thy presence, to whom I am to yeeld an account of all my actions: and so like a good Christian I may goe on the rest of my life, with a peaceable spirit, and quiet conscience, to thy honor, and the good of my neighbors, as thou shalt giue me grace; at the last to die happily, in hope of the eternall life which Iesus Christ my Sauour hath obtained for me by his blood shedding. Forgive (O Father of mercie) all my offences, in the name of thy Sonne, in whose righteousness and merits, I haue and doe put all my trust and confidence, and for his sake, aid me in all my necessities, vntill such time as thou shalt take me as thy child, into the inheritance of the Saints. This which I aske of thee (& for al the faithful) with al other things necessary for thy glory and our saluation, in assurance to be heard of thee, I beseech thee to grant for Christ his sake, in whose name I continue my praier as he hath taught me saying: *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.*

20. *A Prayer for a particular man at night.*

It is a good thing to praise thee (O Lord) and to set forth thy mercy when night cometh, Therefore I humble my selfe before thy face, giuing thee thanks for the aide and fauour which it hath pleased thee to giue me this day past, wherein I might haue fallen into a thousand dangers and miseries, if it had not beene for thy paternall care, which thou hast vouchsafed to haue of mee thy poore seruant. But as by my fragility I haue offended thee manie waies, and that thy mercy infinitelie surpasseth all my vnrigheteousnesse, pardon (good Father) my sinnes in the name, and for the merits of Iesus Christ thy Sonne, and my Sauour in whose death and passion I put my whole trust and confidence. And seeing thou hast created the night for the rest of thy creatures, may it please thee therein to giue mee rest both in body and soule, against the subtiltie of Sathan, and of al others that would hurt me, that when daie cometh, I may so much the more extoll thy goodnes, and glorifie thee in my vocation, till that at the last I may attaine, to the true rest of eternall life, which is obtained and kept for me in Iesus Christ my redeemer. In whose name Oh Lord, I beseech thee to grant these things, and all others needfull for all the faithfull, as we are taught to pray vnto thee by the Sonne, saying: *Our Father which art in heauen, &c.*

21. *A Prayer to be said by a sicke person.*

O Lord God, most mighty and most good, we know that among the corrections, whereby thou puttest vs in mind of our duties, it pleaseth thee oftentimes to tame our flesh by diuers diseases. For then thou dost aduertise vs, by the paines that we feele & endure not only of our sinfull liues past, but also of the end thereof which euery one must suffer by death, as then also thou giust vs cause to think vpon the great & last day of thy iudgement, at which time we shal enter into a life eternall, which shal be ful of glory & blessednes for the good, & shame and torment for the wicked, which things the flesh liuing at ease, doth little regard. Now (Oh Lord most iust) it hath pleased thee at this time by sickenesse to humble

this party, which heere lyeth sicke in his bed, making him to feelee and beare the seuerity of thy punishments, which also puts his soule in minde of his sinnes, and setteth the image of death before his face. Therefore, seeing thou commandest vs to pray one for another, wee humbly beseech thee, with this poore sicke person, that thou wilt not execute the rigor of thy iudgement vpon him, as hee hath deserued, but rather (mercifull Lord) cast thy eies of mercy vpon him, and beholding him as a childe redeemed from sinne, and death, by the blood of Iesus Christ thy deare sonne, giue him grace and constant courage humbly to receiue thy paternall visitation, and to beare it patiently and obediently, submitting himselfe with all his heart and minde to thy mercy, which layest this visitation vpon him. Aide him in all his paines, and be his warrant and protection against the dangers which assaile him: and speciall if his conscience doth accuse him of his secret sinnes: then (oh Lord full of mercy) set before him for a defence, the passion and the voluntary sacrifice of the Sauour of the world, specially of all the faithfull his elect, who vpon himselfe (hanging on the Crosse) bare our infirmities and weaknesse, and suffered the paines of death, being made sinne for vs, to wash vs in his blood, and to obtaine remission of our sinnes, and after rose againe to accomplish our iustification, and to open vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heauen, as also to all those which beleue in him, being baptised in his name. Lord make this patient thy seruant, by the guist of Christian faith, to feelee the fruits and vertue of all thy great benefits, and that being oppressed with griefe and paine of body, for a firme consolation, he may in his soule receiue the true treasure of felicity, which is the remission of sinnes, through Iesus Christ. That this faith of the elect may be to him as a sure rampier against the astonishments of death, of Sathan, and of Hell, with assurance that Christ hath vanquished and overcome them for all Christians, members of the holy Church, to the ende that suffering with him, they may also bee glorified with him. May it please thee (oh heavenly father) to be mercifull vnto him, and if thou knowest that hee may yet profit in thy Church, among vs, preserve him from death, and giue him health with increase of thy graces. If not, (and that thou hast otherwise ordeined for him) receiue him vnto thee in peace, in thy glory, for he hath his recourse vnto thee (oh most mercifull God) instead of the death of the body, grant him the life of the soule, with thy angels, vntill that by the resurrection of all flesh, at the great day of the Lord hee may liue with him an intire man. So thy will bee done (oh Lord) in all and by all, as it is good and iust for ever: and grant vs our request in the name of the same Iesus Christ, and by the praier which hee hath taught vs saying, *Our father which art in heauen, &c.*

22. *Meditations and Prayer fit to be said by him that feelet much paine by sicknesse.*

My God, in my great paines and dolours I present my selfe before thee, I confesse and acknowledge mine owne weaknesse of nature, and the iustice and goodnesse of thy hand which visiteth me. The originall of all flesh consisteth in infection, his dwelling is a habitation of dust, full of vexations, sicknes, and griefes, his end is a prey to wormes, and all his glorie is buried with him in his winding sheete. It is the onely iewell of all the precious iewels and moueables, which the most puissant mortall creature carieth with him out of this world, with a coffin of wood, and a toombe of stone, to lay himselfe in a graue of sixe foot long. And neuerthelesse, man is so blind, that if he inioyeth any time of perfect health, the vanities of the world draw him hither and thither, make him wander out of the way of heauen, make him proud, and bereaue him of the knowledge of his owne fraile and weak condition. So haue I oftentimes found my selfe ready to suffer shipwracke in the seas of mens vaine desires. If thou (O my God and louing Father) in my chiefe glory, hadst not punished mee with the rods of tribulation, to prevent my destruction. As at this day it is thy pleasure againe to correct me by thy discipline, which maketh mee call to mind that I am a weak creature, to confesse my miserie, to humble my selfe, and to change my affections. My griefe is great, and hard to beare, but therby I haue cause the better to acknowledge, that thou art iust (O soueraign God) & good (O merciful Father) that in such maner healest and correctest my sinnes all with one medicine. For that the affliction which thou sendest vpon the body beeing well considered by thy children through thy grace in their hearts alwaies produceth the fruits of sanctification, and saluation with patience. Then, O thou vessel of earth, shadow of life, & mortal flesh, seeing God doth not send this paine and torment

torment to hurt thee, but to the end, that it may be vnto thee an instruction, and a warning to amendment of life: put off thy selfe, to submit thy soule vnto God, and thy affections to thy spirit, and without ceasing. Humble thy selfe vnder his paternall hand, that hath given thee this grievous blow, vnder that most puissant arme, that hath throwen the stone to bruiſe thee, and vnder that great God, who beeing pitifull, seeth and heareth thee in thine afflictions, and which vnder his most iust decree, holdeth in his power the euill and the remedie, the trouble and the rest, and life and death, to make both the one and the other profitable and good for thee, and say with a contrite heart, full of hope and confidence, I haue sinned against thee (O my Creator and Sauour) I haue offended thee, and prouoked thee vnto anger a thousand times a day, I deserue to be well punished, and all the paines which I endure, are farre lighter then the weight of my faults: but thou art the God of compassion, and of my deliuerance. Thou hast washt, sanctified, and iustified me in thy beloved Sonne Iesus Christ, and in him thou wilt make me happy. Pardon mee in his name (O mercifull Father) all my sinnes, and comfort me in my griefe, wherein I want force. Let not thy comfort, and the vnction of thy Spirit, withdraw themselves from my poore soule, nor thy aid from thy languishing bodie. I beseech thee from the bottome of my thoughts, from the bitterness of my heart, and with thy seruant *Dauid* say, *Lord heare my request, and let my cry come vnto thee, bide not thy face away from mee, in the day of my distresse.* Let thine eares encline to my complaint, hasten thee and answer my demand; for my bones sticke to my flesh, by reason of mine anguish, and my daies vanish like smoke, and like a shadow which passeth away, and I am dried like a withered herbe. Lord, all my desire dependeth on thee, and my griefe is not hidden from thee: goe not backe from mee, come to helpe mee, I expect the effects of thy mercie. O mercifull God, accomplish that which thou hast said by thy Prophet, *I haue heard thee in time conuenient, and succoured thee in the day of saluation:* and while I endure paine, make (O most powerfull God) the force and abundance of the graces of thy holy Spirit, to dissolve the sharpnesse of my torment, and mollifie the bitterness of the euil which I feele: that in peace of soule and conscience, I may alway goe on my course in this life with this Christian assurance, that seeing it is thou (O mercifull God) that afflicteth me, it is for my good, and that my sorrow shall bee vnto mee as a watch, and a signe of some approaching ioy, and that to crowne all my miseries, the last of my most grievous daies, shall bee the first of my rest in life eternall.

23. Meditation and Prayer against the feare of death.

The thing which oftē admonisheth men to imbrace Iesus Christ & his word, as they shuld doe, is the feare of death. For this sentence of Christ (not to feare those that kil the bodie, and cannot kill the soule, but rather to feare him that hath power to cast both bodie and soule into hell fire) cannot penetrate into their hearts, by which sacred words in that poynt our Sauour sheweth what humane folly is: we feare death, for feare to loose our liues. But men cannot take it away from vs, then why do we feare it? for our life is in the hand of God, that hath given it vs, and if we endure any dolor and torments, it is not death that we feare, but those sorrowes and torments whereunto we are borne and ordained, (as a bird is to fly) which we ought as patientlie to beare, as a valiant souldier beareth his wounds, to be praised and rewarded for them afterward.

Math. 10. 28.

Touching our bodies, which are put into the graue, we should not esteeme them to bee lost, for nothing is lost therein, but corruption and infection, which we should desire to lose, but our bodies shall rise againe in glory. In such manner, as when we melt a piece of copper to make an image therof, the copper is not lost, but thereby purified and honored. And (as a Martir said) Seeing that by nature we are mortall, why doe we not esteeme it to bee a great honour to die for Christ? But let vs specially note the reason that Christ giueth, which is, that if we must feare death, we must feare the most dangerous, that is, eternall death, which God can giue vnto those that offend him, that is the second death, in the burning lake of fire and brimstone, which is the portion of the fearefull, incredulous, execrable, murderers, lecherous persons, poisoners, idolaters, and all lyers, as Saint *Iohn* saith. *Then blessed are they that feare God, more then men.* God asketh no great thing of vs, but that we should trust in him, and acknowledge him. The elements, the celestiall spheres, the earth, the trees, & the rivers shew foorth his glory, and birds also with their warbling notes. Then why should not man created after the image of God, prayse him? It is a small thing to God for vs to confesse him,

Soſom. in
hist. Eccles.
lib. 2. c. 10.

Apoc. 21. 8.

Psal. 19. & 148

but it importeth vs much more, that he acknowledgeth vs in his glory; and accepteth vs to be his. Lord thou art the authour of saluation and life, and therefore it was good reason, that man turning away from thee, which at the true life, was cast headlong into malediction, to be subiect to corporall and eternal death. For thy Deity being infinite, the offence committed against thee, could not receiue lesse then infinite punishment, as eternall paine prepared both for body and soule. It is true, that corporall death and the torment thereof, is such, that it cannot be comprehended by men, but onely when they feelee it, but the cause (Oh Lord) of such and so great mischiefe, is onely man himselfe, but pity and compassion is in thee, which art altogether essentiall benignity and mercy. And therefore from the beginning thou didst not refuse, to stretch forth thy more then Fatherly hand to Adam (the fountaine of death, giuing him an assurance of remedy, for his mortal wound, by the sentence of life promised vnto him. A sufficient comfort to restore and assure him in his miserie, but not to make him altogether exempt of the apprehension of his fall, and of the horror of the trespasse, ordained for all men, by an ineuitable iudgement. Euerie one feareth this condition, for in it is seene the testimony of thy iust anger, oh God, against sinne, and a certaine argument of the miserable estate of man, by their naturall corruption subiect to eternall torments, but death hath not the like effect in all men, but changeth his qualitie, being to the wicked and reprobates a beginning and an entrie into teares, and gnawing of teeth in Hell, and to all true Christians a beginning of solid ioy and perpetuall beatitude, to the which felicitie we cannot attaine but by death. Iesus Christ himselfe, by his example shewed vs, how fearefull a thing it is, for although he ouercame death, yet he trembled before he fought with it. And although he was chosen by thee (oh Father) to be the death of death, neuerthelesse by the teares which he shed, kee witnessed the pitie and compassion that he had of our deplorable condition.

Then how should not I doubt that feareful passage which made the most perfect and the most assured among the Saints to feare? for although death could not bee any waies hurtfull vnto them, they were in some sort moued thereat, and oftentimes shund it, praying to bee exempted from it. And what man is hee, that would not feare so cruell a paine? For in what thing can wee reckon the good of man to consist; but in this, that it is, and subsisteth to be perpetually happy? And what is death, but the destruction and dissolution of man? who therein is so miserable, that hee is neuer so much afflicted, as in that dissolution, wherein although he liueth to be tormented because of sinne, and although hee bee destroyed, yet he subsisteth without limit, and without end to receiue the fearefull assaults of the graue, which incessantly kill him without dying, in such maner that we may well say that he liueth eternally, so without any euill of his Essence, perpetually to feelee the dolours and paines of hideous death. Lord, this abasheth mee, and the apprehension of so miserable an estate maketh me afraid, vntill I thinke vpon the onely remedy, which thou hast ordained against so terrible a feare, (that is, Iesus Christ my Saviour) who onely hath vanquished death, by his righteousness, healing the wound of sinne, and by his obedience satisfying the diuine sentence, which holdeth man (without this onely meanes) bound fast to the horrible paines of hell. It is he onely that hath swallowed vp death in victorie, and that hath wholly broken his sling. It is hee, who rising by his owne force and vertue, (which is thine oh my God) hath quickned man, not onely assuring him against the feare of eternall death, but which hath giuen him an assurance of good, contrary to that so extreme euill of eternall death, giuing him in the flesh of that great Saviour, which is our proper substance, a certaine warrant of our resurrection. By this meanes (oh heavenly Father) I change my feare into trust and confidence, and my doubt into desire. For in me there is no more feare of eternall death, seeing my soule, beleeuing in the Sonne of God, before death, passeth from death to life, I doe no more feare corporall death, because in respect of me it is no more a paine inflicted vpon mee for sin, but a testimony of the goodness of God, who by that way will haue me enter into life, no more a destruction vnto mee, but a preparation made for me to attain to a better state, and to liue happilier, nor no more a subiect to despaire, but an argument of hope, that I shall see my Saviour in my flesh, participating with his life, to be with him without spot or wrinkle, feare of death, or vengeance for sinne: and to be short, it is to me a triall of the vertue of Christ, which said, *Hee that beleueneth in me, I will raise him up at the latter day.* Grant me grace (O Lord) that with an assured hope I may goe on that way, fortified by faith, accompanied by hope, and clothed with charitie, seeing that all the howers, the daies, the moneths, and the yeares of my life, are degrees

degrees whereby I descend into the graue, to ascend vp to thy eternall glory. Learne me to know, that to liue from morning to night is a portiō of death, that I may make it more familiar vnto me: to make me to behold & contemplate the image of death in sleeping, that when I wake I may thinke vpon and remember the happy resurrection of all flesh: Make me to consider that night, is like the shadow of death, and that morning resembleth Iesus Christ which destroyeth & bringeth it to an end. In such maner, that on the one side I may humble my selfe in my fraile and weake condition, and an other side, I may triumph in the glory of my restoring to come, as the end of my death, and the beginning of my life, the issue of my miserie, and my entrance into happinesse, the end of my teares and troubles, and the beginning of my ioy and felicitie, & to be short my soueraign good. So that, at what time soeuer, it shall please thee to call me by death, (Oh my God and mercifull Father) I may ioyfully go vnto it, in Iesus Christ my Sauour, which liueth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost eternally. Amen.

24. *A Prayer to bee said by him which feeleth himselfe at the point of death, and which may also be dayly said by every one that is well and in health.*

Oh Lord my God, most iust, and most mercifull, who of thy great loue didst suffer thy well beloued Sonne Iesus Christ, to die for my saluation, (which am a poore worme of the earth) I humbly beseech thee to giue me grace that the remembrance of the dolors and fruits of his passion, may neuer depart out of my heart and minde, to the ende, that vntill the last gaspe, I may be assured of thy loue towards mee: Oh mercifull God, which hast redeemed mee from sinne, from death, and from hell, by so precious a price, as the blood of Christ my Sauour, inrolling me thereby in the Church, and in the Communion of thy Saints. Behold not (O Lord) the offences which I have committed against thy holy Maiestie, which make me vnworthy of so many graces and fauours, which it hath pleased thee to bestow vpon me. I confesse that all my workes, being put into the ballance of iustice, are nothing but iniquitie and filthinesse. But remember that I am thy creature, borne and regenerated againe by Iesus Christ, for whose sake it pleaseth thee to be my Father, and by him (God become man among vs) to make mee mount vp vnto thee, and to make mee happy for euer. His righteousness is mine, by thy great loue: the promise thereof is sealed in my soule by the holy Ghost, I am baptised in thy name, nourished and quickned by the flesh and blood of thy Sonne, and beleue in thy Word. Assist (oh God in Trinitie) my infirmity, and therein let me not bee confounded by Sathan the enemy of my saluation, when he shall goe about to put me in distrust of thy mercy. I wholly referre my selfe thereunto, and will alwaies willingly leaue this fraile and contemptible life, to liue for euer with my Redeemer in celestiaall immortality. I am vnworthy thereof, but thy mercy (oh God) fully assureth mee, as one of thy elect; let thy mercy be a lampe to light me in the darkenesse of death, and by the gift of perseuerance in faith and hope of my saluation, make me approach vnto thee my God. Let the last words of Iesus Christ vpon the Crosse, bee also my last words, *Into thy hands, oh Father, I commit my spirit*, that thou mayest receiue me into glorie, for thou hast redeemed me, oh God, of truth: And forsake me not in my weakenesse, and when my strength shall faile mee: but when I cannot speake, Lord heare the desires of my dying heart and soule issuing out of my body, and let it interiorly heare that ioyfull voice which Christ vttered to the poore thiefe dying on the Crosse, saying, *This day thou shalt bee with me in Paradise*:

Verfes

VERSES BRIEFLIE SHEVV- ING THE SVMMME OF Christian Philosophie.

Of God and his Workes.

- 1** Seeing that the true and onely meanes for man
(To liue on earth t'attaine eternall blisse,) *By's mighty and most powerfull hand he had*
Who to serue God doth whatsoere he can, *Created man, or heaven and earth did frame*
Within our Academie shewed is: *In manner as we now behold the same.*
- To further him in all true pietie, **10** He knoweth that the Idea and the frame
I will adde this to my Philo'sophy. *Of th'earthly globe was in th'eternity*
For euer, and to glorifie his name,
2 My sole intent in verse is to endite, *By's power diuine, and great benignitie*
Of Christian Philosophers estate: *When't pleased him, did fashion and deuise,*
And of th'Eternall Deitie to write, *This world to be mans earthly Paradise.*
- Which truly knowne, procureth happy state. **11** He doth in word and thought still praise his name
Then grant, oh God, (which man of nought didst frame) *That did by number, waight, and measure make*
Me grace herein, t'extoll thy holy name. *All things to maintaine nature and the same*
3 A Christian Philosopher is he, *T'encrease and multiply: and care did take*
That doth behold the Maiestie, the Art, *That they should not their sex, nor order change,*
The beauty, splendor, and the dignity *But vnder his direction alwaies range.*
Of God, and all his workes in euery part. **12** Contemplating the beauty of the sphere
And which in heart and munde doth him adore, *Celestiall, transparant, vaulted faire,*
And in his Temple grace of him implore. *And full of starres, and heavenly lights which there*
4 He knoweth that the heavenly Deitie, *With certaine course, still compasse bout the aire.*
Is Essence infinite, a gulfe profound, *He is perswaded with the Deity,*
Innumerable, all eternity, *In body and soule to liue eternally.*
Chaos, and of all creatures the ground. **13** He seeth *Ebe-ie* by his workes emost great
And all in euery thing what ere wee see. *And what he is, his word doth well vnfold.*
In heaven, Sea, or Earth, and ere shall bee. *The thunders which are heard from heauens seate*
5 He doth confesse *Iehoua*, God alone *And lightning (which mens eies cannot behold)*
To be, without beginning, middle, ende, *And all the admirable things we know*
Fore whom all things are manifest and done, *That he hath done, his liuely image show.*
And all vpon his providence depend. **14** He's taught that God by's powerfull word did frame,
Most Holy, Pure, Good, Iust, Omnipotent, *Of nothing in th'infinite the great*
To wrath and anger slow, to mercy bent. *And spacious world, and round about the same,*
6 Instructed thus of God, he doth confesse *The heauens, water, fire, and aire, did seate.*
Three persons in a holy Trinitie, *All which, and all that heaven and earth containe,*
The Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, no lesse *By's providence diuine, he doth maintaine.*
In power diuine and heauenly Deity: **15** He doth to God the honor truly giue,
One of them then the other, yet all three *T'haue made the world with euery other thing*
Of them together, but one God to bee. *And fishes, foules, beasts, wormes, therein that liue.*
7 So hath he learn'd, that God by's power begat *Subiected hath vnto mans gouerning.*
His Sonne the Word, before the world begon *And for him th'earth, fire, water, aire ordain'd,*
T'apeare, or any Essence had, and that *Within the center of the world contained.*
Both from the holy Father and the Sonne, **16** He knowes how out of matter without forme,
The holy Ghost doth equally proceed, *And rude confused Chaos, without light,*
As both of them by heauenly will decreed. *God his great worke so admirable t'adorne,*
8 He thinkes vpon the great inuisible *Did make and frame that most resplendant light,*
Eternity, the authour of all blisse, *Which now doth serue to light the world throughout,*
In mans conceite incomprehensible, *And by's diuine decree doth neere goe out.*
Yet in him comprehends whatsoeuer is **17** He praiseth God that with admired art,
Created. And can all things turne to naught: *From that great light, the purest sparkes did take,*
As of nothing, all things to light he brought. *And thereof (fixing them in euery part*
9 He doth alwaies the Trinitie adore, *Of th'orient skies) the glistering starres did make.*
Wherein are that the earthly globe was made, *Whose vertues rare, diuine, and admirable,*
The eternity resided, and before *Are vnto humane kinde innumerable.*

18 He doth admire and blesse that puissant Lord,
That alwaies without end to man doth speake
By's heavenly workes, which still with one accord,
By constant order (which they neuer breake)
Assistent are in their celestially robe,
Vnto this admirable earthly globe.
19 His thoughts ascend, to the course circulare
Of th'asure globes, the which doe alwaies goe,
And swiftly wheele about the world, and are
Appointed by the eternall so to doe.
But in such sort that though they turne alwaies,
Yet they doe it not, equally in daies.
20 Hee glorifieth God omnipotent,
The which the place most infinite ordaines,
Which heauen, th'aire, the fire element,
And waters high and low, in it containes,
And which hang altogether and apart,
As in a vault, by admirable Art.
21 Hee magnifieth God continually,
When hee beholds the heauens high and cleare,
Transparant, light, and bright perpetually,
Which maketh day light orderly appeare,
And in a five fold circulare round,
Incloseth and compasse all the world so round.
22 Hee blesseth God our heavenly Father deare,
Which placed hath the firmament about
Great numbers of small Starres that shine most cleare,
And light, and beaure the same throughout:
And in each of the Sphaeres celestially
One greater light among so many small.
23 Hee knoweth that the same Maiesticke hand
Hath made by Art, surpassing Art what's ere,
Saturnus, Mars, and Iupiter, to stand,
Each one of them within a feuerall Spheare.
About the splendant circle of the Sonne,
And vnder *Venus, Mercurie*, and the Moone.
24 He sees how by diuine power vncontrol'd,
The Sonne continually doth make the day,
And compassing the world, his course doth hold,
(Perpetually to doe it without stay.)
Within three hundred threescore daies and five
And yearly doth his course againe reuiue.
25 He praiseth him that did create the Moone,
And Sunne, each one by turnes to make the day,
And night, so that as soone as day is done,
The night ensues, and when night's gone away
The day by course doth follow on amaine,
Which orderly, all mortall things maintaine.
26 Hee doth admire Gods great industrie,
Which limited the elements, and gaue
To them a place, fit for their qualitie,
And quantitie, the same for ere to haue
And hold, distributing to euery one
A part, the which it should possesse alone.
27 He knoweth that the Lord hath set the fire,
Next to the skies, and th'water, aire, and earth,
In distance lower, as nature doth require;
That all things which, doe breath life here on earth;
From them be instruct of nature might ingender
Their feuerall kindes, and God his glory render.
28 He seeth the three diuisions of the skies,
And knowes the reason of their feuerall state
Whereof the highest, next to th'asure skie
Exceeds in heate, the lowest temperate:
That in the middle seated twixt them twaine
Is alwaies full of tempests stormes and raine.
29 He praiseth God that by his power sustaines
The christ'line warry dew within the sky,
(Which all the glistering starres in it containes,)
And by the same power also there on high,
By admirable meanes vpholds and throuds,
Great seas of waters in the volant clouds;

30 He wonders at Gods might, and powerfull hand.
Who with a finger doth vphold, and stayes
The great foundation both of sea and land,
And by's imperious word in like sort swaies
The elements, and easily without
Paine, helpe, or aide, doth make them turne about.
31 His soule and senses all the Lord commend,
That giues force to the windes in euery place,
And diuersly to blow, and doth them send
Throughout the world, and in a minute space
In feuerall places turnes them as he list,
For in his power their power doth consist.
32 He sees Gods mighty force by fearefull sound
Of thunder, which out of the skies we heare
Vpon the earth, as if he would confound
And cleane consume the world, in such a feare.
He puts mankinde, with admirable wonder,
When 'ere it please him on them to thunder.
33 He knowes that God within his hand holds fast
The thunder and commands the lightning cleare,
And both of them together in the wast
And spacious aire containeth, so that there
They cannot passe their bounds without his leaue,
Least that they should mankinde of life bereaue.
34 He rendreth thanks to God for many great
Effects gainst nature wrought by's puissant might
In th'earth below, and heauen aboue to let
Vs know his will (by some prodigious sight)
That he our sinnes doth punish certainly
By famine, plague, or other misery.
35 He lauds the Lord, that hath far ere decreed,
The daies, moneths, yeeres, and seasons of the yeere
In their due times in order to proceed
And follow each the other, euery yeere.
According to his will and first intent,
When he made man, the earth, and firmament.
36 In all things he giues thanks to God alone
That changeth times, and ages at his will,
And alreth daies, moneths, yeeres, and euery one
Of them, doth vse vnto our good or ill,
And yet though at his will he doth them change,
In him ther's no inconstancy nor change.
37 He seeth that God doth hold the waters fast
That they cannot orewhelme nor drowne the land
And holdeth captiue (in like sort) as fast
The blustering windes, in his most powerfull hand
And in each creature he doth life maintaine,
And at his will takes it from them againe.
38 He knowes that God by his power hath ordain'd,
The waters to keepe in a certaine place,
And then within their limit so contain'd,
That to exceede their bounds in any case
They cannot, for all things subiect are
To his most mightie prouidence and care.
39 He vnderstands that God by's powerfull hand
To make the earth yeeld fruit in feuerall kinds,
That all his creatures might finde foode on land:
Hath plac'd the Ocean Seas apart, and binds
Them so within their bounds, that they no more,
Shall drowne the land, as they had done before.
40 He giues to him the honour to haue form'd,
All creatures that vpon the earth doe dwell,
Wherewith abundantly it is adorn'd,
And vnto man, which doth them all excell,
Subiect hath Fish, Fowle, and euery beast,
Which hee commands, and they obey his heft;
41 He honours him in's prouidence and care,
For all the Fishes in the Ocean,
And for th'abundant sorts of birds that are
Aboue in th'aire, and also that for man:
So many beasts of euery sort and kinde,
He hath created, as on th'earth wee finde.

42 He wonders at the sorts innumerable,
Of Fishes great and small which God hath made,
And much more at his power admirable,
For that no thing on earth is to be had.
But that the like for forme and shape wee see,
And daily finde, within the Sea to bee.
43 He knowes that God in's hand waighes mountains hie,
And doth the earth replenish with all kinde
Of flowers faire, which he doth beautifie,
With many severall colours as we finde,
B'experience in the Spring and Summer time,
When they come forth, and are in chiefest prime.
44 He praiseth God which makes nature produce,
And forme Pearles fire, and Christall shining bright,
Of liquid matter, (and good for the vse
Of man, wherein he takes so great delight)
Which in the bowels of the earth is found,
And in the Mines like vaines lies in the ground.
45 He doth extoll the glory of his name,
That doth in essence maintaine euery thing,
By him created, suffering not the same
To perish, but renewing euery thing,
When th'old decayes, and turnes into the earth,
The new reuiue, and from them take their birth.
46 He knowes the world was made by God on his,
Wherein so many creatures doe liue,
And vnderneath the starrie Canapie,
All exquisite and dainty things doth giue
Vnto mankind, to serue him for his vse,
While he liues here on earth, without abuse.
47 He doth admire and blesse Gods providence,
That did create the Angels good and free,
Light, beautifull, and his will and pretence
To know, and to performe the same, and the
His messengers, and guides to man in th' way
Of heauen, that they should not goe astray.
48 He magnifieth Gods most holy name,
That did make man, in whom we may behold
A modell of the world, and which did frame
The heauens, earth, aire, water, fire and cold.
Which things are altogether certainly,
A prooffe most perfect of the Deitie.

Of a happy life.

49 A True Christian Philosopher doth see
God in his Word, by his most sacred breath,
Infusing into man (though fraile hee bee)
The sparkes of grace diuine, whereby his death,
Is vnto him a certaine enterie,
Into the state of immortality.
50 Of life eternall he is full assur'd,
Because like to Gods Image he is made,
And by Christ Iesus (which for him endur'd
Death on the Crosse, though no sinne in him had)
Redeem'd from sinne, and so predestinate
For euer to enioy celestiall state.
51 Regenerate, and happy sure is hee
That doth receiue the holy Sacraments,
According to Gods most deuine decree,
And puts his trust in holy documents:
Submitting his will to the sacred writ
Of Christ, with all his heart obeying it.
52 He knoweth how at all times to remember
Gods blessings, which to him he doth impart,
That for the same thanks to him he may render,
(As wee commended are) with mouth and heart,
With spirit, soule, and body God to serue,
That from all dangers doth vs still preferue.
53 He thinkes him happy that a member is
Of holy Church, and doth obserue Gods will,
Which vnto vs a full assurance is,

Of his eternall blisse, for which he will
That we should loue him truly and confesse
His holy name, without all fainednesse.
54 He doth beleue that God by's wisedome knowes
All things, and sees into th' interior parts
Of mortall men, and also that he knowes,
The secrets, thoughts, and wishes of their hearts,
And so is moued to liue holily,
And to adore Gods heavenly Maiesty.
55 He onely thinkes him happy and most blest,
That doth with all his strength, his soule, and heart
Loue God in Iesus Christ, and doth protest,
From his most holy law nere to depart:
But to doe good as neere as ere he can
In all his actions vnto euery man.
56 He doth confesse that God most liberally,
Hath giuen him reason, senses, will and wit
To know his law and's great benignity,
And for access to him the benefite
Of prayer, which in Iesus Christ preferd,
He is assur'd of him to be heard.
57 He knowes how prone, and ready God's to heare
Our humble suites, when in our miserie
We doe submit our selues, and to forbear
His wrath, when with repentant hearts we cry
To him for grace, and pardon doe implore
In Iesus name, our onely Sauour.
58 He knowes that God is iust and mercifull,
And loueth those men that are good and pure,
To whom he is benigne and bountifull.
And how in iustice he cannot endure
The wicked man, whose punishment though he
Defers a while, shall surely plagued be.
59 He neuer sleeps, but still stands sentinell
To watch his spirits, to euill wholly bent:
As also for, because hy knoweth well,
That's soule while it's in's fleshly prison's pent,
Is easily drawne to all infirmity,
And thereby brought in t'vter misery.
60 Being chaste, he doth th' exterior matter scorne,
Which altreth the senses by the eye,
And withall vertues doth himselfe adorne,
Which makes him like vnto the Deity.
And so transformes his mortall quality
By power diuine to immortality.
61 He's wife and doth not listen to the words
And writings of those men that vnder show
Of good, no goodnes vnto him affords.
But carefully doth reade Gods word to know,
His will therein assuredly to finde,
The truth reueald by God vnto mankind.
62 He constantly detests carnality,
And worldly pleasures all as enemies
To vertue, goodnes, and true piety,
Opposing gainst those crafty dangerous spies
The word of God written in his Testament,
Both old and new, their malice to preuent.
63 He neuer is surpris'd by the snares,
And wily baits of soule concupiscence,
As knowing well that God most iust nere spares,
To plague those men that with a bad pretence,
Commit such vile abominable things,
And them at last to vter ruine brings.
64 He alwaies puts his trust in God alone
That makes the weake against the strong preuaile,
Turnes ill to good, and bitter teares and mone
To ioy, and makes our en'mies purpose faile,
Conuerting the deuises of his mind,
Like smoke in th' aire, or to a blast of wind.
65 As he's Gods child, he doth to's law submit
His whole desire, his will, and his intent,
And vnto his good pleasure doth commit

Himselfe

Himselfe and all his actions fully bent

To serue one God in holy Trinitie,
Abandoning all earthly vanitie.

66 Taught by the holy Ghost he doth pretend
To serue the Lord, and him t'extoll and praise,
Assured, on day, when's mortall life doth ende,
To be ingraft in Christ, with him alwaies

To dwell in heavenly blisse, and to possesse,
A life compleate with ioy and happinesse.

67 His minde and thought is freed from worldly care,
And fleshly lusts, gainst which he makes defence,
And wholly doth his senses all prepare,
To serue th'eternall Lord, with full pretence,
His lawes t'obey opposing gainst his will,
The feare of God, which sinne in him doth kill.

68 Happy thereby, and blessed from aboue,
He wholly trusteth in Gods prouidence,
No plague, no warre, nor famine, can him moue
Nor feare of death, for God is his defence.

So constant is his resolution,
T'indure all kinde of tribulation.

69 Louing and fearing God with patient minde,
Hee's comforted with such sweet fruits, as hee
Within the holy Word of God doth finde,
And in the Church are taught, so as while he
Is heere one earth, he liueth happily
In Christ with God in all eternitie.

70 Taught by the Lord, he is not negligent
Nor careles oft to call vpon his name,
By praier vpon his knees most humbly bent,
Assured in his heart, that by the same,
He shall when Gods will is receiue and haue,
That which he of the Lord by praier doth craue.

71 His soule's inricht with great industry,
Because God in his loue doth still encrease,
His blessings on him, and continually,
To prosper all his labors doth not cease.

For that without his benediction,
Comfo rt in earthly riches there is none.

72 He thinkes it honor great and high renowne,
To beare the crosse of Christ, with ioyfull heart,
And for his sake with patience t'weare the crowne,
Of martyrdome thereby t'indure a part,
Of Christs most deare and precious passion
Suffered on earth for our saluation.

73 He doth contemne all earthly vanities,
Which with deceitfull baite, and great desire,
Of honour, riches, superfluities,
And worldly ioyes, which flesh and blood require,
Brings men vnto their graues with heauines,
Bereft of Gods eternall blessednes.

74 Within the glasse of true faith he doth see,
(Abhorring vice) into the heauens aboue,
And there beholds his Sauour by whome he
Hopes once to sit, through his great grace and loue:
Where both in soule and body really
He shall behold God in the Trinity.

75 In this hope he in God hath his deligh t,
But he that loues the world and earthly ioyes,
Doth shunne the day, and walketh in the night.
And those that follow after humane toyes,
Erelasting death shall bee their portion:
To bring them headlong to destruction.

76 Hee knowes that Christ doeth liue eternally,
And therefore doubteth not that after death,
His body shall againe lye ioyfully,
And with his soule repoesse vitall breath,
To liue perpetually in heauen to see
God face to face in glorious maiestie.

77 Hee shunnes and doth contemne terrestriall blisse,
Ambition, pride, concupiscence, and all
Things else, that make, and moue him t' doe amisse,

And drawes the vaine hearts of men naturall:

As with a baite to follow and desire,

That which at last will bring them to hell fire.

78 Hee calles to minde, that one day die he must,
And goe into the graue therein to rot,
And cleane consume, and turne againe to dust,
From whence hee came, and yet hee feareth not:

The stroke of death, as knowing that thereby
Hee shall bee freed from all miserie.

79 He knowes his dayes here vpon earth are short,
And therefore doeth good ere hee descends
Downe to the place wherein there's no comfort,
Assured that true heavenly blisse depends

Vpon faith, loue, and charitie, which wee
In Christ doe shew, while here on earth wee bee.

80 He knowes that Christ by death doth make vs liue;
And that his eies doe comfort send to all
Mankind on earth, and to their soules doth giue
A Paradise of ioyes celestia l:

As also that he doth his Saints preferue,
From death and hell which men by sinne deserue.

81 And so he liues content, as knowing well,
That God is mercifull, and that he can
Make him triumph ore sinne, ore death and hell,
By Christs death and his passion, which for man,
He suffered here on earth, and vanquish't all
Our deadly enemies terrestriall.

82 He doth beleue nothing on earth that is,
Exceeds, or can be fairer nor more rare,
Then heavenly and celestia l ioyes and blisse,
Which God of his great mercy doth prepare,
For them that loue and feare his holy name,
And faithfully in Christ call on the same.

83 His heart alwaies desires to see Gods face,
In heauen aboue, for euer there to fill
And feed his soule with his most heavenly grace;
Refusing all terrestriall ioyes, and still
Doth meditate on that eternall blisse.

Which God in heauen, prepared hath for his;

84 With constant resolution he doth shun
And flie from carnall lust, which for a while
Procures ioy to the flesh, but after soone
When short delight is past, doth him beguile:
And with shame worketh his confusion:
And finally his sole destruction.

85 His minde is bent with charitable desire,
To wish, and doe that's good to every one,
To pittie those that want, and helpe require,
And not to hurt, nor doe wrong t' any one.

As knowing that the Lord well pleased is,
With that which in Christ is so done by his.

86 Content with whatsoever God doth send,
He steemes all things in this world transitory,
Wau'ring, vaine, inconstant, whereof th'end,
Is sorrow, woe and extreame miserie.

And onely doth in mind and heart aspire,
To heavenly ioy, which is his whole desire.

87 With patient minde and wisdom from aboue,
He doth resist and withstand worldly lust,
Desiring, foule concupiscence t'remoue
Out of his heart, and wholly puts his trust,

In Gods most holy law the which he makes
His study, and his pleasure therein takes.

88 As he is wise, he doth still meditate
On death, whereof he knowes he cannot misse,
That so he may the better intimate
His spirits to thinke on Christ and heavenly blisse,
Assur'd that nothing's certainer then death,
Nor more vncertaine then the hower of death.

89 With constant resolution hee contemnes
All worldly ioyes, and pleasures, knowing well,
That hee which loueth them, himselfe condemnes,

- Not to deserue with Christ in heauen to dwell,
And shewes that's hart's posselt with vanitie,
And his delight is in iniquitie.
- 90 And so hath peace in conscience, taking care
Not to disturbe the same in any sort,
Reioycing at that benefit most rare,
On him by Christ bestow'd for his comfort.
A Iewell which more precious is then all
The treasures of this world terrestriall,
- 91 He meditateth day and night vpon
The holy law of God, which is his guide,
Here vpon earth, with resolution,
And full entent nere from the same to slide,
For vnto him it breedeth more delight,
Then worldly ioies, wherein man takes delight.
- 92 Reioycing in the same he humbly praies
The Lord to giue him wisdom from aboue,
And to direct and guide him in his waies,
Which hee with all his heart and soule doth loue.
As knowing that God neuer doth denie
To aide those that to him for helpe doe crie.
- 93 He is content with what fere God giues,
And praith him for's benefits most good,
Reposing trust in Christ, and while he liues,
Desires nothing but necessary food,
To maintaine life, and raiment to put on,
Vntill his time of dissolution.
- 94 As knowing that what care soere man takes
To gather and to hoord vp worldly wealth,
Tis not that, which him truly happy make,
Nor any waies to's soule procureth health.
Gods blessings onely which on him he sends,
Doth make him rich, and thereon he depends.
- 95 He trusts not in the great and high estate
Of men, nor yet in riches that are fraile,
Th'ill vse whereof makes man vnfortunate,
And in his greatest need of helpe to faile.
He onely doth in God repose his trust,
That can and will without doubt helpe the iust.
- 96 He doth respect reliefe from Christ aboue,
As knowing that most certainly his name,
Is in the booke of life, and that the loue
Of God is such, that he doth neuer blame
Him, that in Christ to serue him's alwaies prest,
But will reward him with eternall rest.
- 97 He knowes the man that is vpright and iust
Is happy, and assurde of heavenly blisse,
For he that feareth God, and puts his trust
In him alone, of aide shall neuer misse.
And he will blesse the man that in his sight,
With seruent zeale doth strue to liue vpright.
- 98 For he doth ground and build his faith vpon
The rocke of Christs, most holy Testament:
Which giues eternall life to every one,
That with a constant minde and true intent,
Doth serue God in the holy Trinitie
And to his power shuns iniquitie.
- 99 He knowes his life is thort, and euery day
Declineth, and's so full of miserie,
That he may well affirme and truly say,
That he's accurst, and no felicitie,
Is to be hoped for, by him at all,
If on the Lord in Christ he doth not call.
- 100 He doth beleue that God is alwaies proone,
And ready to heare those that that on him call,
And that in Christ he pardneth euery one
That with meeke heart vpon their knees doe fall,
And mercy craue, for his sake that's blood spilt;
Guilelesse vpon the Crosse, for our guilt.
- 101 Being holy he doth not his soule subiect
Vnder the yoke of foule concupiscence;
But viterly withstands, and doth reiect
- Such kinde of follie, and meere negligence
Of that which to mankind is pestilent,
And shorten's dayes that thereunto is bent.
- 102 Hee's taught that on earth to liue happily,
The loue of God should euermore remaine
Within his heart, thereby continually
To moue him his true honour to maintaine,
That all the world hath made and gouerneth,
And to each living thing giues vitall breath.
- 103 Hee knoweth that th'eternall gouerneth
By his crelasting power and prouidence
All things in heauen and earth, and saoureth
Him that with heart, soule, mind, and full pretence
Doth meditate on his most holy Writ,
Obserues, and is obedient vnto it.
- 104 Hee followeth his vocation honestly,
In feare of God, and vprightnesse of heart,
Doth good to all, and nere doth falsifie
His promise, nor from his word will not start,
Although vnto his detriment it were,
So much hee doth God honour, loue, and feare.
- 105 Hee praith God that giues him life on earth,
(Which should bee done likewise by euery one)
But much more doeth hee thanke him for's new birth,
And spirituall regeneration
In Iesus Christ, which by his holy spirit,
Made him Gods childe, eternall life inherit.
- 106 Therefore to Gods commandments he obayes,
And with heart, mouth, and soule continually
Doth his most holy name extoll and praith
Which hee doth not neglect, but carefully
Doth follow his precepts in euery thing;
One God in Trinitie still worshipping.
- 107 Hee liueth soberly, and is content
With any thing that nature doth suffice:
For hee whose minde vnto excesse is bent,
Is prone to sinne, and shewes himselfe vnwise;
And doth fulfill the prouerbe true and old,
That without wine and good cheere loue is cold.
- 108 He knowes well that the wicked man gets nought
By pleasure which he takes in wicked deeds:
And that the ill which hee thereby hath wrought,
Attends him still, and from the same proceeds
The gilt of sinne, the which with terrour great,
Doth summon him before Gods iudgement seate.
- 109 He's taught by Gods word that his body is
The Temple of the holy Ghost, and that
Being dead, to rise againe it certaine is,
And therefore vowes in Christ that him begat
In spirit, to serue the Lord spiritually,
The which by God's respected specially.
- 110 He vowes to Christ his heart, mouth, eyes, and eares,
To loue, confesse, to see, and heare his voice;
For with's eyes he sees Christ, with's eares he heares,
With's heart he loues, with's mouth hee doth reioyce
In God, and sings praise to his holy Name,
That hath him lences giuen to doe the same.
- 111 Hee doubteth not that God by's prouidence,
Most iust, most wise, and most omnipotent,
Doth gouerne, rule, and is the sole defence
Of all things both in th'earthly regiment,
And in the heauens aboue, where he doth raigne,
And in their essence doth them still maintaine.
- 112 Hee blesseth God, that most abundantly,
Out of the ocean of his treasure,
Distills on vs poore soules incessantly,
Whole seas of gifts and graces heavenly,
Wherewith hee blesseth those that doe him serue,
And both in life and death doth them preserue.
- 113 Hee often calls Gods heavenly loue to minde,
That doth the great assaults, attempts and wiles,
Which Sathan daily vseth 'gainst mankind,

And him thereby continually beguiles.)

Diuert and turne, contrary this pretence,
For of his Saints, he is the sure defence.

114 He doth direct his vows, and with heart praies,
To God the Lord, and to the Trinity,
The Father, Son, and holy Ghost alwaies,
Extolling the most heavenly Deity:

For all the mercies which from thence doe flow,
Th' effects whereof in's creatures plainly show.

Of afflictions.

115 Being truly wise he beareth patiently,
Such crosses as most commonly are layd,
On Christians, whom the most iust God to try
Them, visiteth, and trusting in Gods ayde,
Doth ioyfully receiue correction,
At th' hand of God for his instruction.

116 He feares no hurt, nor stroake of death at all,
For being reform'd in heart, in tongue, in deed,
His spirit, voice, and cogitations all
Depend on God, on whom he hath decreed,
To waite and to serue him while life doth last,
T'enioy eternall blisse when life is past.

117 No sicknes, no disease, nor pouerty,
Can once disturbe, or discontent his minde,
What ill soeuer, or aduersity
His body feelles, his soule doth comfort finde
In Christ, and he doth liue content in all
Distresse and griefe, what's ere on him doth fall.

118 If in his daies, and time of mortall life
He hath no mondaine blisse, nor earthly ioy,
(Which doth procure such warre and deadly strife,
In th'arts of men) he neuer feelles annoy,
But patiently endureth euery thing,
Without all worldly care or sorrowing.

119 If in griefe and distresse, he is condemn'd,
He knowes that God is ready to releue,
His troubled soule, yea though he were condemn'd:
To die yet doth he constantly beleue,
And trust that God in Christ will giue him life,
And keepe him safe in midst of mortall strife.

120 If ill for good be done to him, that ill
Turnes into good, for changing property,
It is good vnto him, because such ill
Supports and strengthens his infirmity,
And makes him strong and patient in that ill,
Which doth conuert and turne his mind from ill.

121 If he on this short life doth meditate,
He thinks the day which by death is ordain'd
To end his life and change his mortall state
Most happy, for that by God preordain'd,
He is assured, in heauen to possesse,
A life replete with ioy and happinesse.

122 If men by false report doe scandalise
His name, he knowes that God (the iudge of all
Mankinde) will surely plague his enemies,
And them therefore vnto account will call,
And will conuert such infamy and blame,
To's honour, but to their disgrace and shame.

123 If th'iniury of the enuious man doth seeme
A burthen vnto him, and great disgrace,
He doth such wrong, and false report esteeme,
A sweet correction by Gods heavenly grace
Vpon him layde, for he that's wrongfully
Accus'd, beares his wrongs contentedly.

124 If without cause of enemies great store
He findes himselfe to haue, he's not afraid,
But puts his trust in God, who euermore,
Is vnto his a sure defence and aide,
And doth th' vniust and wicked man correct,
With many plagues, and finally reiect.

125 If he be mou'd to see th' vniust man liue
Vnpunish'd for a time (and that thereby
He waxeth proud, and for that cause doth giue
Himselfe to sinne) he knoweth certainly,

That though God for a while his wrath doth stay,
He will sure plague him at the latter day.

126 If he by persecution chance to be
In danger of imprisonment, sword, or fire,
Or it in any other perill he
Doth fall, he prayes to God, and doth desire

His ayde and helpe, for in extremity
Prayer is the meanes to ease his misery.

127 If he should be constrained to lose or leaue
His country, goods or lands, he is content,
For he knowes well, such vanities bereaue
Mankinde of blisse, and that he whose minde's bent
For transitory ioyes, to leaue Gods lawes,
Vpon himselfe eternall vengeance draws.

128 If he by trauell feeles his body weake,
He doth not feed, nor keepe it daintily,
As knowing that whosoever doth not checke
And bridle fleshly motions thereby

Doth cause and moue vice in him to increase,
And contrary true vertue to decrease.

129 If marriage be a burthen to his minde,
He knowes that crosse, turnes vnto good to those
That patiently can beare what's ere they finde
To breed dislike, and that God blesseth those
Which in the state of marriage liue together
Contentedly, and truly loue each other.

130 If want of issue giues him cause to grieve,
(Sith marriage is for procreation
Of children) he knowes that God doth giue
Them t'whom he will, and that a wicked sonne,
Ill nurured procures the fathers griefe,
A vertuous child his ioy, and his releefe.

131 If children, friends, or parents chance to die,
(As all men are ordained to die in th'end)
He is content, and beareth patiently,
What losse or crosse soeuer God doth send
In hope that they possesse that heavenly blisse,
Which for th' elect by Christ prepared is.

132 If God to proue and try his patience,
Doth visit him with sicknes or distresse,
He trusts in him, which is his sole defence,
And neuer in his furie doth oppresse,

Nor laies more on's elect then they can beare.
Such is his loue to them, that him doe feare.

133 If for professing Christs most holy name,
He's persecuted by Gods enemies,
He doth esteeme't a blessing t'endure blame
For him that did his body sacrifice
Vpon the crosse for the redemption,
Of all Gods children by election.

134 If for his faith he suffereth martyrdom,
Nothing to him is more acceptable,
Esteeming it an honourable dome,
(Though to the world it seemes contemptible)
To be condemn'd for him to lose his life,
That by death purchast him eternall life.

135 If's body being ready to receiue,
The finall stroake of death by fire or sword,
Doth shake and him of courage cleane bereaue,
His soule by faith in Gods most holy word.

Doth comfort and assurance to him giue,
That he thereby with Christ for e're shall liue.

136 If doing well he's threatned to be kild,
Yet doth he not feare death, because he knowes,
That gods most holy will must be fulfilld,
And that it is a meannes (as Scripture shewes)
For him to dwell with Christ, that overcame
Death, for all those that do confesse his name,

- 137 If the assaults of Diuel, world, and sinne,
By their exceeding tyrannie assaile
His body, by faith which his soule hath in
Christ Iesus, he against them doth preuaile,
And with firme hope and certaine confidence,
Assures himselfe of Gods most sure defence.
- 138 If any tribulation vexes his minde,
Or that at th'oure of death he is afraid:
He knowes by th'one great comfort he shall finde,
And that the other is to him an aide,
And meanes t'eternall life, for without it,
He neuer can, nor shall attaine to it.
- 139 If famine, warre, or plague (things vñde by God
To scourge vs for our finnes) doe him oppresse,
He doth submit himselfe vnto his rod,
And humbly on his knees with teares confesse
His finnes, thereby Gods anger to appease:
For Christs sake praying him his griefe to ease.
- 140 He knoweth that afflictions suffered,
With patience, to the elect is profitable,
And that which Christ for them hath merited,
Is vnto them so much available,
That thereby all their sorrow changed is,
Into eternall ioy and heavenly blis.
- 141 In miserie he calles to God on high
For mercy, and doth craue deliuerance,
With promise euermore to magnifie
His holy name, and's honour to aduance.
Assured that without doubt hee will soone
Releue and ease him in's affliction.
- 142 He knowes he is Gods childe b'adoption,
And so perswaded that by Christ being made
Heire of Gods kingdom by election,
By diuine grace he neuer shall want aide,
Nor comfort in aduersitie whatsoere,
As long as hee the Lord doth serue and feare.
- 143 He feesles himselfe full of fragilitie,
And weake of spirit, affliction much to beare,
If Christ which aides the imbecilitie
Of poore afflicted soules, did him not reare,
And sustaine him in his deiection,
For of the elect h'is sole protection.
- 144 Patient, and well content, his faith is strong,
As knowing that the time is soone orepast,
That hee shall liue, and though the puerse wrong
Him neere so much, it will not alwaies last:
And confidently in God putting's trust,
Doth shun the wicked counsell of th'unjust.
- 145 He knoweth that those which are Gods elect,
By faith vpon his promises lay hold,
And when soeuer he doth them correct,
They are thereby so constant and so bold,
That humbly praising God therefore th'assure
Themselves, that crosses good to them procure.
- 146 Afflicted by the Lord, he doth consider
That hee in mercy punisheth his sinne:
And that with true repentance whensoeuer,
To call vpon his name hee doth begin:
He doth not onely pardon his misdeed,
But easeth and releueth him with speed.
- 147 He knoweth that the world by God was made,
And that life, death, time, and all other things,
Both good and bad, their Essence from him had,
And that he rules and gouerneth all things
By his most mighty power and providence,
Wherein he wholly puts his confidence.
- 148 In what estate soeuer, there's no thing,
More wished for by him, then that hee may,
With heart and voice (all sinne abandoning)
Giue honour due to God, both night and day:
And all his griefe his martyrdom, and feare,
With patient minde contentedly doth beare.
- 149 Being th' image of th'eternall, his desire
And sole delight, is to liue holily,
As Gods precepts and Christian faith require,
In all's afflictions calling humbly
Vpon the Lord, as it becomes the Saints,
When t'him they make their prayers and complaints.
- 150 If God on him for sinne doth crosses bring
With contrite heart and soule confessing it
He thanketh him therefore acknowledging,
His mercy, and his most great benefit,
In Christ, that sau'd him by his passion
From euerlasting condemnation.
- 151 When death from him doth take his vitall breath,
He knowes Christs power (which all power doth excell)
And's precious death and passion, orecome death
And vanquished the Diuell, sinne, and hell,
That he, and all that doe in him beleue,
In God with him eternally might liue.
- 152 Fooles in their fond imaginations vaine,
Perswade themselves that God looks not on vs,
And stops his eares when we to him complaine,
And that his fauor's drawne away from vs:
When roughly (with paternall loue, and zeale,
To try and to correct vs) he doth deale
- 153 But they know not, what ioy and comfort wee
Receiue, by his corrections fauourable,
Nor how sweet such reproofes vnto vs be,
Wherby our soules are made conformable,
Vnto his will, and cause vs to esteem t'
A happy state: though they contrary deemie't.
- 154 Each burthen's light, all tribulation's sweet,
To him that with a glad and ioyfull heart:
(When as it his chance therewith to meet,)
Receiue it, and as it is his part
In humble wise submits himselfe vnto
What's ere it pleaseth God to him to doe.
- 155 It's every true, and faithfull Christians part,
To suffer persecution for Gods name,
To honour Iesus Christ with all his heart,
And for his sake t'endure all wrong and blame
With patience, for by aduersity,
We shall at last possesse th'eternity.
- 156 The liquor of thy mount celestiall,
(Wherewith thou didst annoint the children three,
And sau'dst them when vpon thee they did call
In midst of flaming fire to let men see
Thy power) is thy grace Oh heavenly Lord,
Which thou to thine at all times dost aford.
- 157 The reprobate and worldly man that nere,
Make any true vse of correction
Doe mocke at vs, and without any feare,
Of thee, flies from and shuns affliction.
Not knowing, neither seeing that by it,
Th'elect of God receiue great benefit.
- 158 By faith in our afflictions we behold
The Saints triumph in immortality,
(Their heads adorn'd with glistering crownes of gold)
About the throne of th'heavenly Deity.
With full assurance, once with them t'adore
Thy holy name in heauen, for euermore.
- 159 And so in thy great power and clemency
(Our ground of hope) by intire charity,
(The spring of life) and thy benignity,
In all our trouble and aduersity,
Our soules are fortified with confidence,
In thee oh Lord, that art our sole defence.
- 160 Wherefore dispising world and earthly ioy,
We doe expect the latter day of dome,
Wherewith our soules to their eternall ioy
With God shall be conioynd. This is the somme
And true effect of our Philosophy:
The fruits whereof is to liue happily.



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